













Cobbett's Weekly  
Political Register

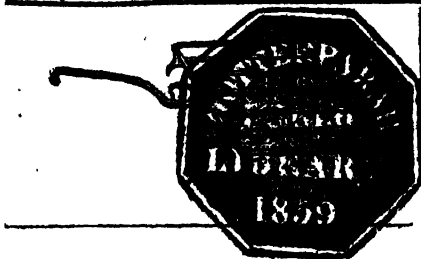
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No. II.

TO THE

## ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER.

Kensington, 1st October, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

AGREEABLY to the promise which I made you in my Address No. 1, dated on the 1st of September, I now proceed to maintain, by statement and by argument, the justice, the expediency and the easy practicability, of the thirteen measures described by me in that Address No. 1, beginning with the first stated measure of the thirteen. But before I set out in the discharge of this duty, I hope that you will excuse me if I stop a minute, to notice some remarks of the *Manchester Times*, (under date of the 17th of September) upon that address, which remarks it is impossible to read without calling to mind PORE's beautiful description of literary envy:—

"Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike;  
Just hint a fault and hesitate dislike."

Mr. PRENTICE, who is the writer of this paper, sets out with professing his "perfect willingness to admit all the merit of the Address, but with a RESOLUTION not to pass its defects and omissions unnoticed." After such an outset, who would not have expected a complete analysis, and something like a refutation of something contained in the

address! There is no such thing: there is nothing contradicted, much less controverted; and the whole thing ends with a CAVIL about the mode of voting at elections, about the suffrage, and about the duration of Parliaments; things relative to which the Address contained not a single word, but about which I shall have a word or two to say presently, coupling this critic with my critical friend Mr. PRICE, of Upton-on-Severn, and taking my leave of both of them with a single bow intended to be divided between them. But after the CAVIL, Mr. PRENTICE, who was RESOLVED not to pass over defects and omissions, thinks it becoming in him to go very widely out of his way in order to conclude with a *falsehood*. He says that he feels himself "*compelled*" to notice my opinions about slavery in the colonies. Stripping the thing of its useless words, he says that I have "branded as *canters* and *hypocrites*, not only ALL who have expressed themselves as opposed to the continuance of slavery in our colonies, but ALL who think that *Englishmen ought not to be taxed in order to enable the owners of estates in the West Indies to hold their black brethren in thralldom*." Here are two assertions, and both of them malignantly false. First, never in my life did I denominate as canters and hypocrites "*all*" those who have petitioned for the abolition of Negro Slavery; but, on the contrary, have always said that they were a mass of people, ninety-nine out of every hundred of whom had their *good and kind feelings perverted* by crafty and selfish knaves, who were seeking the gratification of their own pecuniary interest, and their low and dirty ambition, at the

risk of producing internal war and general bloodshed; and in the total ruin of the *only really valuable* colonies which belong to this country. So much for the first falsehood of Mr. PRENTICE. Sufficiently malignant that falsehood. But, gentlemen, how shall I express my contempt of the man who could have put upon paper the second falsehood; namely, that I have branded also as canters and hypocrites "all who think that *Englishmen ought not to be taxed*," "in order to enable the owners of estates in the West Indies to hold their black brethren in thralldom?" There is no answer to a falsehood like this, other than that of calling the utterers of the falsehood by a name which need not be put upon paper, but which will suggest itself to every man. But, gentlemen, the thing to admire here is, the profound, the gross, the worse than animal IGNORANCE of this Mr. Prentice, who sets himself up as a teacher of politics to the enlightened people of Manchester. He does not know, then, that the old West India Islands have not taken from England, for ages and ages, one single penny in the way of tax; that, while millions on millions have been squandered on the worthless colonies of North America, the West Indies have not only maintained their own internal government and paid the troops stationed there, but have been loaded with enormous charges in the shape of pensions and sinecures to the aristocracy of England. He does not know, then, that the great sinecures of the two WYNDEAMS, in virtue of which they have received nearly about a million of money, have been paid by the West Indies. He does not know then that governors, deputy-governors, all sorts of law officers, whole tribes of lords and ladies that we see swaggering about in England, draw their pensions from the West Indies. He does not know, then; this great politician does not know, that even the two famous pensions of the dead BURKE, which I have so often mentioned, and which are still paid, are paid by the West Indies; and that the famous pension to the two HUNNS, *Canning's mother and half-*

*sister*, is also paid by the West Indies. This Mr. PRENTICE appears to know nothing at all about this matter, but has the stupid effrontery to say, that I have called canters and hypocrites all who think that Englishmen ought not to be taxed in order to enable West Indian owners to keep slaves. If the "*school-master*" really be "*abroad*," it is evident that he has not yet called on Mr. Prentice, who might advantageously take a lesson on *grammar* as well as on politics. The blacks may be Mr. PRENTICE's *brethren*, for any thing that I know or care; but the West India proprietors and occupiers are the *brethren of Englishmen*; and Englishmen have stood by and seen them taxed without mercy; but have never paid one farthing of tax for them. In short, Gentlemen, with regard to this Negro question, this is what I have always said; that I never employed a slave for a single moment in my life; that, in the abstract, I hate slavery; that it is an abomination to observe men to be silent with regard to the sufferings of the Irish, aye, and of the English too, while they are affecting to be shocked at the treatment of the Negroes, while it is notorious that there is no Negro slave who is not better fed and more kindly treated, not only than the half-starved and hunted-down Irish; but also than the far greater part of the weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire; that the question of emancipation of the Negroes demands the decision of a *previous question*, namely, whether it be desirable for us to keep the West Indies or not? For that without Negro slavery we cannot keep them. This is what I have always said upon the subject of Negro slavery, and we see that the colonies are now threatening to separate from us. But, Gentlemen, if any of you happen to have a twist upon this subject, is it not wonderful that you never ask how it is that the UNITED STATES are so happy and so free, while Negro slavery, more rigid than that which exists in our West Indies, is upheld in *more than one-half of that country*? Let Mr. PRENTICE, that great doctor in politics, explain to you how

that is; and when he has done that, and accounted to you for his more than animal ignorance with respect to our being taxed for the West Indies, let him again pursue his **RESOLUTION** not to pass over the defects and omissions of my Address.

We now come to the **OAVIL** before alluded to; namely, that my Address said nothing about *universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, and voting by ballot*. And, what was I to talk about them for in this Address? I was not writing on the subject of the nature of reform: I was talking about the measures which I would endeavour to cause to be adopted if I were chosen as a Member of a Parliament called together under the bill which is now before the House of Lords, and to which bill I was willing, and am willing, to give a fair trial; and I say further, that if a Parliament, constituted according to that bill, will give us the thirteen measures that I have described in my Address, No. 1, I shall be quite content with such a sort of Parliament; but if it will not give us those measures, then I shall be for a further change.

As to this matter, Mr. PRENTICE chimes in precisely with my friend, Mr. PRICE, of Upton-on-Severn, who seems to be really in pain, to be absolutely sick, for the want of the sight of the word *ballot* everlastingly recurring in the *Register*, forgetting, apparently, wholly forgetting, that he worked like a horse to get Captain SPENCER in for the county of Worcester, upon the pledge given by the Captain, that he would support *the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill*, which bill said not a word about the ballot!

Gentlemen, electors of Manchester, in so great a number of persons, however enlightened, the mass taken as a whole, there will probably be some few who are an easy prey to *noisy, professional* men, who are as insincere as they are noisy. These few persons are the depository of the *nonsense* of Manchester. It is the *sense* of Manchester, and not *the nonsense*, of which I am ambitious of being the representative. The *nonsense* consists of two parts;

first, that possessed by those who, being perfectly thoughtless, are carried away by mere sound; and the other part inhabiting the heads of men full of *prigish conceit*. If these two descriptions of persons want a representative, whose very simple business would be to keep on crying *ballot, ballot, ballot*, from the first of January to the thirty-first of December, with an occasional intermixture of the cry of *universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and no Negro slavery*. If this be what they want, I cannot serve them; but, to save them the trouble, I will undertake to find them one that shall. I will catch them a jackdaw, in my neighbour Lord Holland's new gingerbread church, that shall squall *ballot, ballot, ballot*, and deal forth the rest of the monotonous eloquence, to their heart's content, I warrant them; and having a sort of frill round his neck, and his head being slightly powdered, he may serve them in the double capacity of Member of Parliament and parson. This is the Member for *them*! In his diet, he will be very sparing; half a handful of soaked peas, with now and then a small bit of lean meat, will suffice. In his journeys to Manchester and back again, he will be nearly as swift as the wind; and being a constant comfort, a constant source of hope to Mr. PRENTICE, while at Manchester, he may, in his journeys up and down, fly off and pass an hour in consoling my friend, Mr. Price, at Upton. Say no more about it, then: the thing is done: he will be ready for the day of election, and I will warrant the thoughtless and the prigs, that the opening speech that he will make shall be such as to merit their cordial support.

Now, gentlemen, having dispatched this preliminary matter, and hereby promising you that nothing shall induce me again to notice, in my addresses to you, any thing that Mr. PRENTICE can say, I now proceed to maintain, *th* justice, the expediency and the practicability of my thirteen measures, the *en* of which was described in the follo<sup>it w</sup> words:—

1. To put put an end to all pen<sup>it w</sup> cures, grants, allowances, half-pay, and *dic*:



other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found fully to merit them; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.

If any one will look into the Pension-list and the list of sinecures, he will find that, generally speaking, they have been granted to persons who it is *impossible* can ever have rendered any public service whatsoever. A great part of them are females: and whole families of them, male as well as female, stand on the Pension List. Lord ALTHORP, some time ago, said that these pensions were gifts of *charity*. Charity! Good God! When the Catholic Church made its institutions of charity in this country, it acted on the principle laid down by the apostle; namely, that that it was men's duty to give to the needy; but to give out of *their own property*, and even out of *their own earnings*; for, says he, "We worked with our own hands, that we might have to give to him who needed." Our Government has proceeded upon exactly the contrary principle; for it has taken the bread out of the mouth of the working man, to give it to persons who did not need, in order to keep them in luxury and without work. "*He who will not work shall not eat*," says the Bible; but our Government says, by its acts, He that will not work shall eat, and have plenty, and he that will work shall be half starved. Upon the Pension-list there are two women of the name of RICKETTS: there is, besides, a RICKETTS who is the Collector-General for the county of Hants, with a large salary. I want to know why we should keep these two women of the name of RICKETTS; and can discover no reason other than that they are related to Lady NORTHESK and to Lady MILDMAY, whose son has married one of the BARINGS, and one of whose sons is a Member for Winchester. Lord ALTHORP says that these are gifts of charity. Let us offer, then, how this principle is ob- paid, and in the treatment of the working that the fa They are everlastingly re- INGS, *Canning* for not laying by something of their youth to keep

them in their old age. We know that the law sends a man to jail and to hard labour and bodily punishment of the most degrading kind if he will not work to maintain his wife and children. We might ask how a labouring man is to pay by any thing, when the magistrates in Hampshire and Wiltshire do not allow him enough barely to find bread for himself and his family. The magistrates of Hampshire, of which Sir THOMAS BARING was one, fixed a scale of wages which would not give half enough of bread for the maintenance of a labourer and his family, to say nothing of meat and drink and clothing and lodging and fuel.

But in the few cases which, in this state of things, enables a man to get together, by extraordinary good luck, combined with almost more than mortal exertion, some little bit of property, a bit of ground or a cottage, how does the law deal *with him* and with his property? Let me relate a fact. An old man, all his life-time a hard labourer, and then at an age touching four-score, possessed two tenements worth fifteen pounds a year or thereabouts. Upon the rent of these cottages, and upon the labour that he was able to perform, he, at that extreme age, kept himself from the parish, and hoped to do so for the remainder of his life. Now mark, he had had a son who had had several children, and who was dead, leaving the widow and these children. The poor fatherless children were able to work and did work for the farmers of the parish, and their earnings were sufficient to maintain them. Now, pray mark: the farmers gave them a certain portion of their wages in the shape of wages; but, according to the custom which has long prevailed in the South of England, gave them *part of their weekly pay out of the poor-rates*; which, according to the law, made them paupers. Being paupers, the law compelled the grandfather to maintain them if he had the means! And the parish-officers, by order of the magistrates, went and demanded from the poor old grandfather a repayment of that money which they paid the children weekly out of the poor-rates. This money a-

mounted to a great deal more than the amount of the rent of the poor grandfather's tenements. "Aye," said the magistrates, "but you can sell the tenements!" "Yes," said the grandfather, "but then I must, at last, come to the parish myself." "We cannot help that," said the magistrates! and they were right enough. The law authorized them to do this thing: the law authorized them even to strip the old grandfather of his last stick of property to keep even his grand-children; but the law has not prevented our Government from keeping the families of the aristocracy and their relations and dependents out of taxes imposed even upon this poor grandfather and his miserable grandchildren.

With regard to this class of persons, not another word need be said: the injustice of compelling the people at large to maintain them is so monstrous, especially while the working classes are thus dealt with; it is so monstrous, that the very thought of it really half deprives one of one's senses. If such a thing were proposed in the United States of America, even in one single instance, the whole country would be in an uproar; and, if attempted to be acted upon, it would tear up the government, root and branch, in a week.

So much for pensions, sinecures, grants, and all money given to people with a notorious want of any services whatever to recommend them.

At there are what are called *allowances*, and *half-pay*, whether civil, military, or naval.

We have a prodigious army, a great navy, monstrous taxing and other establishments; but I very much question whether all the officers of the army and navy and of those establishments, who are *in employ*, take so much money in the year as those who have retired from them, or have ceased to be in them. Otherwise, how can we with three generals to every regiment of foot and of horse, with two admirals to every ship of the line, and with, perhaps, four times as many commissioners and clerks now in pay, at some rate or another, four times as

many as are actually in employ? How comes it that we have about four-score ambassadors and consuls in our pay, when about a quarter part of the number is all that we have *in employ*, and which quarter part it is perfectly evident to me receive ten times as much money as they ought to receive for their services? Upon what principle is it that men are to be paid for life for having served, for an adequate salary at the least, during a part of their life? When a commissioner, a clerk, an officer in any service, ceases to be employed in that service, aye, and when a common soldier ceases to be a soldier, why is he still to be paid? If, indeed, he have, in a hazardous service, been deprived of his sight, or of any of his limbs, or have suffered any permanent grievous bodily harm, this is the last nation upon earth that would withhold from him the protection due to his crippled state. But, otherwise, what pretensions has he to a single shilling of pay after his services have ceased? Where, in the practice of men in general, do we find any analogy to justify this species of expenditure of the public money? When a merchant, a manufacturer, any tradesman or farmer, no longer requires the services of an individual, he ceases to pay him. If, indeed, these public servants were *compelled* to become such; were compelled to give up pursuits of life in which they were engaged, and to go into this new pursuit by the imperative commands of the law; then it would not only be just to make them an allowance when their services were no longer wanted in their new state of life; but it would be unjust not to make an ample provision for them for the rest of their lives. But, observe, these persons have not only voluntarily entered into the several services; but have sought for the services, and have obtained them in general by means not of the brightest description. What claim have they, therefore, to any allowance, or any half-pay, or any pension, when their services are no longer required? They have lost, it will be said, their habits and their fitness for the ordinary pursuits of life; but that is not the fault of the public:

they knew that they must lose those habits and that fitness before they entered into the service; and the answer to them is, that they should now set to work to re-acquire the necessary habits, or, that they should have saved, out of their salaries and pay, a sufficiency to maintain them during the rest of their lives; or, at any rate, to give them a start in some useful pursuit.

Mark, I beseech you, what is said to the working people. They are everlastingly told to lay by, in the days of their youth and strength, the means of sustaining them; aye, and even their children and grand-children, when that youth and that strength shall have been supplanted by age and by feebleness. To induce the working classes to do this, what bales of Acts of Parliament have been passed to encourage "*Friendly Societies*," parochial and even county Friendly Societies; to induce them to put even their *farthings* into that precious place of deposit called a Savings' Bank. Handbills, dirty tracts, even sermons, have been poured out upon them to induce them to put by their pennies, at the expense of both their bellies and their backs; to the constant pinching of the former, and the constant exposure of the latter to the cold. What audacious insolence is this! With what contempt must these advisers view the intellects of the working people; while their earnings are taken from them to furnish allowances and half-pay to those who have lived like lords during the days of their active employment, and in order to furnish them with those means of living in their old age which they ought to have saved out of their salaries and pay.

This class of persons is that to which Castlereagh gave the name of the "*dead-weight*;" but far is this weight from stopping with the officers themselves: it extends to their widows and their children, who are also maintained out of the sweat of the people; and thus, while everlasting efforts are made to check the breeding of the working classes, here is a high premium tendered for the breeding of swarms of gentlemen and ladies. If a proposition to do a

thing like this were to be made by any man in the United States of America, he must instantly flee the country. But, Gentlemen, electors of Manchester, when we have taken a view of the millions a year which this dead-weight swallows up; twice as many millions, observe, as are required to carry on the whole of the twenty governments of the United States of America, including their army and militia; including their great navy, and including also the interest of their remaining debt, which they have reduced to a mere nothing because they had no "*dead-weight*;" besides the money which this costs; besides the intolerable burden which this imposes upon us in the present day, do pray consider the scourge which it is providing for our children that are now in the cradle.

This "*dead-weight*;" these allowances, half-pay, and other things of the sort, have, since the peace was made, cost us nearly about *one hundred and fifty millions of money*; and unless we be resolved legally to put an end to this system, this particular department must continue to cost us at this rate. Monstrous as this is, however, in this immense cost, and in the oppressions that arise from it, we see but a part of the evil. The persons who are maintained in this manner amount in number to more than twenty thousand. They have been encouraged to marry by a provision having been made beforehand for their wives and children; and with regard to the army, there the half-pay people have been allowed to sell their half-pay, and thus to perpetuate the burden by continually putting young men in the place of old men. All these people are at work breeding gentlemen and ladies for us to keep; for as to *work*, that one soul of them never will. See what a burden here is preparing for this devoted nation! Three times twenty thousand widows and children, perhaps, at this very moment! At a hundred a year upon an average, here is six millions a year in store for us to pay; besides the pay to the officers themselves. Nay, the evil by no means stops here; for, by-and-by, there will arise a necessity, an

absolute dire necessity, of taking every farthing of allowance from this dead-weight of every description; and what is then to become of these unoffending children? Common humanity shudders at the thought of the consequences to them. Even as it is, great as the cost is to us, it is inadequate to the wants which false rearing up has rendered real wants to these people. London, and every great town and city, swarms with the poor things looking out for ladylike and gentlemanlike employment. The poor creatures lead lives of misery not to be described; the boys looking down upon journeymen and labourers without having a sixpence in their pocket, or half enough to eat. The poor girls becoming, or wanting to become, teachers, artists of some sort or other; and, with the outward show of gentility, not having, perhaps, a second change of linen, and longing for the dinner that the saucy housemaid rejects. No man that knows anything of the situation of the country in this respect will say that this picture is overcharged; and humanity will, at last, call upon the nation, if nothing else does, to put an end to the ruin and the misery arising from this source: ruin and misery to the receivers of the money, as well as to those who pay it. To be idle, to be slothful, even to be unemployed, used to be the shame: the present vicious system has removed the seat of the shame; and now the fashion is to be ashamed of nothing but honest labour.

It remains for me to speak under this head of the exception to this rule of lopping off. I know it would be just to take away every penny of what is called the half-pay, and to do it at once; but this would be exercising a degree of severity of which I think this nation is not capable. In cases, therefore, where men had served in the army and navy for a great many years; had been abroad a considerable part of the time; had endured very great hardships, or were greatly advanced in years, I would be ready to agree that they should have a sufficient maintenance for the rest of their lives, as a *reward* for their past services, and that they should

hold this in complete independence of the Government, and not at all dependent on their future conduct, be it what it might, except they were guilty of felony. There ought to be an exception, also, in the case of very extraordinary services, whether shown in instances of valour or of skill. But, with these exceptions, I would lop the whole off; and I should be glad to hear stated, under the name of the person who will state them, any argument against such lopping off.

With regard to *salaries*, my proposition is to reduce them to the *American standard*; and I shall, for this once, notice what Mr. PRÆNTICE here says with regard to this part of my address. He says that he trusts that no elector will vote for a candidate who will not go as far as I do as to this matter; but, says he, "we know not, however, why we should take the American standard of salaries; for there are many offices the duties of which are paid for in the United States, which might be performed here gratuitously. The fallacies put forth in defence of high official pay were admirably exposed, twenty years ago, by Mr. Bentham, in his reply to Burke and Rose, and if Mr. Cobbett puts the arguments therein contained into his own popular language he will do great public service." When CHARLES the SECOND had an offer made to him by one of his Parliaments to do for him (I forget what) something very gracious, and which he saw was intended to do him mischief in the end; he answered, in verse:

Charles, at present, having no need,  
Thanks you as much as if he had.

Bad rhyme, to be sure, but excellent reason; and I beg leave to offer the same to Mr. PRÆNTICE. Besides that, I do not need to be furnished with any arguments upon this subject by anybody; I have a particular objection to the appropriating to my own use of anything that comes from this source; for, amongst my efforts, would be that of making Mr. BENTHAM refund that pretty round sum of the public money which he got from PITT and the Parlia-

ment for projecting the Mill-bank Penitentiary, which has already cost the people of this nation more than all the new churches put together, and which, as stated in the House of Commons, had cost more than a million of money when the managers of it could pretend to have reclaimed only *eight prostitutes*! Never was there a more flagrant job on the face of this earth; never was any thing more wild in its scheme; never was squandering of money more obvious; never was a thing more impolitic than to add to the population of this overgrown place by the expending of this million and a half of money upon it, and thereby adding more or less to the poverty of the industrious classes in every part of the kingdom.

No: having no taste for either crochets or conundrums, I have, at present, no need, but thank Mr. PARNETT just as much as if I had. I am for low salaries for two reasons; first, because they would not be a temptation for rich fools to crowd themselves into places of power; and, second, because this standard would be a rule for all public pay of every description. Some will say that, if you have low salaries, you must have men of little talent; men comparatively poor, and, therefore, not trustworthy. Indeed! What, then, PITT, DUNDAS, and all the Prime Ministers, in short, have shown great wisdom, have they, and singular integrity! CANNING's fourteen thousand a year as Ambassador to Lisbon insured us wonderfully wise negotiations there! The enormous salaries to our finance Ministers have insured us wonderful cleverness with regard to taxation and the currency. The wagon-loads of money heaped upon the CASTLEBLAGHS and the WALKERLEYS have secured us surprising respect and power upon the continent. In short, look at our present situation, in all respects, and look at poor Ireland, and say if you believe that statesmen with 1s. 6d. a day could have brought this nation to a worse state than that in which it now is.

Some will pretend that Ministers cannot be respected, and have a proper degree of influence and authority,

unless they can live in a style that the richest peers are enabled to live in, and do live in. How does this square with the practice of common life? Do rich merchants and bankers think it necessary to make their managing clerks as rich as themselves and to live in the same style? Does a great manufacturer, amongst whose people it is necessary to sustain regular discipline, and who lives himself in a country house, or in London, think it necessary to enable his overseer to ride in his carriage too? Does a lord think it necessary that his steward should keep fox-hounds as well as himself, and be able to give dinners prepared by French cooks? But to go from private life to the Government, the salaries of which I take as my standard; do the American people think it necessary that even their President, let alone their secretaries and ambassadors, should be able to vie in expenditure with the great merchants of that country? By no means. They have had seven Presidents, I think it is; and the salaries, joined to the private income, of no three of them would have enabled one of them to vie in expense of living and of show with any one of one thousand merchants of that country. Let it not be pretended, then, that great heaps of money in the way of salary are necessary to command the use of great talents and great integrity. BINGHAM, of Philadelphia, the real *original* BINGHAM, could spend more, and did spend more, than all the seven Presidents put together could spend, in a year; that is to say, taking a year out of each Presidency, and putting the seven together. But did this diminish *the* dignity either of their station or their deportment? Did WASHINGTON or ADAMS, both of whom lived in the same city, ever condescend to dine at the table of BINGHAM; and did their wives ever attend any of the assemblies or routs of his wife?

Oh, no! it is not the salary that can give weight to the station of the man: it is the opinion which the people entertain of his talents and of his integrity; and if their opinion of these be low, all the millions of the loanmongers will not

raise it. But I am by no means of the opinion that men should *not be paid at all*. They should be paid moderate salaries: not enough to enable them to make a grand show in any respect whatsoever; but to lay down the principle, that men are to serve for nothing, puts one in mind of the servant who went to hire, and who, being asked *what wages* he demanded, said that he wanted *no wages*; for that he always found about the house *little things to pick up*. Now I am not for leaving a man to *pick up little things about the house*. I am not for having any *secret service money*, which, on an average, has, during the last forty years, cost this nation more every year than the whole of the civil Government of the United States of America and of the State Governments into the bargain! A moderate salary, with the necessary power of conferring just honours and rewards, together with the still greater honour of rendering service to his country, is quite enough for any good man: bad men, or fools, are not wanted; and if they were, the nation's whole revenue would not satisfy one of them.

Gratuitous services are attended with two evils; first, that scarcely any man can fill an office in that manner, or, at any rate, would be found to fill it, unless he have great private riches; and then you must have the riches and the incapable man along with them: for no man is called upon in a common case to expose himself to utter ruin for the sake of doing good to his country. But a reason full as strong is, that the gratuitous public servant will seldom conceive that he has any *responsibility* upon his shoulders. The great stalking-horse in defence of the justices of the peace is, that they are *unpaid*; and this has been repeated so often, that, at last, the epithet is applied to them in the way of *derision and scorn*. Nevertheless, all their blunders, all their acts, many of which are such, that I do not think proper to describe them, are all varnished over by the word *unpaid*! There is a monstrous fallacy in this, to be sure; for we see them rushing forward to get *unpaid* as eagerly as the loan-

jobbers used to rush to the Exchequer-bill office to lend their money, purely for the public good; getting the skirts torn off their coats; the coats off their backs, and, once I remember, the breeches off their bottoms, in their eagerness to get into the Exchequer-bill office, to subscribe their names as men willing to lend their last shilling (and, indeed, *more* than their last!) for the purpose of "preserving our happy constitution against the machinations and violence of jacobins and levellers."

I am, therefore, decidedly against *unpaid* public servants. "Give me," said ACUR, "neither poverty nor riches: not poverty, lest I be poor and steal; not riches, lest I be proud and forget God!" Never was there a better rule, never a better principle, whereon to apportion the maintenance of the servants of a sensible and righteous nation. I have said, and I repeat, that no chance, no accident, no set of circumstances, however strange, that might make it proper *for me* to be employed in the public service, should ever induce me to pocket one farthing of the public money. I would be paid the actual expenses arising to myself from the service, if I agreed to undertake it; and not a farthing more. But my situation is *peculiar*. Necessity has taught me the practice of all those domestic habits which render great expense unnecessary. I have laboured beforehand, notwithstanding the repeated scatterings of my earnings, so as to provide for myself all that I care a straw about. But this can be the case with but very few men, and especially men of great industry and talent; and, besides, it is further necessary in my case; because, to preserve my power of being useful, I must always be able to say to the people:—"Not one hour of your labour, not one single straining of your nerves, has ever given gain to me."

Here, gentlemen, I think, I may stop, satisfied that I have shown the justice, the expediency, and the easy practicability of the first of the measures proposed by me in my Address No. 1; and here I should relieve you from the heavy tax which I have, in this long Address, been

imposing upon your patience. But Mr. PANNON, just after his false charge against me relative to the West Indies, takes occasion to eulogize, and not that only, but, by the position of the two articles, to put in a sort of contrast with me, Messrs. PORTER and SHUTTLEWORTH. Well-merited, I dare say, are the praises he bestows upon these gentlemen, for whom I entertain great respect; particularly for the PORTERS, on account of their great humanity towards the working people when they were in a state of indescribable misery. Mr. PANNON, however, seems to have an object in view further than the praises bestowed upon these gentlemen; not encouraged thereto by them, I am very sure; for, though it is barely possible that they may think with respect to me as Mr. PANNON appears to think, I am very sure that they will say nothing of that sort behind my back; and they are, doubtless, reserving themselves until the bill shall have passed, and until I shall be at Manchester, in order to utter their objections to my face.

Now, gentlemen, sincerely begging your pardon for the length of this Address, I conclude with an assurance, that I am

Your faithful friend

and most obedient servant,

W. COBBETT.

## REFUSING TO PAY TAXES.

THE public-spirited parish of Marybonne, and I beg the printers to spell it in this way, has set an example which has been immediately followed by the sister parish of St. Pancras, containing together a population twice that of Bedfordshire, and surpassing that of the far greater part of the counties. The proceedings in the parish of St. Pancras I insert below, as I find them reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday last. There is a good deal of confusion in the statement; but the jet of the whole is clear enough; namely, that the people will not pay taxes unless they be represented by those who impose, and who vote away the taxes. They are here

making a stand against parochial taxes raised by a self-elected, self-appointed vestry. The principle applies with equal aptitude to every other species of tax, and we may be quite sure that it will be acted upon. The rest of the parishes in Westminster, and away to the eastward, are all uniting to act upon the same principle; and we may be quite sure that this will extend all over the kingdom, unless representation and taxation go hand in hand. The fact really is, that without this principle be firmly adhered to, there is no such thing as property. The slaves in Virginia have a certain number of Members in the Congress who are said to represent them; and they do represent them just as much as the Select Vestry represent the people of Marybonne. The representatives of the slaves in Virginia take care that nobody shall prevent them from working; and that nobody shall kill them or maim them; because that would be injurious to the masters of the slaves. And in this respect the law-makers for Marybonne are as kind as the law-makers for Virginia. The slaves in Virginia have, however, just as much property as the people of Marybonne, and no more; for no man can be said to have any property at all if there be a body of persons elected by themselves to take from him just as much as they please, and to dispose of it in any manner that they please. The description which these gentlemen of St. Pancras give of the arbitrary sway exercised over them fills one with astonishment in the first place, and then with indignation, rising higher and higher with every new fact, till at last one loses all patience and calls for something or another that shall, by whatever means, put an end to this abominable tyranny. I now insert an account of these interesting proceedings, and it is not necessary to say that the gentlemen who have taken the lead in them deserve every mark of approbation that a just and grateful public can bestow.

## MEETING OF THE PARISH OF ST. PANCRAS, 26 SEPTEMBER, 1831.

A meeting of rate-payers of this parish

assembled yesterday, at the extensive premises of Mr. Fairlie, in Augustus-street, Regent's Park, to take into consideration the propriety of resisting the payment of poor-rates in that parish, until they obtain a control over the receipts and expenditure of the parish funds. Major Revell was voted to the chair, amidst the acclamations of the meeting, consisting of about two thousand persons.

Major Revell said, they had met once more on the subject of parochial abuses, and he was glad to see so numerous a body assembled on the occasion; for he was confident it was only by agitation, repeated and continued agitation, that they should be able to recover their just rights. (Cheers.) From the reign of Queen Elizabeth till within a very recent period, the rate-payers of different parishes had by law the power of electing their own officers, in whom they reposed the important trust of receiving and paying all moneys collected for the rates and levies. A few years ago, under a most corrupt Government, the "Select" brought a bill into Parliament, by which they obtained a power of taxation, of self-election, and of entire irresponsibility. (Hear.) The parishioners of St. Pancras, indignant at this infamous assault upon the sacred edifice of public liberty, determined not to endure it longer, nor could he associate with men who could tamely submit to such unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical conduct, which was only suitable to the slavish condition of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg or Constantinople. (Cheers.) A committee had been formed in that parish, who were determined to battle bravely and constitutionally for the restoration of the rights of their fellow-parishioners. (Cheers.) Two years ago, a bill had been prepared by the committee sitting at the Freemason's Tavern; but such was the state of the House of Commons, that it was objected to as being too democratic. The bill proposed to give the power to the rate-payers to elect their vestry annually, and also the auditors. It would have made the parish a little republic (cheers), which they might be horrified to learn (loud laughter); but it actually would have given them annual elections and vote by ballot. (Cheering.) It might be said, "You go too far; this is revolution." His reply was—They did not go too far; they went back to the same state which the parishioners enjoyed before the passing of the atrocious Select Bill—they merely returned to the ancient institutions. (Cheering.) It was said, "Are you so absurd as to suppose that 14,000 parishioners can annually attend and publicly vote for the election of a vestry?" He answered, Yes; in the city of London 12,000 citizens could meet and record their opinions, and why not in St. Pancras? He wished the public to meet together more often than they did. Public discussion tended much to public good. It taught men their rights—it was only through public ignorance that governors had been able to introduce public slavery. (Cheering.) He

now came to the consideration of a most serious public question, of the deepest interest to them all. They had all been compelled to pay heavy taxes into the hands of an irresponsible body; the grinding taxation had been most oppressive; the poor had entered their souls, and at last they had come to a resolution to withhold the payment of rates in money till they regained the inalienable right—of which no unjust act could deprive them—the right of electing those who had the control over their parish funds. (Cheers.) He would proceed to read the declaration which had been drawn up by the Committee, which he was confident the meeting would approve of:—

"We, the undersigned rate-payers of St. Pancras parish, viewing the irresponsibility of the Vestry—the wanton expenditure—the disfranchisement of the parishioners in their natural and constitutional rights, and the self-election of a few to the exclusion of the many—do protest against the acts of, and the rates assessed by the Vestry, and other irresponsible authorities of the parish, and declare our determination to withhold payment of any parochial rates now assessed, or to be hereafter assessed; and we hereby further declare, that we will avail ourselves of the option given by law to allow our goods to be distrained for the said rates, until the rate-payers shall have obtained their just rights in the appointment of vestrymen and other parochial officers, and shall have also obtained a sufficient control over the receipts and expenditure of the parish."

Having read this declaration, he would ask the Government what must have been the extent of oppression and tyranny on the part of the abominable Select Committee to have driven the tradesmen of this large parish to resolve upon having their goods distrained upon and carried off, rather than submit to pay rates to a body self-elected and irresponsible? The men of St. Pancras did not attempt to gain their cause by clamour or turbulence, but by that firmness which was so admirably described by the Duke of Wellington respecting the British troops at the battle of Waterloo. That General observed, "When I looked at their faces and saw the firmness of the men, I was confident that they were invincible, and that victory was already within my grasp." (Cheers.)

Mr. Withams, on proposing the first resolution, said, that after the able speech from the Chairman, he would not detain the meeting long. He thought that, after four years' petitioning without avail, the time was arrived when they must act, and endeavour to change, in a peaceable manner, the infamous system of parochial plunder so long carried on. (Cheers.) He did not wish them to resist the payment of the rates for supporting the poor; but it was important they should resist the arbitrary and unjust domination of the self-elected Vestry. The Vestry consisted of 182 vestrymen self-elected, and for life, with six



responsible power. Of the 122, about 40 formed a Committee, to manage the affairs of the parish; but it was rarely that more than 10 acted; and this junta had all the power of filling up vacant offices and expending the parish money as they pleased (Hear.) On the day of nomination, a list of 40 was made out, if 20 were to be elected. Dr. Moore was the Chairman of the Select Vestry, and with the vestry-clerk the junta managed matters in the following way:—Who is first in the list? says Dr. Moore. (Laughter.) Major Revell, says the vestry-clerk. Why, that is the man who made a speech against our Select Vestry, exclaims Dr. Moore. Scratch him out. (Laughter.) The next is Mr. Withers, of Clarendon-square, who has for years opposed the Vestry, and called public attention to Sir J. C. Hobhouse's Bill—scratch him out. Next is Mr. Charles Forbes—that will do—don't scratch him. (Laughter.) Here is Mr. Wyse next. We don't know him—we must have a Select Committee of the vestrymen to ascertain his opinions. Next is Mr. Hemm—aye, he never says nothing—he'll do. (Loud laughter.) This gentleman gave a history of the opposition the Committee had met with from the Vestry, and stated that they could only get to see the accounts by a motion in the House of Commons for their production (hear, hear), and the Committee made out the strongest possible case against the system before a Committee of that House. The annual sums raised in the parish, over which the rate-payers had no control, were under the heads of Poor, Police, County, and Roads; 70,000*l.* (hear), and Church 14,000*l.*, making, in total, 84,000*l.* This was the "Select's" own account; but their balance-sheet was not true. (Hear.) The gentleman went into a long detail to show that the "Select" had placed under the head of "Poor," the Police, and the latter, instead of being 4*l.*, as represented, was 11*l.* in the pound. (Shame.) This Select Vestry obtained existence under a Government the worst and most corrupt that ever existed in this country. (Yells.) It was under the administration of Lord Castlereagh that this bill was passed into a law, and the people had the power to resist it in that constitutional way that would render it a mere nullity. (Cheers.) He concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That the Select Vestry Act for regulating this parish is opposed to all principles of justice, and subversive of the constitution of this country; that it has proved bad in practice, and excludes the rate-payers from all control over the receipts and expenditure of the parish funds; that a self-elected few, appointed for life, with power to fill up vacancies, are auditors of their own accounts, and free from all responsibility, and exclude the many from the enjoyment of their inalienable right to manage their parochial affairs."

Mr. WALLIS seconded the motion, and entered into a detail of facts regarding the Select Vestry, and also the conduct of Mr. Hem-

ming, the vestry-clerk, before a Committee of the House of Commons, who, he said, had proved too much. (Hear.) He had the assurance and audacity to assert, that out of five hundred names of rate-payers affixed to a paper laid before a Committee of the House, not fifty were respectable. (Who pays him?) The Committee laughed at the observation of this over-paid public officer, who libelled the parishioners (hear, and shame), but was content to draw from their pockets annually above 1,800*l.* (Cries of shame burst from the crowd.) If the people were united like the bundle of sticks in the fable, this infamous system of plunder could not continue. (It shall not.) The resolution was carried unanimously amidst loud cheering.

Mr. HINBERT, of Kentish Town, moved the second resolution, which he read as follows:—

"That petitions be presented to both Houses of Parliament expressive of our regret that repeated applications for redress of parochial grievances have hitherto obtained for us no relief, and calling upon the Legislature to pass into a law the Bill presented by Sir J. C. Hobhouse for the better regulation of Vestries:—That the following be adopted, as the petition of this Meeting, and be signed as such by the Chairman"—

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled—

"The petition of the rate-payers of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex; in Public Meeting assembled—

"Sheweth—That your petitioners have, on repeated occasions, especially in a petition signed by 5,500 householders, approached your honourable House with complaints of the local grievances under which they have been oppressed; and deeply regret that your honourable House has not yet deemed it expedient to adopt any measure for their relief.

"That the system of self-elected vestries is contrary to the spirit of the constitution and subversive of the first principles of justice.

"That your petitioners have no means of controlling the expenditure of the parochial revenue.

"That an irresponsible body are the auditors of their own accounts, and your petitioners have been rated in an oppressive and unequal manner to such an expenditure, both wasteful and vexatious.

"That your petitioners view with alarm the present excited state of the parish, and earnestly pray your honourable House to pass into a law a bill brought into your honourable House by Sir John C. Hobhouse, Bart., 'For the better regulation of Vestries, and for the appointment of auditors of accounts in certain parishes in England and Wales,' which bill will secure to your petitioners their just and inalienable right to elect vestrymen and other parochial officers to manage the expenditure of the parish funds, and to obtain a re-es-

tablishment of peace and concord, so essential to the interests of the parish.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

He (Mr. Hibbert) in continuation said, he fully concurred with the resolution; and he felt confident the petition would be adopted unanimously, as it was a declaration that their rights had been usurped by a self-elected irresponsible power. A vestry, in his opinion, ought to be governed by a republic (cheers), and the expenditures should be entirely under their own control, by which they would prevent such shamefully extravagant salaries being paid and such imprudent outlay of the parish money. There would then be no deception practised by placing "police" under the head of "poor." He did not oppose the poor-rate—he wished the poor to be maintained, and if the labourer was paid as liberally as he ought to be, there would be no occasion, when in old age and worn out, for him to beg at the workhouse for the paltry pittance that was weekly doled out to paupers. (Cheering.) There was one rate which he most conscientiously opposed—the Church-rate. (Hear and cheers.) The Quakers had years ago refused to pay to the support of rich pluralists, and if the Dissenters generally followed the example, the Church must support itself. (Cheering.) The church affairs of that parish had been badly managed. They obtained a vote of 40,000*l.* (cries of 42,000*l.*) for the building of a church and chapel, and before they were built the Select Vestry had expended 220,000*l.* (Cries of "abominable, shame.") He contended, that as the Vestry had done this without the consent of the parishioners, the Vestry ought to pay the money. He entirely agreed with that part of the bill giving annual elections, and he trusted they would become general all over the country—believing, as he did, that the republican parts of our institutions were the most valuable in the constitution. (Cheers.)

Mr. CHILDS seconded the resolution. He approved of the principle that the people—whom they found petitioning in vain—should take the power into their own hands. (Hear.) This was the last time he would petition. (Cheers.) The Select Vestry are a corrupt body, and twenty years ago many of them were as poor as any there. How had they got their riches and their carriages? By a system which robbed the widow and orphan. (Hear, hear, and "shame.") The tradesman was plundered by the tyrants; and if sudden death were to be the consequence of his resisting such a system of plunder he would dare the consequences. (Bravo, and cheers.) If their goods were seized and taken to the sale-rooms, he advised the parishioners to fill the room so full that the auctioneer could not turn them out (Hear, and laughter, and cries of "No bidders.") He had heard that the brokers in the parish had had a meeting, and had determined not to act under the authority of the Vestry. (cheers,) and that the Israelites had determined not to buy. (Bravo.) They

should not halloo before they are out of the wood. The Select might make brokers—but could they get buyers to purchase the property? That was the question. He seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously and with cheers.

Mr. BLESLEY moved, "That Joseph Hume, Esq., the independent member for this county in Parliament, be requested to present the foregoing Petition, and to support its prayer; and Lord King that to the House of Lords."

Mr. MURRAY, in seconding the motion, said they had entrusted their petition to the care of Gentlemen whom he approved of, but he was not partial to petitioning (hear),—in fact he objected to it, and preferred the practice of ancient times, when the constitutional mode of addressing the Legislature was, not by petition, but by firm remonstrance. (Cheers.) They did not simply ask for a redress of grievances—they had arrived at that point when they must act, and that determinedly, manfully, and fearlessly. (Cheers.) He trusted every parish would come forward with a noble independence, and loudly proclaim their determination to repossess the rights which they had been deprived of by the infamous Vestry Bill, and aid the struggle in which they are engaged to effectually destroy the withering arm of oppression. The petition stated that they formerly possessed the power of electing responsible persons to fill the parish offices. Of this right they were deprived when corruption was at its height. At that period a corrupt oligarchy nominated a majority of the Members of the Commons, and that wretch who

a name odious to the ears of every true Englishman—assisted in this infamous invasion of their constitutional rights. (Cheers.) It was a singular fact that the infamous Vestry Bill was passed at the very period when the people were petitioning from all parts of the country for a reform in Parliament. He had to complain of another atrocious violation of the liberties of Englishmen. Peel and others, with the aid of a corrupt House of Commons, had given existence to another system more unconstitutional in its character, and odious in its consequences, than any system which had been adopted for the last three hundred years. He alluded to the present system of "military police." If, however, the parish authorities had done their duty by appointing efficient men to guard our lives and property, instead of putting on the watch the old infirm paupers who could not take care of themselves, there never would have been a New Police. (Hear, and "True, true.") All the evils of the old system of police now existed under the new. He called the attention of the meeting to the case of two policemen who were charged at Worship-street Office with obtaining 50*l.* from the mother of a prisoner named Jones, to forego a prosecution. (Cries of "Infamous villians.") It was a most diabolical case, and the system was beginning to show itself in all its hideous deformity.

(Cheers.) In truth, it consisted of a body unconstitutional in its character, and their practices were most oppressive and tyrannical. It was threatened that those attending the meeting would be indicted for a conspiracy; but they would take care to violate no law. The law did not oblige them to pay money; the law allowed their goods to be distrained, and to be taken for sale; but the law did not provide any one to buy them. (Cheers.) He was told the brokers would not buy (cheers); and he was proud in belonging to a parish where not one broker could be found who would buy his fellow-parishioners' goods if they were seized for rates. That meritorious class, the Jews, who like to buy a "pargain" (laughter), had also resolved not to buy the goods. At the intended sale of Messrs. Potter and Savage's goods, he observed a hand-writing on the wall, in Hebrew, and on being translated by a Jew, it was stated to be a denunciation of the curse of God on all who bought. (Cheering.) If any parishioner was seized upon for rates, he ought instantly to apply to the Committee, and they would resist in a constitutional manner. According to the constitution of England, resistance to oppression was legal. The first lawyers this country ever produced admitted, that the Revolution of 1688 was legal and constitutional; and, as regarded the serious question under deliberation, they had arrived at a crisis when forbearance was no longer a virtue, and resistance no longer a crime. (Cheering.) They would not tamely submit to be robbed of the money they earned by hard labour. Their Vestry Clerk had 400*l.* a year for filling that situation. (Hear.) He had also 620*l.* per annum, as Clerk to the Directors. (Hear, and "Shame.") He had 300*l.* more as Clerk to the Church Trustees, ("Abominable, Shame, Infamous, &c.") and 100*l.* per annum more as Clerk to the Local Magistrates ("Shame, shame"), making in the whole, 1,420*l.* per annum wrong from the rate-payers, who possessed no power of appointing the officers, or of removal in the case of misconduct. (Shame.) Besides this there was a charge of 1*s.* for every summons issued to rate-payers; and in one year there were from twelve to sixteen hundred summonses issued. If this was pocketed by the Vestry Clerk, his annual receipts must be between two and three thousand pounds. (Infamous.) There was an item in the vestry account of 2*l.* for marking weights and measures, whereas it was a fact that every tradesman paid at the Court-house for every measure or weight that was marked. (Hear.) There was another subject of importance. The churches which were to have cost 40,000*l.*, and on which 200,000*l.* had been expended, were not the people's churches when completed. The parishioners would then have to pay a high rent for pews, bibles, and shams, or would not be admitted. This was injurious to the cause of religion, and was set so in foreign countries. After some observations respecting the select lending money at a high

per centage to themselves, to build the churches, he concluded by moving the adoption of the declaration which had been read by the chairman. He called upon every parishioner to sign the declaration, and to assist the Committee by subscribing towards the fund, and every rate-payer whose name was affixed to the declaration would meet with protection in case he was distrained upon before the Commissioners. He would not conclude without stating one fact, viz., that two of the Aldermen of London were members of the Select Vestry of St. Pancras, viz., Alderman Birch, a cook; and Alderman Cowan, a tallow-chandler. (Hear.) There was soup and lights. (Laughter.) They belonged to a self-elected body out of the City, and had either lent themselves to corruption, or had failed to discharge those duties for which they were elected. It was said that Alderman Cowan, as Junior Alderman of the City, was to be returned in opposition to the public-spirited Lord Mayor; but he (Mr. Murphy) thought the Alderman would find himself mistaken, for he (Mr. Murphy) had made such a commotion in the Ward against the Alderman, that his chance of success was out of the question.

Mr. WITHERS seconded the motion, which was put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. SAVAGE stated to the meeting what the parishioners of Marybone had done, in supporting him and his friend Potter against the seizure of their goods by the Select Vestry. He said that all the parishes which had united with each other to resist the Select Vestries, were to a man determined not to pay rates unless they had the election of their own officers, and possessed a control over the parish funds. The Government had pledged itself to take the subject into consideration; and he felt confident that Sir J. C. Hobhouse's bill would be passed into a law. (Cheers.)

The following resolutions were afterwards carried unanimously:—

"That a subscription be now commenced, to protect every individual who may think proper to sign the foregoing declaration from all persecution emanating from the Vestry, or other irresponsible authority, in attempting to enforce the payment of rates assessed by them.

"That a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, be appointed to receive and appropriate the aforesaid subscription; to act in co-operation with the Committees of any parishes subject to any irresponsible Vestries, or to other parochial grievances, and determined to act in concert with ourselves in withholding the payment of parochial rates, until justice shall have been secured to all.

That the thanks of this meeting are eminently due, and are hereby given, to our spirited fellow-parishioner, Henry Revell, Esq., our Chairman this day.

Major REVELL returned thanks, and the meeting separated, after entering into a subscription.

## POOR MAN STARVED TO DEATH.

THE people of St. Pancras, as well as those of Marybone, make no complaint on the score of the poor-rates, that is to say, of the sums which are necessary to the relief of the poor. We see that, in that parish, fourteen thousand pounds in one year have been collected for *church-rates*, and that, even after that, the people have to pay for the pews. We see that one of the clerks employed by their Select Vestry pockets more than two thousand pounds a year. It is in this way that the far greater part of the money is expended. But, while such extravagance reigns in this respect, let us now see what is done, in some parishes particularly, with regard to the *poor*. A poor man has lately been starved to death, in consequence of refusal of parish relief by the parish officers of St. George-in-the-East; which parish officers, as we shall see, acted upon the recommendation of one WALKER, a hired police magistrate in the Lambeth division. This is a great case: this is of far more importance to us than it is whether DON MIGUEL or DONNA MARIA sit on the throne of Portugal. Here is a man who dies for want of food in a country where theft is punished with death, but where the law says that there is relief ready in every parish to relieve a man from the necessity of thieving. I shall first insert from the *Sunday Times* of the 11th of September an account of this matter, and then another account from the *Morning Herald* of the 13th of September. When I have inserted them, I shall, after a few remarks from myself, insert the address of the aforesaid WALKER; and after that an answer which was given to him, and an excellent answer, by Mr. THOMAS STOW, churchwarden, of Mile-end.

(*Sunday Times*.)

Notwithstanding the large sum annually levied in this country, by means of the poor-rate, it is a melancholy fact—and, indeed, to which we cannot close our eyes—that many human beings literally die through want of food! We have before us a most appalling instance of this terrible result, in the report

of a coroner's inquest, held last Monday evening, on the body of an unfortunate young man, named John Somers, who died on the preceding Saturday, in the infirmary of the House of Correction. The verdict of the Jury was conformable to law—they found that "Deceased died a natural death, by the visitation of God, brought on by extreme want, in consequence of his having been refused relief by the parish officers of St. George-in-the-East, in the county of Middlesex." No inquest jury could do more—they have no right to go beyond an inquiry into the proximate cause of dissolution. They found that the man died from starvation, but their censure on the parish officers will be of no avail in the prevention of similar catastrophes, unless the subject be taken up in some higher quarter, wherein the power of redress is vested. The death of a human being—a death so horrible too, brought about by slow consuming hunger—is no small matter for reflection. Justice and humanity demand that the causes from which such effects spring, be thoroughly and promptly investigated. Let us see what are the facts of this distressing occurrence. Somers, who was only twenty-eight years old, was a ship-painter by trade. Being unable to procure employment, and driven to the very last extremity, he applied to the parish officers of St. George-in-the-East, and those persons, acting in accordance with Mr. Walker's suggestion, refused relief! The wretched man had neither money nor food—he was without a home, or means of procuring one. At night he went to the station-house, and craved shelter, but there also he was repulsed—these receptacles are not appropriated to the destitute, they receive none but the criminal and the disorderly—he did not come within either denomination, and could not be admitted. The alternative flashed across his anxious mind; any act of crime or violence would entitle him to a shelter for the night at least. In a state of desperation he rushed to the nearest shop, dashed his hand through the window, but without any felonious intent, and thus accomplished his object. He was made prisoner. That night he rested in the station-house; the next day he was brought before Mr. Walker, at Lambell-street police-office, charged with breaking the window; he did not deny it, but pleaded the facts already described in extenuation of the offence. The magistrates treated it as a case of "wilful damage," and gave him the option either of paying three shillings (payment of three shillings from a man who had not three-pence to give for a meal or a bed!) or to be committed as a "rogue and vagabond." The sufferer had no alternative, no choice—he was committed, and in what state? We will take the description of those who had no interest in aggravating the facts of this already painfully touching case, namely the Coroner of the House of Correction, the Surgeon, and an Assistant in the prison infirmary. There can be no misrepresenta-

tion here, their evidence being given on oath. The Governor (Colonel Chesterton) says—

"The deceased was brought to this prison on the 5th. He was so weak that it was with difficulty he could be got within the gate—he could not walk—up the steps of the prison. I ordered his filthy rags to be taken off with as much caution as possible, and had him placed in the convalescent ward of the infirmary."

A man who "could not walk up the prison steps" committed to hard labour! But let us see what was the Surgeon's report. Henrys—

"I found the deceased in a state of the most deplorable exhaustion, produced by want of food. He was set put on the wheel—he was not able. I ordered him some beef-tea, and other restoratives, but they were then of no avail; he never rallied, his strength was wholly exhausted—he had no particular disease. The man literally died from the want of timely sustenance."

Need we add one touch more to this picture of human suffering? If there be any so apathetic, so callous, so insensible to compassion, that this tale of misery cannot reach their cold and flinty hearts, let them but feel, even for one brief minute, the touch of hunger's biting tooth, and they will be able to form some conception of the thousand agonizing throes, which this poor forlorn being, in the very prime of manhood, must have endured, before the poor frame became reduced to the attenuated skeleton which his miserable remains exhibited when viewed by the jury. "He never rallied," was the Surgeon's descriptive phrase, and this was fully borne out by the evidence of the man who attended him in his last moments. In truth he was dying when ordered to hard labour. Every hour brought him nearer to release from sorrow, suffering, and captivity. He expired on the fifth day of his confinement. The nurse put the cup to his lips, but there was no need of refreshment—the poor wretch was found to be quite dead and cold even as Charity.

This simple narrative of facts requires but little comment. The dispensers of the public contributions are bound, most unquestionably, to exercise due vigilance in the selection of proper objects, so that the fund be not diverted from its legitimate purpose—but they should avoid running into the opposite extreme. We have, on former occasions, expressed our disapprobation of the decision of Mr. Walker to leave these helpless beings wholly at the mercy of parish officers; and with sorrow we see, in the present case, only one of the results which we ventured to predict. That overstrained parsimony, which they and the magistrates dignify with the name of economy, may thin the number of paupers in their district, but it will increase the number of thieves. It will make victims for the gallows and the grave, but pauperism will never be abolished by such means. Pardon the indignant, but let not the indignant perish. The case of poor Somers is not an isolated one. How many others may at this moment be suffering under

the same privations? That there are too many who so end their wretched existence, unnoted and unpitied, we have reason to believe. "The starved jailer," we are told, "is seldom the friend of man;" but here we find a poor honest creature seeking aid in vain from his natural protectors, and only finding humanity when committed to prison, and falsely described to be a "rogue!"

(From the Morning Herald.)

DEATH FROM STARVATION, AND ALLEGED INHUMANITY OF PAROCHIAL OFFICERS.—On Monday evening an inquest was holden at the House of Correction, Colindale-fields, before Mr. Baker, and a most respectable Jury, on the remains of John Somers, who died in that prison on Saturday morning, from extreme debility, brought on by a want of the common necessities of life. The Jury, on being empanelled and sworn, proceeded to the prison dead-house, to view the body of the deceased, and it would be impossible to conceive a more lamentable spectacle than it presented. It was reduced to a perfect skeleton, except that the bones were covered with skin, but, in many parts, the former were nearly protruding through the latter. On returning to the Inquest-room from this (in the present case) most disagreeable, though necessary, part of their duty, the following evidence was given before the jury, as accounting for the death of the unfortunate deceased:—Mr. Henry Webster, clerk of the prison, produced the warrant of commitment of Mr. Walker, one of the magistrates at Lambeth-street, in which the deceased was committed to that jail on the 5th inst, for 14 days' imprisonment and hard labour, as a rogue and vagabond, having been found wandering abroad, and sleeping in the open air, and having no visible means of subsistence, or not giving a good account of himself.—Mr. Chesterton, the governor of the prison, said that he was in the yard on the evening of the 5th instant, when the deceased was brought there. He was in such a deplorable state of wretchedness, that it was with difficulty he could be got within the prison gate; and his weakness and debility were such that he could not walk up the steps that led to the prison door. He (Mr. Chesterton) gave direction that the filthy rags in which he was clad should be taken off him with as much care as possible, and that some nourishing food might be immediately given to him, which was attended to.—Mr. H. Wakefield, the prison surgeon, stated that on the 5th the deceased was taken to the convalescent infirmary of the prison. He was in a most emaciated state, and very weak. He had no particular disease, but seemed in a state of starvation. He administered restoratives and nourishing food; but he was so far gone as to be unable to rally from the state he was in, and he died on Saturday morning, at about five o'clock. He (Mr. Wakefield) attributed his death to want and starvation.—Thomas Withmore said that he was a prisoner,

but was nurse of the convalescent ward. The deceased was placed under his care, and every thing calculated to nourish and strengthen him was given, but without effect. The deceased was perfectly rational, and told him (witness) that he was a ship painter, and 38 years of age, but, being unable to get little or nothing to do at his business, he was in a state of starvation, and had been so for three months. That he had applied to the parish officers of St. George-in-the-East, he having lived in Lower Chapman-street, in that parish, for relief, but they refused him; and, in order to prevent his perishing in the streets, he intentionally broke a square of glass, that he might be sent to prison.—This being the whole of the evidence, the Coroner summed up, and the Jury returned a verdict—“That the deceased died a natural death by the visitation of God, brought on by extreme want, in consequence of having been refused relief by the parish of St. George-in-the-East, in the county of Middlesex.”

This jury was, I dare say, composed of men of justice and humanity; and I dare say that they thought that there was sufficient reason for them to refrain from finding a verdict of murder against the parish officers. But let us see how this would fit in other cases. If a man run another through the body, the man dies a death which is the natural effect of the wound, and *God wills* that he should die from this cause; but if he die in consequence of the wound, is not the man who inflicted the wound a murderer? If a man be poisoned by another, it is according to God's laws that the poisoned man should die; but if he die in consequence of poison administered by another, that other is a murderer. What was Mother BROWNIDGE hanged for? For murdering two children; and how did she murder them? By not giving them food wherewith to keep themselves alive. The whole nation with one acclaim called her a savage murderer: her name has come down with traditionary execration upon it, accompanied with that of *JENNIE WILDE*; and the name has not been sweetened in either case by the bright star of valour, General BROWNAGE, the great favourite of the Duke of YORK; nor has that of *WILDE* yet been obliterated from the execration handed down to us by our grandfathers, by the purity and humanity, however exemplary, of any other man that we know of

the name of *WILDE*. It was argued, in exception against the bill of indictment preferred against her, that the children died a natural death; that she did not kill them; that they died by the visitation of God, as this poor man is said to have done. A just Judge scouted the miserable quibble; he said that the children were committed to her care by the law; that that law required her to give them a sufficiency of food; that she had withheld that food from them; that, therefore, they died in consequence of this unlawful act on her part, and that, therefore, she was a murderer. She was tried upon that indictment, as a murderer; was hanged as a murderer, and dissected as a murderer. The body of her who had reduced two poor children to skeletons either was made a skeleton itself, or was flung abroad to be devoured by the fowls of the air.

Of all the things which our forefathers provided against one was the unjust destruction of human life. To look at the ancient laws of the country, one would think that no small part of the whole time of the Legislature was taken up with providing the means of security for human life. A horror of unjust killing seems to have been the ruling inherent feeling of the whole nation. The laws and regulations relating to the coroner and his juries seem to have made a very considerable part of the whole of the national code. If a man was killed by a mill, by a wall, by a wagon, by a horse, by a dog, or by any thing constituting the property of another, the law provided, in certain cases, for a forfeiture of the property, or for a fine to be inflicted instead, though the party owning the property might be perfectly innocent of the act, and might lament it as deeply as any of his neighbours. It is curious, that, while the laws for the preservation of property have, of late years, been constantly growing stricter and stricter, those intended for the preservation of human life have been constantly growing more and more lax. Still, however, the coroner and his juries remain; and to be seen they are, and

never were, in no other country but this and the United States of America. But their mere existence is nothing, unless they produce their intended effects. The main object of them was, and is, that no human being shall come to his end without the cause of his death being scrupulously and exactly ascertained, if possible; and if he come by his death in consequence of the illegal act of another, that that other shall be duly punished.

I will say no more upon this subject, because the verdict of the Jury in this case may lead to further proceedings with the parish officers; but these principles I have thought it my duty to state; and in future inquests on persons starved to death through the refusal of parish relief, I hope that these principles will be borne in mind. I shall now insert the aforementioned advice given by WALKER, the police-magistrate, to these and other parish officers. The *Sunday Times* observes, that the man owed his death to the suggestions of this WALKER. This is no justification of the parish officers, to be sure; but it is proper for us to read this address, as we here have a most awful instance of the effects of its principles. When I have inserted this address, I shall insert an answer to it from the churchwarden of Mile-end, who appears to be a very excellent man, and whose answer I recommend to the very particular attention of my readers, reserving to myself the occasion of adding a few observations of my own. WALKER published his address in the *Times*, which called for the Special Commissions. Mr. SIMON published his answer in the *Morning Advertiser*, of a few days later date. We are not talking here, to be sure, of Bank charters and East India charters; we are not talking of grand dinners or grand balls; we are not talking of whether the soldiers shall wear whiskers or not; but we are talking of something of ten thousand times more importance. We are not talking about projects for putting an end to the slavery of the blacks; we are not talking about whether their well-fed bodies shall be protected from the capricious anger of their masters and

mistresses: the question we are discussing is, whether parish officers shall, in violation of their duty, in violation of the law of the land and of every precept of holy writ, cause Englishmen to die of starvation, and escape with impunity: we are discussing the question, in short, whether man's life may be taken for restoring a gamekeeper, when that man is in pursuit of a hare; whether the life of a hare is to be protected by putting the life of a man in jeopardy, and whether the life of a man is to have, if he be indigent, no law at all to protect it—now for this WALKER's advice and the answer.

To the Guardians of the Poor of the different Parishes and Hamlets within the District of the Lambeth-street Police-Office.

GENTLEMEN.—It is now three years since the paupers of the parish of Whitechapel have been limited in their appeals to the bench to two days in each week, between the hours of one and three, and for fifteen months the same regulation has been extended to the whole of this populous district. During the latter period the business of attending to the paupers has been committed by my colleagues exclusively to me. My uniform practice has been to give each applicant a patient hearing, but in reality to leave every case to your discretion; and since much advantage without any inconvenience has been the result, I think the time is arrived when we may advance another step towards a better administration of the poor-laws. The end I aim at is the encouragement of habits of self-dependence.

You will observe that by the Act of Parliament passed in the 43rd year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to which Act all later laws respecting pauperism have reference, no power whatever was given to magistrates to order relief; and so the law and the practice remained for sixty years. During that period the power of granting relief was vested solely in the overseers; but on account of their frequent extravagance an Act was passed in the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of William and Mary, taking the power from the overseers and placing it in the vestry; at the same time allowing the overseers, in cases of emergency, to apply to a magistrate, residing in or near the parish, for authority to grant relief till the next meeting of the vestry. This was the origin of the interference of magistrates in granting relief, not for the purpose of protecting the poor from oppression, of which there was no complaint, but for the purpose of protecting parishes from extravagance. This interference, it appears, however, was in time perverted by the magistrates, and extravagance now proceeded from a new source; consequently, thirty years afterwards, in the 9th year of George the First,



a law was passed imposing restrictions on the magistrates; but, by a strange inattention to the purport of the Act of William and Mary, its language was changed and its intention defeated. Instead of the justice, as before, authorizing the overseers to grant relief, by the Act of George the First he ordered them, and thus the spirit of the law was for the first time abandoned. In the year 1796, during the French revolutionary war, when sound principles of legislation were made to give way to the extraordinary exigencies of the times, the power of ordering relief by magistrates was greatly extended; but in 1812, after the re-establishment of peace, and when the evils of the system had become but too apparent, Mr. Sturges Bourne's Select Vestry Act made a considerable advance towards the restoration of the original principle of the law, which is, that those who raise the fund shall, by their own officers or by themselves, have the sole control of it. It is for you, now, to put that principle completely in practice. By your local Acts you are well organized for the purpose. I know your intelligence, respectability, and practical knowledge. From several of your parishes there is already seldom an applicant at the office; and in no case can I call to mind that my interference has ever been really necessary; indeed, all that I have done has been only to uphold and assist you. You will, I am sure, henceforth act with still more effect when you feel that you have the whole responsibility upon yourselves, and it will be better for the poor that they should know that they have only you to look to. It will be the surest means of repressing those unsettled pauper habits, which are inevitably productive of vice and misery, and which habits it was the especial object of the Act of Elizabeth effectually to cure.

From the 1st of August, then, no application for relief will be received at the office under any pretence whatever. From you there will be no appeal. You will therefore be prepared (if you think any further preparation necessary), to give adequate attention to every case—at the same time, faithfully keeping in view a steady enforcement of those habits of self-dependence, which are essential to the well-being of every individual, as well as to that of the community at large. I have only one thing to recommend to you, and that is, that you constantly impress upon your subordinate officers, both by precept and example, the vast importance of temper and forbearance. The poorest, you know, are generally the proudest and most wayward, and aggravating language, as it is called, or unnecessary force, have peculiarly bad effects upon paupers, who are rendered far more clamorous and persevering from spite than by their wants. It has been by due attention to this consideration, that all the predictions of unpleasant consequences from my unvarying strictness have proved utterly untrue, and if you pursue the same course you cannot fail to go on smoothly and beneficially.

I shall always be ready to second your efforts, and I have only to add, that should you meet with any interference from without the district, I desire you will instantly apply to me.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

and sincere well-wisher,

THOMAS WALKER.

Police-office, Lambeth-street,  
12th July, 1831.

#### ANSWER.

Sir,—Having read in the newspaper your address to us, whom you denominate the Guardians of the Poor, I beg, through the same channel, to convey to you my thanks for your advice and attention; and at the same time to point out, where I think there are some defects in your system, which I hope you will see, and will remedy.

You state, "Much advantage has been the result of your system." Now, Sir, I should like to know what you mean by advantage? In our hamlet, which has a population of 34,000, we have an increase of pauperism, have paid to our out-door poor, 700*l.* more this year than last. Do you call that an advantage?

If the other hamlets and parishes in your district have decreased in pauperism by your system, why is it that ours has not? I will tell you why it is. In these other places I find that the inhabitants select their own overseers; but in our place, you, the magistrates, select and appoint those whom we do not approve of; and here you may find the reason why pauperism increases. Do you call this an advantage? Surely you will see that such interference is injurious to our interest, and destroys your own system. For you next tell us, "That the law is, that those who raise the fund shall, by their own officers or by themselves, have the sole control of it. And it is for us now to put that principle completely in practice." How can we put this principle completely in practice, when you, in conjunction with another or two, prevent us from choosing our own officers? You tell us the "law says we shall," and you break the law; you recommend the principle, but you prevent the practice!

Again, you say, "from the 1st of August no application for relief will be received at the office under any pretence whatever. From the overseers there will be no appeal." This is giving arbitrary power over the poor, leaving them without any means of redress of wrongs. A distressed man, or a distressed woman, may give some offence to an overseer—may be what is called saucy, or some dislike may arise from various causes; besides, the overseer may be passionate, one who will not bear reason—he may be obstinate, haughty, or unfeeling; and from such a character (and there are many such) there is to be no appeal—then what justice or what relief could a poor creature get?

Nay, I don't even think you are right in your first practice; that is, "in limiting their appeals to two days in each week." You will



hear in mind this is not like settling any disputed right of property, or any other matter where two or three days' waiting is of no consequence, not fatal. This is a matter of subsistence, therefore it requires in many cases an immediate attention and prompt relief. Who could go two days without food?—and if none could be got from the overseer, and no appeal to the magistrates only once in three days, by what fair means could a person get any thing to live on for that time? To beg—the law would commit them to the House of Correction; to steal—it would send them to prison; yet they must do one or the other—so that your system might lessen paupers, but it would increase thieves!

Yours, &c.,

THOS. SINGLE,  
Churchwarden of Mile-end.

## THE BARINGS

AND

## MR. AND MRS. DEACLE.

WELL, then, the Committee, after all the pretended wish to have it, has been refused. The subject was brought before the House of Commons on Tuesday night last. I shall here insert, from the *Morning Chronicle*, the report of what took place. But the reader will observe that this is not a quarter part, nor a tenth part, of what took place; that the debate lasted for *four hours and a half*. The reporters have put in just what part they pleased. Almost the whole of what Mr. O'CONNELL said and of what Mr. HARVEY said is suppressed; but there is enough of both left to stick to the parties for the rest of their lives. When I have inserted the report, I shall make some observations upon it, always considering it as a mere publication, and not as any thing which has been said by any Member of the House of Commons. I beg the reader to go through every part of it with great attention; I shall not have time to add much to it in the way of remark at present; but about the same time that this *Register* will be published, the *Two-penny Trash*, for October, will be published, and in that I shall, in an address to the people of Hampshire, in particular, enter into a complete analysis of this affair. I will there place the BARINGS in their true light before the

people of the county, and the people of the whole country, and the Whig Ministry also I will place in their true light. Hitherto it has been rather the private affair of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle. It is now become the affair of the whole nation. And the whole nation will see the necessity of pouring in petitions upon petitions, repeated over and over again from the same places, and, from large places, two or three petitions at a time, until we obtain security for our persons against Acts such as have been alleged against these Hampshire magistrates, whom I have well known for five and twenty years, and who shall now know me, as I always told them they should. Read, I pray you, Mr. HARVEY's speech, with the greatest attention. He has hit the right nail upon the head. He sees *what ought to be the subject of inquiry*; and let those who are interested in preventing that inquiry hug themselves in the hope of smothering it as long as they please: all the combined powers of hell itself will not be able to prevent that inquiry.

## MR. AND MRS. DEACLE.

MR. PAULETT MILDMAY said he had a petition to present upon this subject, signed by a number of the most respectable persons in Winchester and its neighbourhood. The petitioners were not bound to Mr. Bingham Baring by any political ties, nor were they at all under his influence, many of them having been opposed to him at the last election. The petitioners prayed for an investigation into the circumstances of this case, and they declared their belief that Mr. Bingham Baring was guilty of the things that had been laid to his charge. The petition had been signed, in the course of 48 hours (Sunday intervening) by no less than 366 persons, who expressed their gratitude to the Magistrates, whose decision of conduct had last winter relieved them from the continuance of those dreadful disorders that were at that time committed. They expressed their earnest wish that one of these Magistrates should be cleared from those unfounded calumnies that had been directed against him. People were now ready enough to forget the feelings with which they had once been agitated, and he knew that it was not very flattering to their pride to remind them of those feelings and of the fears that then agitated them; but he felt it his duty to remind them of these things. He called on them to remember the taunts that were then directed against the Magistracy for supine-

ness—to remember that his Majesty had called on them to display energy, decision, and resolution—and that his Majesty's Ministers had appealed to them to perform their duty, and threatened them, that if they did not, they must expect to incur his Majesty's displeasure. The Magistrates had done their duty. They had interfered effectually, but their services were now forgotten. The Judges who went on the Special Commission praised them for their conduct. Even prayers were offered up, thanking providence for the interference which had saved the people at that time. He presented this petition because he was anxious, with the petitioners, to relieve a sensitive and kindly mind from that state of suspense which every honourable man must feel to be most painful.

The petition was then read. The following is a copy:—

"To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled:

"The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitant householders of the city and suburbs of Winchester, and of the gentry, clergy, and yeomanry residing in the immediate neighbourhood thereof,

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners have read with feelings of indignation the allegations which are contained in the petition presented to your honourable House on the 22d of August last by Thomas and Caroline Deacle, of Maxwell Farm, in the vicinity of this city,

"That the statements made in the said petition appear to your petitioners to contain such gross misrepresentations, as to render it necessary for your petitioners to express to your honourable House the opinion which is entertained in this city and neighbourhood relative to the conduct of the individuals against whom such injurious statements have been thus artfully and maliciously sent forth.

"That your petitioners have noticed with deep regret the petitions, which have recently been presented to your honourable House from distant parts of the country on behalf of the said Thomas and Caroline Deacle; not on account of the inquiry which is sought by such petitions, but because your petitioners feel convinced that they have been sent up to your honourable House under the erroneous impression which the statements contained in the petitions of the said Thomas and Caroline Deacle were evidently intended to produce in remote parts of the country, where the real facts of the case are unknown, and where the characters of the several parties are not duly appreciated.

"That your petitioners take the earliest opportunity of referring their opinion, and expressing to your honourable House the very strong feelings which prevail in this city and neighbourhood as to the calumnies which have been thus industriously propagated against Messrs. Francis and Bingham Baring, and

other Magistrates of this county, to whose active, judicious, and unwearied exertions, your petitioners conceive they are, in a great measure, indebted for the restoration of the public peace in November last, a period when this county was in a state of unparalleled excitement and too well-grounded alarm, and when, it should be remembered, it was in almost every instance found impracticable to procure the due execution of the Magistrates' warrants without the aid of military.

"That several of your petitioners were present at the trial which took place in this city at the last Assizes, and witnessed with unfeigned regret the situation in which the Messrs. Baring were unavoidably placed, in consequence of the only individuals of whose testimony they could have availed themselves having been made co-defendants, obviously, as appeared to your petitioners, for the sole purpose of excluding their evidence, and exposing the Messrs. Baring to the overcharged statements of the two individuals, on whose evidence a verdict was returned against Mr Bingham Baring alone.

"That should your honourable House see fit to order an investigation into the facts of the case, your petitioners would hail with satisfaction a proceeding so well calculated to elicit the truth, and to place the characters of the several parties in their proper light. And your petitioners desire further to express their conviction, that a full exposure of the real circumstances of the case would render the same feelings which exist in this city and its vicinity, as to the conduct of the Messrs. Baring, generally prevalent throughout the country at large.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

Colonel EVANS said he had to present a Petition with the same prayer; but declaring a very different opinion on the subject. He would only now observe, that as indulgence was asked to be shown to the conduct of the magistrates, on account of the excitement that existed in November last, he thought an equal degree of indulgence ought to be shown to the poor people who had engaged in these riots, on account of the severe distress that drove them to commit these offences.

Mr. HUME only wished to say, that he seemed to have been guilty of some injustice to the persons whose petition he had presented when he did not have that read, and yet, when he signed the petition just now presented to be read to the House, he must say, that that reading, and the statement of its contents, were against the understanding that there should be no discussion previous to that upon the appointment of a Committee. He would only add, that the petition he presented was signed by 246 persons in six hours.

Mr. F. MILES said that he had made a statement of the case on this occasion.

Mr. BARING admitted that it had been agreed there should be no discussion, but there was no agreement that the petitions

presented should not be read at length. The petition presented by the honourable Member for Middlesex was said to come from Winchester, but he (Mr. Baring) having carefully read it over, was at a loss to believe it was sent to that House by the inhabitants of that city, for he asserted most distinctly, that the petitioners committed the most marked mistakes in their statement of the circumstances of the case. They stated in distinct terms, that Mr. Walter Long, a magistrate, had put the handcuffs on Deacle, when the fact was, that that gentleman not only had not done so, but actually was not present at the time of the transaction, having been otherwise engaged in a part of the county several miles distant from the place where the whole affair took place. He wished the honourable Member had read the petition before he presented it, if he wished, as he professed to do, that justice should be done to the parties concerned. The petition now presented by the hon. Member for Winchester was signed by all the people of the first respectability in the place—the merchants, bankers, the clergy, and all the persons connected with the college there, while he would defy any one to say that there were more than six respectable shopkeepers among those who had signed that presented by the hon. Member for Middlesex.

Mr. Hume said he was not bound to swear for the condition of the life of the persons who signed the petition: he believed them to be respectable.

Col. Evans said, that if the statement of the hon. Member for Thetford was correct, it only showed that the farmers signed the petition in favour of their brother farmers, while the gentry and clergy signed that which was in favour of the man in a superior class of life.

Sir T. Baring asserted that the petition in favour of Mr. Bingham Baring was signed by persons of all classes.

Sir C. Wetherell thought that the gallant Colonel had been guilty of an injustice in the aspersion he thus levelled at the petitioners, whose petition had just been presented, and many of whom he (Sir C. Wetherell) knew to be men incapable of being guilty of any feeling of the kind, and to be only desirous of forwarding the objects of truth and justice. He hoped the gallant Colonel would withdraw his observation.

Col. Evans could not withdraw the observation, for he had not made any personal or imputation on Sir C. He only thought it probable that persons of such character were likely to feel a favourable bias towards those of their own class.

Col. Trenchard asserted that this was only a repetition of the imputation to which the hon. and learned Knight alluded. The petition presented on behalf of the Deacles was well drawn up, signed by a large and select band, and calculated to raise a great prejudice against the magistrate whose conduct was in question. He hoped that in the inquiry upon

this subject the character of the persons concerned, and the character of those who signed the petitions, would be borne in mind. He believed that the whole would be found to be a conspiracy, not so much to inflict injury on the persons against whom it professed to aim, but on one of the most liberal, most enlightened, able, and capable men in that House, or in the country. He believed that, through the fact, it was intended to inflict a wound upon the father.

Col. Evans asked to ask to whom the gallant Colonel alluded when he used the word conspiracy.

Colonel Trenchard said, certainly not to the gallant Colonel, who had stated, and stated truly, that he had no connexion with the matter, except so far as his public duty as a Member of that House went. He (Colonel Trenchard) was not bound to say to whom he did allude; and he did not wish to do so, as the persons to whom he might allude had not the power to reply to what a member said in his place in that House.

Mr. Hunt said, he had a petition on this subject also, praying for inquiry. He believed that there was a conspiracy—but it was a foul and a gross conspiracy against an unoffending man and woman.

Mr. Baring, with respect to what had been said as to the signatures of the farmers and of gentlemen, wished to observe, that the petition presented by the hon. Member for Winchester had been shown to the farmers assembled there at a dinner on the market-day, and that they signed it without an exception.

Mr. Hunt presented a petition from "The undersigned on behalf of the North-western branch of the Metropolitan Union, assembled at a Meeting at the Bazaar Coffee-house, Castle-street, Oxford-street." It was upon the same subject as the other petitions, and prayed for an investigation.

An objection was taken, that as the petition was only signed by certain persons, it must be taken as their petition, and not as that of a body on whose behalf it appeared to be signed; and it was further objected, that as the persons signing it did not appear to be members of the body, or to have been present at the meeting, it could not be received at all.

Mr. Hunt at first expressed his determination to leave the petition in the hands of the House; but after a few remarks from Sir R. Peel, Mr. James, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Knight, Mr. Estcourt, and Mr. O'Connell, he agreed to withdraw it.

Mr. Hunt presented two petitions for inquiry into the case of the Deacles, from High Wycombe and Leitch.

Mr. O'Connell mentioned that he had received a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, suggesting that the sense of justice would be better obtained if the names of the hon. and gallant Member (Col. Evans) for a committee, were postponed until Thursday.

Colonel Evans professed himself ready, as an individual, to consent to the postponement.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL objected, on the ground that it would injure the cause of the parties accused.

Lord ALTHAM took the same view and adverted to the situation of pain and difficulty in which he felt himself placed by the intended motion for inquiry.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL added, that the accusing parties had already had ample time.

Mr. O'CONNELL suggested that it did not depend upon the will of the House, but merely upon the wish of the hon. and gallant Member whether the intended motion should be deferred. It was a question of great importance whether it was to be permitted that English Magistrates should with impunity conduct themselves in a manner similar to the mode in which Irish Magistrates were accustomed to act.

Mr. A. BAGO observed, that whatever might be the opinion of the honourable and learned Member regarding the Magistracy of Ireland, it would be doing the grossest injustice to defer longer the proposed inquiry. He was perfectly satisfied in his own mind that there did exist a conspiracy to oppress individuals with the utmost cruelty, and he was sorry to see the hon. and learned Member becoming the tool of that conspiracy. In this respect he was at the mercy of the hon. and learned Member, or of any other Gentleman who chose to bring forward charges, and to support them by petitions from the dogs of any town. He hoped that the hon. and gallant member (Colonel Evans) would not defer the motion for a committee to inquire into the facts, under the pretence that new documents were to be produced, but in fact merely for the purpose of keeping up the prevailing excitement.

Mr. O'CONNELL rose with obvious heat. He had never in his life, he said, been assailed in a more brutal manner. (Cries of "Order, order!" and "Chair, Chair.")

Sir R. INGLIS called upon the Speaker to decide whether it was at all consistent with the usage of Parliament that one Member should charge another with having assailed him in a brutal manner? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL admitted at once that he had used a hasty and an indecorous expression; he regretted it, and withdrew it; but considering the sort of charge brought against him, it was not extraordinary that he should feel warmly. He did not identify himself with any of the parties; but he saw Government and wealth arrayed on one side against the innocent, and oppressed; and whatever might be the result of the motion for inquiry, he told the people of England that the matter should be investigated; the hypocritical pretence of courting inquiry on one hand, and crushing it on the other should not succeed. Hitherto the Deacles had not possessed a zealous advocate, but now they had one who would take care that justice was done them. As to conspiracy, he had had enough to do with Irish conspiracies not to meddle with those of

England. (Hear, and laughter.) No man had been more accused than himself, and he could therefore bear such charges now with equanimity, and even with good humour. He recommended the hon. and gallant Member not to bring forward his motion this evening.

Colonel EVANS said, that under all the circumstances, he could not refuse to move at once for the appointment of a Committee. (Cheers.) The word "conspiracy" had been bandied about most unwarrantably, and he held it nothing less than an insult to suppose that he or others had been concerned in getting up petitions on this subject. (Hear, hear.) He knew nothing of the case but from the public prints, and he had purposely kept clear of all *ex parte* information. He had grounded the steps he had taken in Parliament upon the facts as they appeared at the trial, and upon the contents of the letter of Mr. Bingham Baring, which had not been proved, and which were in opposition to the evidence of the witnesses upon oath. He would not now go in detail through the facts, which were well known, but he thought that enough had transpired to induce the House to think that further inquiry was necessary for the assertion of its own privileges, as well as for the vindication of the Magistracy. He rested his motion upon the investigation into what had been called the Manchester massacre, and into the case of Mr. Keurick, a Magistrate of Surrey, and a Welsh Judge. He concluded by moving for a Select Committee to inquire into the allegations contained in the petition of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, respecting the conduct of certain Magistrates in Hampshire.

Mr. LEEVANS (we understood) thought that the minds of the public would never be satisfied until the charges of the petitioners against his honourable Friends should have been investigated by a Committee of that House. It was impossible that the conduct of those Magistrates could be justified otherwise than by showing what was the state of the country at the time of transactions respecting which the petitioners complained. (Hear.) He admitted that there was one part of the conduct attributed to his honourable Friends, which nothing could justify but resistance on the part of the persons arrested. *He meant the handcuffing of Mrs. Deacle.* But, after a careful examination of all the conflicting testimony that had been brought forward on the subject, it was his entire conviction that that proceeding was the act of the constable himself, without any instructions or authority from Mr. Francis or Mr. Bingham Baring. (Hear, hear.) Upon the whole, he thought that the public had dealt unfairly with his honourable Friends, in giving to Mr. and Mrs. Deacle the benefit of their acquittal at the Assizes, and refusing to allow to Mr. Francis Baring the benefit of his actual acquittal, in the action for damages, or to Mr. B. Baring the benefit of his virtual acquittal, for such the verdict of merely nominal damages must be considered. (Hear.) He thought, that under all the cir-

cumstances, the House ought to give his honourable Friends an opportunity of setting themselves right with the public, by the investigation of a Select Committee; and he should therefore second the motion.

LORD ALTHORP said, that when on a former evening he stated his intention to oppose the motion of his hon. and gallant friend (Col. Evans), he did so with considerable reluctance, because he thought it probable that his taking that course might prejudice the parties accused. *(Hear.)* He felt so much doubt as to the course which he ought to take, that he had consulted others, for whose judgment he had much deference; and upon the best consideration he had come to this conclusion; that it would not be consistent with his duty to vote for the Committee. He pledged his honour that he had come to that determination without any communication with the hon. Member for Thetford. *(Hear, hear, from an hon. Member of the opposition side.)* He made that assertion upon his honour as a gentleman. *(Hear, hear.)* He opposed the motion with great unwillingness, because he had a high esteem for the hon. Member for Portsmouth, and it gave him pain to do any thing which might have the effect of preventing that gentleman from setting himself right in the estimation of the public. But considering the nature of the investigation for which the Committee was required, and how little it was likely to give satisfaction to the public, he felt that it was inexpedient to go into it. As to Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, they had had their option to proceed against the magistrates, either by a criminal information or by an action for damages, and they chose the latter course. Upon the trial it was proved that acts attributed to Mr. Francis Baring had been done by Mr. B. Baring, and that the former gentleman, instead of having acted with harshness, had treated the petitioners with great humanity. *(Hear, hear.)* But in the petition which it was now proposed to refer to a Committee, the whole weight of the imputations was thrown upon Mr. F. Baring, contrary to the evidence given upon the trial. That appeared to him to give good reason to believe that the accusations against Mr. F. Baring were wholly unfounded. *(Hear.)* If the persons accused were not Members of that House, would it be said that the House ought to inquire into their conduct by a Select Committee? *(Hear.)* Was every such complaint against individual Magistrates to be brought before that House, and tried by a tribunal, the decision of which, as every gentleman must know, would not give satisfaction; as many people out of doors would suppose that the Committee could not be impartial? *He hoped and trusted, therefore, that some other means of arriving at the truth of those transactions would be found.* As to the case referred to by the gallant Member behind him *(Colonel Evans),* in which the conduct of magistrates was made the subject of inquiry by a Committee of the House, he *(Lord Al-*

thorp) had himself moved for the Committee on that occasion. But there was no parallel between the present case and that. The transaction in Manchester was one of such magnitude, such enormity *(hear),* and the conduct of the magistrates appeared to him to be so unjustifiable, as to call for an investigation by a Committee of the whole House. *(Hear, hear.)* In the case of the petitioners, the conduct blamed was that only of an individual magistrate, and, therefore, not thinking that a Select Committee was a proper tribunal before which that conduct should be tried, he felt bound to oppose the motion.

LORD ERSKINE felt great regret at being obliged to oppose the motion; and the more so, as he had had a communication that day with Mr. B. Baring, who was most desirous that the inquiry should be gone into. But he did not think that any person who had not been convinced by the clear and satisfactory statement of his hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth, would be convinced by the evidence taken before a Committee, especially as that evidence would not be given upon oath. *(Hear.)* If all questions like the present were to undergo an investigation before a Select Committee, every hon. Member must perceive that the greatest inconvenience would be the consequence. He, therefore, felt it to be a matter of public duty to oppose the motion.

MR. HUME had hoped when the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) pointed out the difficulty of meeting the wishes of the petitioners and of the accused magistrates by investigating the subject in a Select Committee, that the noble Lord would not have concluded without pointing out the course by which a satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at. *(Hear.)* It was not for the sake of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle that he *(Mr. Hume)* so much desired the whole of those transactions to be fully inquired into, but for the satisfaction of the public, in whose minds there was a strong impression that in this case justice had not been done. *(Hear.)* He admitted that the statements of the two parties were very much at variance, but there were no allegations of either party which were not open to proof. In presenting petitions upon that subject, when it was first mentioned in the House, he had been satisfied to wait until he should see whether a satisfactory inquiry would be had in the Courts of Justice. But as that had not begun the case, he could not see the justice of refusing the fair inquiry which was called for by both parties. He could not allow himself to be set down as one of a conspiracy for the course which he had thought it his duty to follow, and he would assure the hon. Member for Thetford, that it was not his practice, as that hon. Gentleman had asserted, to bring up petitions from the dregs of society without regard to truth. He was sure that the hon. Gentleman had been betrayed into those expressions by the irritation of the moment, and that he would take the first opportunity of retracting them. *(Hear.)* When the petition

which he (Mr. H.) had that evening presented was put into his hands, his first inquiry was, whether the allegations contained in it were capable of proof. He was answered that they were capable of proof; and more, that the proof was at that moment ready to be produced. In that petition the magistrates were charged not only with unjustifiable harshness, but with subornation. (Hear, hear.) He did not see in what way injury could be done by the inquiry which was demanded; and he thought that when the noble Lord (Althorp) opposed the Committee, he ought to have been prepared to suggest a better means of inquiry. As the noble Lord had not done so, then, he (Mr. H.) was driven to adopt the best mode which he could obtain. If his Majesty's Ministers were desirous to maintain the character of the magistracy, they ought themselves to be the first to go into the inquiry. It was not the character of the Messrs. Baring alone that was involved, but that of the whole magistracy of Hampshire; and although the question had not been made personal, and Mr. Bingham Baring was one of the accused, yet he was not the only one accused. (Hear, hear.) There was one fact which had not been denied—that a female had been hand-cuffed without any appearance of resistance to excite such harshness; but if the allegations were wholly groundless, he thought that when they had made such an impression upon the public mind, it was incumbent upon his Majesty's Ministers to go into the inquiry for the satisfaction of the public.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL thought that the House must have been gratified by the tone of moderation in which the hon. Member for Middlesex had supported the motion, and must feel that the excuse which he had found for the hon. Member for Thetford was creditable to himself. (Hear, hear, hear.) As to the proposed inquiry, he (the Attorney-General) thought that it must turn, not altogether upon the allegations of the petition, but in a great degree upon the state of the country at the time when those transactions took place. It was to be considered that at that time no man could feel himself safe, and that depositions (whether true or false) had been made, deeply implicating Mr. and Mrs. Deacle in the proceedings of the rioters. An hon. Member behind him had censured Mr. Justice Tulkens (who presided at the trial) for remitting the conduct of the magistrates in attending to see that warrants were executed. Certainly, in ordinary cases, it was better that magistrates should leave the execution of their warrants to the constable; but in times of such great excitement and danger, he (the Attorney-General) could not concur with the learned Judge in censuring the magistrates for taking the trouble to see that the warrants were executed, and that the constable was not interrupted in his duty. He considered a Committee of that House a tribunal that least calculated that could be devised for attaining the ends of justice in the present case. The persons arrested under such circumstances

were acquitted at the assizes, and they proceeded by action against the magistrates. The trial then took place; or, in other words, the Jury having thought that the assault against Mrs. Deacle was made out, gave such damages as they thought would meet the case. These proceedings having taken place, he really could not see why that House ought to be turned into a Court of Appeal. It was said, he knew, that both parties were desirous that a further investigation should take place; but, as far as he was able to foresee, he thought that neither side could gain anything by such an event. It was also said that there were precedents to justify such an interference on the part of the House of Commons; but he must confess that those which had already been mentioned did not appear to him to bear any resemblance to that which was now before them for consideration. With respect to the Manchester case, that was very different. What had taken place there was on a very large scale; besides which, the yeomanry were thanked by the Government for what they had done, which circumstance of itself rendered it imperative on those who thought that the yeomanry had misconducted themselves to bring forward a specific motion on the subject in that House, and to demand that inquiry should take place. The case of Mr. Kenrick, which had also been mentioned, appeared to him to differ materially from that of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle; for in the former, though it was a magistrate that was implicated, it ought also to be remembered that he was likewise a Welch Judge, and that there was no mode of getting him removed from that office in the event of misconduct, but by an address to the crown. Another argument that had been made use of in favour of the inquiry in this case was, that it had made a great impression on the public mind, and that it ought therefore to be publicly investigated; but that impression appeared to him to be now rapidly subsiding; and he thought that inquiry, therefore, so far from doing good, would only give rise to still further excitement, at a time when, if left to itself, it would entirely disappear. Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, he must contend, that no ground had been made out for taking this inquiry out of the hands of a Court of Justice. It appeared to him that to do so would be giving a premium for bringing forward a succession of such charges as these. (Hear, hear, hear.) *If this attack upon Mr. Deacle had taken place during times of ordinary peace and tranquillity, it would, perhaps, have been advisable to have investigated the question; but, when they remembered in what stirring and excited times these circumstances had taken place, he thought that to institute such proceedings would be putting an undue check upon the vigilance and activity of magistrates.* (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. D. W. HARVEY was surprised at the course adopted by his Majesty's Ministers upon this occasion. He wondered how the

could consent to allow a case of this importance, affecting, as it did, the conduct and character of the magistracy generally, to pass without notice and without inquiry. It was impressed strongly on his mind, that those who were accused of misconduct in this case, had, on the first mention of it to the House, invited hon. Members to suspend their judgment until they had taken legal measures to challenge that verdict of which the effect was to strengthen the imputation which the inquiry as the trial raised against them. He also recollected the statement made by an hon. and learned gentleman, who had been professionally engaged in these transactions, and who, in commenting on the trial, had asserted that the defendants were taken by surprise by the turn of that trial and by the evidence produced against them. He had likewise not forgotten the declaration of the hon. Member for Portsmouth, that they intended to move for a new trial as soon as the courts were re-opened in Westminster-hall. Now, however, it turned out that the defendants did not intend to venture upon any further judicial proceedings. He did not find fault with them for adopting that resolution. No doubt they had been ably and judiciously advised. He agreed with the hon. Member for Hampshire, that considering the opulence of Mr. B. Baring, the verdict on the trial at Winchester, was a mere nominal verdict. He supposed, therefore, that his legal adviser had told him either that that verdict would operate in his favour as an acquittal with the public, or that he was very lucky in gaining a verdict with such small damages, and in having it tried in Hampshire, where his influence was so great, instead of having it tried in some county where he must have met the plaintiff on a footing of greater equality. He would not conceal from the House, that after all the statements which had been made by the opposite party, it was his opinion that Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, and all their witnesses, had been most abominably calumniated in that House. (Hear.) An hon. and learned gentleman, who had once filled a high legal situation, had even gone so far as to say that he had no doubt that all the witnesses had perjured themselves. It was not enough when the defendants in a cause met with defenders of the first rank and importance in that House, and were fortified against all attacks by a family of representatives ready to come forward at any moment in their behalf (hear), it was not enough, it appeared, that they should have the benefit of such a defence, but they must also have every assistance which could be afforded them by charging the jury with partiality, and by accusing the witnesses of perjury. (Hear.) But in his opinion, Mr. and Mrs. Deacle had little to do with the grave question which was then before the House. That was evidently the opinion of his hon. and gallant Friend, for he had submitted their case to the consideration of the House long before he received any petition from them. His hon.

and gallant Friend, on reading the newspaper report of the trial, and the stringent remarks made on it by the press, determined to bring it before the House on his own responsibility. It was not until hon. members had discharged the fire of their artillery upon these individuals, who were unknown in that House, and without any relations, friends, or political associates to defend them, (hear, hear), it was not until characters had been whispered away, and their witnesses had been introduced as guilty of perjury, and the jury which gave them a nominal compensation had been charged with partiality, that Mr. and Mrs. Deacle felt themselves called upon to make, in their petition, a full disclosure of the injury which they alleged that they had suffered. He had read their petition through with great attention. He would not say what credit he was inclined to give to the statements which it contained; he would only say, that they appeared at least to require investigation. Still the case was not, as he said before, a mere case between Mr. B. Baring and Mr. and Mrs. Deacle; but it was a grave case between the magistracy and the unprotected people of England. (Hear, hear.) For it had been gravely stated, that not only Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, but also 200 or 300 of the peasantry of Hampshire had been carried hand-cuffed to prison. Indeed, it had been gravely argued that no hardship had been suffered by Mr. and Mrs. Deacle in this respect, inasmuch as it had been suffered by so many others. For his own part he would say, that as Mr. Deacle was a gentleman of rank and education, the defendants had a right to take some credit to themselves for having administered the laws with impartiality, for it appeared they had hand-cuffed both the rich and the poor, the gentleman and the labourer, without the slightest distinction of rank. He was surprised to hear that it was a matter of trivial importance that the magistracy of England—hereafter to be an irresponsible magistracy, if such oppression as this were to remain unnoticed—should possess the power of placing irons on the wrists of offending individuals, who when brought to trial were proved to be not guilty. (Hear, hear.) He contended that by law the magistracy possessed no such power; he contended that, even where parties were guilty, it was contrary to the law and constitution of England, both in practice and in theory, to subject them to this iron degradation, unless they presented resistance to the authorities in whose custody they were. (Cheers.) It was against this that the people of England rated their protest; it was against this assumption of arbitrary and irresponsible power that they had in all quarters of the island given expression to their indignation. (Hear.) He had heard with the same indignation as his hon. Friend the Member for Middlesex, that the charges brought against the Messrs. Barings in that House were the result of a dirty conspiracy. He was not conscious of the existence of any such conspiracy;



but if it were supposed that by such taunts he would be deterred from raising his voice on behalf of the injured and oppressed in that House, those who used such taunts would find themselves grossly mistaken. As long as he had a seat in that House, he would always be ready to raise his voice in behalf of the poor, however much such conduct might displease those gentlemen whose selfishness was busied in counting their millions, and whose immense fortunes were accumulated at the expense, and almost by the destruction of, their poorer fellow-countrymen. He would not vote for a committee, if Government would permit, by any other mode of inquiry into the illegal stances of this Court. He had not yet heard that the Home Secretary had offered to receive depositions upon oath, from both parties on this subject. If the Home Secretary would do that, truth might yet be elicited, and justice done between both parties. If some such measure were not granted, he should be compelled to vote for a committee of inquiry, in spite of the inconvenience to which such committees generally gave rise. He concluded by stating, that if such a committee were granted, he should enter upon its duties with a mind open to conviction, and influenced by no other feeling than a wish to do justice impartially between the two parties.

Mr. Baring had had no intention of imputing any improper motives to the hon. Member for Middlesex; and he was sorry that the hon. Gentleman should have imagined that he had done so. He admitted that he felt strongly on this question, and he certainly had no pretensions for saying he was able to form an impartial opinion upon it; perhaps he might be allowed to say, that he felt still more strongly on the subject, from the impression that the late prosecution which had been instituted against this young person (Mr. Bingham Baring) took its origin not from his own demerits, but from the line of politics which he (Mr. Baring) had adopted. (Hear, hear.) At the time that these transactions were taking place, there were 400 persons confined in the jail at Winchester, and he thought that when that circumstance was taken into consideration, it would in some measure account for the confusion and excitement which had prevailed in the country. But the case had been misstated with respect to the Deacles. They (the Barings) did not accuse the Deacles—it was the Deacles that accused them; and the whole extent to which they (the Barings) went was to show that the statements of the Deacles were not founded in fact; with this addition certainly, that there were *prima facie* grounds for taking up the Deacles, and for instituting proceedings against them. He came down unprepared for the discussion, expecting that the Committee would be granted. He could only regret, therefore, to the various depositions given before the magistrates, to show that there was good reason to apprehend Mr. and Mrs. Deacle. The magistrates would have neglected their duty if they had not apprehended

them. Several of the people who were tried, said, in their defence, that they were ordered by Mr. Deacle to go to certain places to get money. The Judges too stated that there were farmers who intimidated the people, and deserved to be tried more than the misled peasantry. The people themselves were much aggrieved, and perhaps no class suffered more pity than the agricultural labourers. They had no criminality in their minds. They were misled on by others. The verdict was good evidence, and it acquitted all the magistrates, except Mr. Bingham Baring, and he was only condemned because he was said to have struck a blow. The verdict of the jury was the safest guide for the House. It was not the magistrates who accused Mr. Deacle's witnesses of perjury, but Mr. Deacle himself. He wished it to be made out, according to his petition, that the witnesses had not deposed to the truth. The hon. Member also animadverted on the contradiction between the statements of Mr. Deacle's own witnesses and his own petition. Mr. Bingham Baring, at a time of great danger, exerted himself more than any other magistrate, and nearly lost his life by an attempt to resist a mob. *That fact, which was much to his credit, had been laid hold of by a powerful writer who circulated his slanderous attacks throughout the land, who had for many years spread poison throughout the country. This man had stated that he would ruin the Barings; and to effect that object he continually brought forward the case of that unhappy young man who lost his life for making an attempt on that of Mr. Bingham Baring.* The hon. Member also quoted the testimony of Mr. Justice Alderson in favour of Mr. Bingham Baring, to show that his conduct had been what it ought to be. *The choice of the cart was the act of the constable.* The magistrates went to arrest the people who were suspected, because there were no military in the country. It was proved that Mr. Bingham Baring could know nothing of the Deacles, by his asking of the constable who they were. It was impossible that Mr. Bingham Baring could have been in the spot when the handcuffs were put on Mrs. Deacle; they were not put on either by Mr. Francis Baring. It was the general rule at that time to handcuff the prisoners who were sent to Winchester jail; and it was in compliance with that rule that the handcuffs were used. *It was physically impossible that the order to handcuff Mrs. Deacle could have been given by Mr. Bingham Baring.* He admitted, with reference to the fact of who carried Mrs. Deacle, that a mistake as to the person was of no consequence. Mrs. Deacle, however, was carried carefully across the dirt, and *placed Mr. F. Baring for his care.* On the arrival of Mr. Deacle at Winchester, he too thanked Mr. Francis Baring, and said he hoped Mr. Baring would call again to-morrow. He believed, too, that there was no intention of rescuing the Deacles; but, looking at the state of insurrection in the village, it was very natural that the magistrates should fear a rescue. That was the reason for making so



much haste. As to the blow, Mr. Deacle had put his hand upon the reins, and Mr. Baring, seeing that, had ridden up to the cart from behind, and did put the riding-stick he had in his hands upon Mr. Deacle. *All the gentlemen who had been with Mr. Baring were made co-defenders, and were unable to give their evidence that they did not see the blow, though they were about, and would most probably have seen it if a blow had been inflicted.* They never heard even of any blow, and yet, if a blow had been given, that would have been the first thing complained of. Mr. Bingham Baring knew nothing of the aggravated circumstances that were related on the trial till they came before the court, and he accordingly left his case entirely in the hands of the attorney, who was the clerk of the peace. Under the circumstances of the county, the young magistrate who acted so rigorously deserved praise. As to not going for a new trial, the reason was, that it could not be done without giving the plaintiff an entirely new trial, and without, at the same time, obtaining the advantage of separating the defenders. The verdict, however, when translated into English, only meant that the magistrates were acquitted of all the other charges except the blow. He had his doubts whether going for a new trial would benefit the defenders, because the gentlemen had not seen the blow, and their denial would not weigh against the attestation of other men, who said that it had been given.

Mr. O'CONNELL said that the mode of refusing the inquiry would afford new arguments for the support of those slanders, if slanders they were, and contended that the King's Government would act more wisely if they calmed the popular agitation by at once enabling the country to pronounce the *Barings innocent, or the Deacles injured.*

Sir R. PEEL was sorry to refuse that inquiry which he believed the parties ardently desired, but his main reason for refusing it was, that he thought the parties thoroughly innocent. He knew that a Committee, was any thing but a competent tribunal, and he would not therefore, for that reason among others, consent to the motion. If he had a *turning suspicion that the powers of one magistrate had been abused, he might act otherwise; but believing them innocent, and that the administration of justice would not suffer by leaving all parties to seek for relief from the Courts of Law, he should take the same view of the question as the noble Lord, and vote against the motion.* If he were a Grand Juror, he should feel himself bound to act in this manner on the evidence he had heard; and he did not think, therefore, that he was bound to grant a new trial to those he believed to be innocent merely because they desired it.

Mr. GOSWELL thought that the proposed appointment of a Committee would be most inconvenient and inexpedient.

Sir F. BUNNETT said, his original impression was to vote for the inquiry, but what had occurred in the debate had altered his determination. He entirely concurred in opinion with

the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth. He considered that the case had been entirely set at rest, as far as the parties were concerned, by the verdict of a Jury. *He could not believe the charge against Mr. Bingham Baring of having struck Deacle a blow.* Still he should have wished the case to have been investigated by Parliament, but not considering that there were grounds for such inquiry, he must, though with great reluctance, oppose the motion.

Colonel EVANS said a few words in reply, and pressed his motion to a division.

For the motion..... 31

Against it ..... 78

Majority..... —47

The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and at a quarter before three o'clock the House adjourned.

I shall content myself for the present with just observing that the reporter has here put forth, in this his publication, a mass of the most atrocious lies that ever were put upon paper. All the stuff which he publishes under the name of MILDAY, under that of TRENCH, under that of CAMMELL, under that of ALTHORP, and the sweet stuff that he publishes under the name of LEFEVRE; the pretty stuff that he puts forth under the name of ALTHORP, and of EBRINGTON, the patriot of Devonshire; the very soft and quiet matter that he puts forth under the name of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, and the hacking, stammering, silly stuff that he has the audacity to put into the mouth of "Alexander the Great," shall all be noticed in *Two-penny Trash*. At present, look at the thing, reader, as it now stands, and see what it is. Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE are arrested and treated in the manner, as they assert, as described in their petition. After being manacled and dragged in a coal-cart, and then put into a post-chaise with a common jailer, after being taken to a jail and treated as malefactors, they are both left to go at large; Mrs. DEACLE upon bail, to answer which she has never been called, Mr. DEACLE without bail, but held to bail afterwards, when he had threatened to prosecute the magistrates. Now, mark, he is then accused of a *misdeemeanor*, and after being manacled and treated as a *felon*, they bring him to trial at the next assizes, and then he is *honourably acquitted, without producing any evidence on his own side, and in conse-*

quence of the witnesses against him having, on their cross-examination, confessed that they had been tampered with to give evidence against him ! At the summer assizes he brings his action on to trial, and gets a verdict against BINGHAM BARING, at any rate, who was one of the magistrates. There, he is, after all this, doing nothing, saying nothing ; but quietly leaving public opinion to work its way. Public opinion compels the press to raise a storm in his favour ; and the cry is spreading all over the country against the magistrates, and particularly against BINGHAM BARING. A Member of Parliament (Colonel EVANS), without consulting Mr. DEACLE ; without any communication with him, brings the matter before Parliament, in consequence of which the publishers of newspapers, particularly the *Morning Chronicle*, under a colour of publishing a report of a debate, pours out upon him and Mrs. DEACLE a string of the most atrocious lies, pretending that those lies were uttered by FRANCIS T. BARING, and by WILDE, who was one of the Judges on the Special Commission. The filthy paper of JACOB and JOHNSON, at Winchester, spreads these infamous lies all over the county, and all about the neighbourhood of Mr. DEACLE, of course. Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE then, and not till then, come before Parliament with a petition in their own defence, state all the particulars of the transaction, pledge themselves to prove the truth of their allegations, and pray the House to receive the proof in one way or another. Many members call for the appointment of a Committee, and EVANS gives it to be understood that he will move for one. After considerable time doing nothing, he merely moves for the printing of the petition, which had already been printed in all the newspapers. The country, perceiving now that the House intended to do nothing, began to heat itself, and petitions came tumbling in, from Northumberland to Sussex, and from East Kent to the middle of Devonshire. Now, then, the subject was stirred again. It was seen that the people were not satisfied and would not be satisfied un-

less something were done. Still there was a hankering, a lagging, on account of further legal proceedings, intended by the BARINGS. But, this would not do ; for the people would have insisted that the further legal proceedings should take place, and that was what the BARINGS never intended. Now, then, came ALEXANDER BARING's declaration, that the family had consulted lawyers, and had resolved that no further legal proceedings should take place on their part. Upon this, Colonel EVANS gave notice of motion for a Committee, to be made on Tuesday, it being understood that no opposition was to be made to the motion, seeing that the BARINGS so anxiously desired the inquiry. On Tuesday night, accordingly, the 27th inst., another petition from Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE having, first been presented (though not printed in this report), Colonel EVANS made his motion for the Committee, which was rejected by seventy-eight votes against thirty-one ; and, if you read the reasons for rejecting this motion, you will find that every one of them is a reason for the motion. But only look, here is MILD MAY with a petition got up at Winchester and the neighbourhood, which prays for a Committee ; here are the BARINGS ; and MILD MAY himself asking for a Committee ; here are the DEACLES, and all that are on their side, and all the people all over the country praying for the Committee, and here is Lord ALTHORP, the patriot Lord EBRINGTON, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, PEEL, GOULBOURN, and precious BURDETT, all opposing the Committee ; and because they think the BARINGS innocent ! Mr. O'CONNELL well described them ; beautifully described them. No man with one grain of sense in his skull can fail clearly to understand why this Committee is refused. Here is a Magistrate and a Lord of the Treasury, who is also a relation, by marriage, of Lord GREY ; here is BINGHAM BARING, the son of the great ALEXANDER, brother-in-law of the heir of the Marquis of BATH, and brother-in-law, by marriage, of MELLISH the butcher. Lord GREY must wish, one would think, to see the lofty blood

of the order of the GREYS cleared of the hand-cuffing imputation; and, if he think the Lord of the Treasury innocent of this charge, how can he be so wanting to his kin, as well as to his "order," as to prevent an inquiry which would make the innocence of the Lord of the Treasury manifest? Now, I put this question to each of my readers individually: I ask him to view the thing as it lies before him, and then to say whether he really believes that the Lord of the Treasury does wish for the inquiry; and whether he believes Lord ALTHORP, in opposing the Committee, pledged his word as a man of honour, asserted "upon his honour, as a gentleman, that he opposed the motion with great unwillingness, because he thought that his opposition might have the effect of preventing the Member for Portsmouth (FRANCIS T. BARING) from SETTING HIMSELF RIGHT IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE PUBLIC." He declared

this upon his honour as a GENTLEMAN! Being reminded that he voted for a motion for inquiring into the conduct of the Manchester magistrates, when he was out of office, he said there was no parallel in the cases. In the case of the petitioners, he said that blame was imputed only to a single magistrate, whereas, in the case of Manchester there were several. This man never could say this. He is not liar and fool enough to say this: this is the work of some liar and fool of a reporter, who was, I dare say, fishing for something that I will not name, and smelling strong of gin when he wrote it. *Single magistrates!* Why, Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE petition against the two BARINGS and LONG, and three are not one! Oh, no! Lord ALTHORP never could say this, and especially as a "man of honour and a gentleman!"

However, the rejection of inquiry is only according to the old practice of the Whigs. They did just the same in every case brought before them during the fifteen months that they were in power in 1806 and 1807. In the *Two-penny Trash*, I shall state the whole matter neatly as I can, clearly as I

can; and shall again call upon the people never to cease their demands till an inquiry be obtained into these transactions. The parties are innocent! Well, then, in God's name, why does the Government, who calls them their honourable friends, who is continually praising them, and who expresses a wish to see their innocence made appear to all the world, why does the Government set its face against this inquiry? Once more I call upon the people to petition, and to forward their petitions as quickly as possible. Wm. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a letter from Winchester dated on the 27th. It came with the seal broken and the letter open; but it came in due time, and that is all that I want, though I have never given any-body leave to break open letters directed to me, but my own letters which I send to others, requesting, at the same time, that they may not be detained. It is my delight to communicate information, and this is one of the ways of making the communication as wide as possible. This letter from Winchester tells me that a meeting was held there on Tuesday to petition the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill; that none of the BARINGS appeared at it; that "one SHAGGIN," who is so often mentioned in the petitions of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, made a motion upon the occasion, and that he was famously saluted by the crowd with, "*Hand off a lady!*" Before the meeting separated, they gave three cheers "*for Deacle!*" the friends of the BARINGS had the prudence not to mention their names. I will explain in *Two-penny Trash* how the petition presented by Mr. MILDMAY was got up at Winchester.

### LORD RADNOR'S LETTER.

At Morpeth, in addition to the places that I mentioned before, and I believe at Brighton, this letter has been published and circulated in a hand-bill, on the people perceiving the glum silence of the base part of the country newspapers, which are under the same sort of regimen as that of the paper of Jacob

and Johnson at Winchester. I have not room to insert a letter from Brighton upon the subject, and the resolution of thanks to Lord RADNOR which has been passed there; but I will do this in my next.

### LOST LETTER.

THE Post-Office have not been able as yet to discover my lost letter, though it had ten pages of MS., written on one side only of the paper. They appear to be very diligent in their search, and we shall see how it will end!

### TRIAL.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL will receive, with my compliments, the third edition of *his* and *my* Trial, which took place in Guildhall, on the seventh of July last; and if the BARINGS had not so much money and I so little, I would send them one too. The *Examiner*, the *Ballot*, and some other weekly newspapers in London, not excepting the *Handkerchief news*, have done their duty with regard to this Trial, and with regard to me; and, what is more, with regard to the case of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE and the conduct of the magistrates in Hampshire. As for me and my affairs, they are dust in the balance compared with the proceedings and consequences of the Special Commission in Hampshire, which, as Mr. HARVEY so well said, have awakened thoughts in the people which must lead to interesting consequences. Mr. MILDWAY, who presented the petition in favour of the BARINGS from Winchester, will soon see *another* petition which will bring him nearer home; and I myself promise him, that he shall have ample opportunity of conning that petition over before-hand.

### COBBETT'S Spelling-Book;

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

### A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

Such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

I have received some good specimens of corn this week; particularly some from Paisley, which I regret that I cannot mention this week at length; but which I will do in my next *Register*.

### From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

HUSH, T., London-street, Fenchurch-street; H. Fergusson, Euston-sq.; & D. M'Naught Liddell, London-street, merchants.  
WILKINSON, B., Crown-court, Old Broad-street, wine-merchant.

**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**  
SMITH, W., Tqrnham-green, tailor.

#### BANKRUPTS.

CANNON, T., Edward-st., Portman-sq., tailor.  
CLARK, J., Storer-st., Mile End Old-Town, builder.  
EMERY, T., Newport, Monmouthshire, corn-merchant.  
KEBBY, S., Bath, umbrella-maker.  
LEATHES, N. L. S., and T. Bradshaw, Mincing-lane, wine-merchants.  
LEES, J., Alton, Staffordshire, innkeeper.  
MALDEN, I. and J., Caroline-place, Wellington-street, Blackfriars-road, bakers.  
NORTH, J., Southampton, grocer.  
PEERS, W., Cornwall-rd., Lambeth, cooper.  
SHAW, J., Huddersfield, grocer.  
WARD, J., Coventry, grocer.  
WEAVER, S., and B. Hickman, Ludlow, Shropshire, mercers.  
WRIGHT, D., Birmingham, lamp-manufac.  
ZACHARIAH, L., and G. Nove, High-Holborn, dealer in German and French toys.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

WATSON, W., Hawkhill of Dundee, manufc.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1831.

MASKERY, F., Birmingham, linen-drapeer.  
SPIER, J., Berkeley, Gloucestershire, wine-merchant.

WEBSTER, T. H., Stafford, builder.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ALDERSON, R., Crawford-street, St. Mary-lebone, linen-drapeer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

CASTINE, R., Devereux-st., Strand, tailor.  
CROFTS, Rev. J. D., Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, ship-owner.  
DAWSON, J., Pimlico, victualler.  
ELY, C. and B. Treacher, Swansea, merchants.  
GIBSON, J., Manchester, commission-agent.  
HOSKIN, R., Holdsworth, Devons., inn-kr.  
HUME, W., Manchester, timber-merchant.  
KING, W., Beech-street, Barbican, victualler.  
QUARTON, F. and S. Radford, Lenton, Nottinghamshire, lace-machine-makers.  
SALMON, T., Stoke-Perry, Norfolk, merchant.  
SINGLETON, J., Rugeley, Staffords., chemist.  
WOOD, J., Liverpool, livery-stable-keeper.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, SEPTEMBER 26.—Supplies since this day se'night, of English wheat, foreign rye, and foreign linseed, have been rather great; of English malt, beans, and flour, as also Irish oats, moderately good; of foreign wheat and flour, English, Scotch, and foreign oats and barley, with peas and—with above exception—seeds from all quarters, limited.

There was, in this day's market, an early and rather strong assemblage of buyers, residing principally in London and its neighbourhood, who manifested a disposition to do business, on what they considered "business-like terms," but, as the sellers were either stiff to their former position, or stubborn in endeavouring to obtain an advance, the trade was, throughout, very dull, at but little, if any quotable variation from last Monday's prices.

Wheat .....	47s. to 58s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	24s. to 32s.
— fine .....	33s. to 42s.
— fine, White .....	35s. to 38s.
— Boilers .....	34s. to 41s.
— Grey .....	34s. to 40s.
Beans, Old .....	41s. to 44s.
— Tick .....	41s. to 45s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	27s. to 32s.
— Poland .....	34s. to 38s.
— Feed .....	28s. to 26s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 48s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 42s. to 50s.	
Pork, India, new... 15s. 6d. to —, 0d.	
Pork, Moss, new... 62s. 6d. to 65s. per half.	
Butter, Belfast ... 86s. to 88s. per cwt.	
— Carlow .... 86s. to 90s.	
— Cork .... 86s. to —, —	
— Limerick .. 87s. to —, —	
— Waterford.. 84s. to 86s.	
— Dublin .... 84s. to —, —	
Cheese, Cheshire... 64s. to 80s.	
— Gloucester, Double... 64s. to 70s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 66s. to 63s.	
— Edam ..... 46s. to 48s.	
— Gouda ..... 44s. to 46s.	
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 58s.	

## SMITHFIELD—September 26.

This day's market, as is usual on the approach of Michaelmas, on account of changes in tenantry preparing for audits, &c., was, throughout, largely supplied, though it did not exhibit nearly so many buyers as appeared in that of this day se'night. The trade was, throughout, very dull, with much and much at a depression of all the year's stock with beef, veal, and pork, at barely Friday's quotations. Beasts, 3,165; sheep and lambs, 24,640 calves, 164; pigs, 190.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 30.

The arrivals this week are large. The prices of the best samples the same as on Monday; other sorts 1s. to 2s. cheaper, with a very dull market.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	4 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	6 per Cent.	7 per Cent.	8 per Cent.	9 per Cent.
Cons. Ann.	82	82½	82½	82½	82½	81½

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 74.—No. 2.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8TH, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## REFORM BILL.

BEFORE this comes from the press, perhaps, the Lords will have passed or rejected this Bill. In either case, it is necessary that a record of the important proceeding should be contained in this my *Register*. The Bill was brought into the House of Lords about ten days ago, and read a first time without any debate; Monday, the 3rd of October, being appointed for the second reading. Accordingly, the second reading was moved by the Prime Minister, Earl Grey, on the day appointed. I shall here begin by inserting a report of the speech made upon this occasion by this nobleman. I will make no remarks upon it here; but will commend it to the careful perusal of my readers. They should read every sentence of it with attention, not only on account of the very interesting matter which it embraces, and the extraordinary talent which it displays, but for the purpose of forming those opinions relative to this great matter upon which their conduct is to be regulated, whether in consequence of the passing or the rejecting of the Bill. With this preface I insert the speech, again requesting my readers to go through it with the greatest care.

Earl Grey then rose for the purpose of moving the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House, which, during the discussion as to the future mode of proceeding with the petition, had been in some confusion, almost instantaneously subsided into the profoundest attention and silence. The noble Earl paused a minute before he commenced, and then proceeded to

address their Lordships in nearly the following words:—My Lords, In the course of a long political life, now extended—[The noble Earl here again paused, evidently overcome by emotion at the task that had devolved upon him for performance, and several noble Lords, perceiving his momentary incapacity to proceed, exclaimed, "Sit down!—sit down!"] The noble Earl, adopting the suggestion, resumed his seat for a minute, and then again rising and advancing to the table to address their Lordships, he was received with cheers from both sides of the House.] My Lords, In a long political life, which has now extended over nearly half a century, it has often been my lot to propose to this House and to the other House of Parliament—in moments of great difficulty—in seasons of great political contest and violence—many questions of the most vital importance to the political interests of this country, as well as to the general well-doing of Europe. It at such times—under such circumstances—and with such interests at stake, I have felt that awe and trepidation which the importance of those occasions must have naturally inspired, and which were no more than becoming to me, speaking as I did, conscious of my own inferiority, in the presence of some of the greatest men this country has ever produced, and sensible of the important duty which I had to discharge—if, I say, on such occasions as those I felt awed, yet still were those sensations nothing in the comparison to the feelings with which I am affected at the present moment; for I am about to propose for your Lordships' consideration a question involving the dearest interests of the country—a question, for bringing forward which I more than any other individual am personally responsible—a question which has been designated as destructive of the Constitution, as revolutionary in its spirit and principle, and as tending to produce general confusion and misgovernment throughout the country. Your Lordships will feel the weight of these charges, against which it is necessary that I should vindicate myself. My own belief is, that the measure which I am about to lay before your Lordships is one of peace, prosperity and concord. (Cheers) I observe that on this question depends, on the one hand, the peace, prosperity, and concord of the country; and, on the other, the continuance of a state of political distraction, which threatens all those consequences that must arise when misfeeling is engendered in the people towards the Government of a country. (Hear, hear.) I have already stated that I, more than any other individual, am personally responsible for this measure; and it is therefore necessary, in the first place, that I should set myself right with your Lordships on this point. My opinion on this question of Par-

liamentary Reform is well known to such of your Lordships as have done me the honour to observe the course of my political conduct. I have uniformly supported the principle of Reform. I voted, soon after my introduction into Parliament, in the year 1806, for questions of that description. I voted with Mr. Pitt, for the shortening of Parliaments; I voted for a measure of reform introduced by Mr. Flood, at the commencement of the Revolution; and before the beginning of that war which led to such disastrous consequences, I myself, on two different occasions, brought forward a proposition of this nature, believing, as I then did, that some change in the representation of the people was necessary to give new vigour to the Constitution, and to enable the House of Commons in fact what it professed to be in theory—a full, free, and efficient representation of the people. (Cheers.) Let me, therefore, now before your Lordships the advocates of principles from which I have never swerved. But it is not enough that a public man, pretending to any claim to the character of a Statesman, should be able to prove that he has been consistent in what he has done—that what he has proposed is in conformity with opinions then established in his mind, and that it is from a conviction forced upon him through all the changes and chances of a long political career, that he brings forward some measure of his description. He has a still further duty to perform. He has to prove that he has not forced too notice even a desperate question, either early or at an inopportune season; but that he has done it under a sincere conviction that it is essential to the well-being of the country, and that it could not be longer delayed with safety. If it was his object to make it a question that should unite in affection toward the Government and the Constitution a vast and conflicting people, (Cheers.) he has chosen the worst course of conduct on this subject; but a short detail only will be necessary. Your Lordships cannot have forgotten what the state of the country was at the commencement of the last Session of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Your Lordships cannot have forgotten the general doubt and anxiety that prevailed throughout the community—that society was almost in a state of anarchy; that tumult had taken place in the manufacturing districts—that the influence of certain political unions, which had grown out of the discontent of the people, was travelling in every direction—that there was the most alarming insurrection prevalent in the southern counties, extending almost to the very gates of the metropolis. Neither can you have forgotten how that situation of fear and destruction was exemplified by the remarkable circumstance of the then Minister thinking it to be their duty to counsel his Majesty not to expose them to the danger which must ensue—a danger which I most sincerely believe was groundless and unreal—from paying that visit to the city which it has been usual

for the Monarchs of this country, shortly after their accession, to pay to the great, loyal, and opulent city of this empire. These things must be fresh in the minds of your Lordships; and you must also recollect in how great a degree, at that very time, prevailed the desire for the adoption of some measure of Parliamentary Reform, which tended still more to agitate the feelings of the country, and rendered to men's minds more strongly than ever. My Lords, that was the revival of a question which had at times slumbered, but had never been entirely during a period of eighty years (hear, hear) that was a question which had never been asked in the country; and which, by the measure, by which the House of Commons was made more clearly efficient, than ever. That measure, then, has begun to be felt as so necessary, that when I arrived at the close of that period, I found many, on whose opinions I most relied—who had never, indeed, diverged from Parliamentary Reform, but who could not previously have been reckoned among its most energetic and zealous supporters—I found, I say, many such as these convinced that the time had at length arrived when that question must be entertained, with the desire and intention of bringing it to a close. That was my conviction also (hear, hear), and your Lordships will not forget that on the first day of that Session, I took an opportunity of discussing the Federal state of the country, in answer to a noble Lord whom I do not now see in his place; and who, after describing the situation of the country, had proceeded to insist on the necessity of strong measures—such as arming and arming. I then stated—using the familiar illustration of putting one's house in order for the coming storm—that Parliamentary Reform was the best security that could be devised, at present, to be desired; that it was the highest defence the Government could adopt; that it was the most certain shield that could be held out against any attempts, either foreign or domestic (cheers); that Reform was the representation of the Commons House of Parliament, with which the people were no longer satisfied; and without which there could be no reasonable hope of controlling them in the measures of Government. I stated the things that were wanted, and even pointed more safety than any other scheme that could be developed. These were the things that I stated on the first day of that Session; and I am sure that your Lordships will never forget the answer that was received, any more than you can have forgotten the general consternation produced by that answer when the noble Duke then at the head of his Majesty's Government declared himself opposed in principle to every reform (hear, hear, hear, hear); that the present constitution of the House of Commons was a thing so perfect in itself (hear, hear), a thing so unattainable by human wisdom, that it ought to be unalterable; and that any change, even the slightest, would be

productive of danger to the country. The effect of that declaration all your Lordships must have felt: (Hear, hear.) It was described by Mr. Drummond in his address to the electors of Surrey—a gentleman not, I believe, adverse to the late Administration, and certainly not favourable to the present. Mr. Drummond had stated in that address that that declaration of the noble Duke showed great ignorance of the present feeling, and was calculated to drive the people to despair. A noble friend of mine also spoke of it in strong terms, and stated that the declaration of the late Government was of the kind which had ensued, were every one to be ignorant and unfortunate declaration. (Hear, hear.) Thus far, then, I must stand acquitted with your Lordships, that in proposing the measure which I this night have to propose to your Lordships, I am doing nothing which is not consistent with the principles that I have always maintained; that I propose it in confidence of that strong conviction which I expressed at a moment when I could not have had the most remote idea of filling the situation which I now so unworthily hold; and that it has always been my uniform conviction that this measure ought no longer to be delayed. What followed is well known to your Lordships. I was called on most unexpectedly by my Sovereign to form an Administration. On what principle was I to form it? (Hear, hear.) On that of my predecessor—namely, to carry on the same system, but with greater success. My Lords, I could have no such presumptuous hope or expectation. If that had been possible, there would have been no real motive for their removal. The question then simply came to this, that they were to be on maintaining the same system as heretofore, or that those who succeeded them were to act on a principle more congenial to the general feelings of the country. (Hear, hear.) Under these circumstances, I certainly did state to my Sovereign, as a condition for my accepting office, that I must be allowed to bring forward a measure of reform as a measure of the Government. That condition was graciously assented to by my illustrious Master, and though that measure might be discussed from in this House, at least it would be the subject of feeling that it was a measure of the Government.

subject of this night's discussion. So far, then, I hope your Lordships will understand that I am not chargeable with the introduction of an unnecessary measure, and that I have grounds for thinking that the sense of public feeling absolutely required the introduction of the measure, and that to delay it longer would be delayed with safety. Under these circumstances, I think that a measure so charged against me as a crime, that I took the earliest opportunity of carrying into effect, and of acquitting myself of the pledge which I had given, by bringing forward a measure;

which, if it receives the sanction of this House, will, I most conscientiously believe, prove a measure of peace, tranquillity, and conciliation to the whole country. (Cheers.) But there is still a further point to which I have to give an answer. It will, no doubt, be said, grant that there is a general feeling in favour of reform—grant that there is a general admission of the principle (an admission in general, that, with the exception of the noble Duke, I believe that there is none of the late Administration that does not feel that the measure has been brought to such a crisis that it must be seriously looked at)—grant all this—yet why go to the extent of the present measure, which, in the opinion of those who make this observation, is revolutionary in its principle, subversive in its spirit, and calculated to prove fatal to the constitution? My Lords, I hope that I shall be able to answer that question also, and however easy it may be to declaim about revolution and subversion, I trust that I shall be able to show that there is nothing in the measure that is not founded on the acknowledged principles of the English constitution (cheers)—nothing that is not consistent with the ancient system of representation—and nothing that may not be adopted with perfect safety to all the existing privileges of the state, and more particularly to that order to which we belong, and which it has been erroneously supposed this measure is intended to attack. (Hear, hear.) The principle, then, being universally admitted, that something must be done, we naturally come to the question—in what manner ought it to be done? I imagine that there is not one of your Lordships, from the most dissidentist bit-by-bit reformer, up to the noble Lord opposite, who some time ago took an opportunity of saying that whatever was done on this subject must be vigorous and decisive—who will be disposed to deny that it was necessary for us to ask ourselves—in what manner is that reform to be effected? Whether it must be by doing as little as possible—such as bringing something, that really meant nothing, in the name of reform, and so affecting to redeem our pledge—or whether it must be by taking the noble Lord's plan, I was going to say, but please me never vouchsafed to touch. I shall then rather say, by taking the noble Lord's principle of doing something vigorous and decisive; if so, I would observe, that what we have done that indeed (hear, hear from the Opposition); for the principle of our measure is, that it should be effectual and such as to give confidence to the people (hear from the Ministerial side), at the same time enabling property and intelligence to take their stand in that fair proportion which improvement of the age appears to require. These, then, were the two ways of which we had our choice: as to taking the first—that of a bit-by-bit reform—that of keeping

—“The word of promise to the ear,  
And breaking it to the hope”—



that of introducing a half measure as a step to future improvement at a more distant period—it had this fundamental objection—that it would have satisfied nobody (cheers); those who were in reality the opponents of all reform, though they talked about supporting a system which no one could understand, and which assumed no material shape, would, on finding that the ground had been taken from under their feet, have been disappointed; while, on the other hand, the people, who were looking for a substantial and effective measure, would certainly not have been satisfied; and thus this ministerial measure, instead of giving satisfaction, would be exposed to the fundamental objection, that it did nothing towards appeasing that agitation and excitement which had so alarmingly prevailed. Looking, then, at the question in this point of view, it would utterly have failed; and it necessarily came to the conclusion, that the most prudent, the most safe measure that I could propose would be a bold one (hear, hear); and this I do, rather, because I felt, that looking to the safety of the country, which was the true policy, I could introduce such a measure as would satisfy the general desire of the people, on reasonable terms, without going from this position on which I was determined to stand—that of defending the true principles of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) It was on this principle, then, that I and my colleagues considered the plan of reform; and on looking at the various causes that had given rise to the complaints of the people on this subject, it was impossible not to find our attention attracted to the nomination boroughs, as they are called. Against these the public feeling has long been directed, and I think with good reason; for as long as these boroughs, in which the public had no interest, were sufficient to outweigh the votes of an immense portion of the inhabitants of this country, it ought to be no matter of surprise to hear the exclamation, that it would be better to have no representation at all than suffer so gross an abuse to continue. And is it unnatural that the people should have imbibed a disgust for that nominative system, when we come to consider what is the character of these boroughs? The claim set up for them is that of sending Members to the House of Commons without the least pretence to the character of being the real representatives of the people, though they are returned under the insulting title of representatives, when in fact they are the nominees of fear, or of other wealthy individuals, who have converted that into property which was originally a town, and who dispose of it for their own particular advantage, without any view to the general interest of the community. These are the feelings that prevail among the people, and how it is possible to convert them into those of affection and conciliation towards the Government or the Constitution, without removing those boroughs, I must confess I am not able to see. Is it, again I ask, to be wondered at that the people should feel dissatisfied, when

they recollect the scenes that take place at each election, the barefaced corruption that is exhibited on all sides, the open sale of seats, the return of Members in the open face of day under the nomination of the proprietors of boroughs, while the people look on and see that which all writers on the constitution, all eminent English lawyers, have stated to be incompatible with the rights of representation, daily made the subject of profligate nominees, in defiance both of justice and of law? On these grounds, therefore, we proceeded to consider what reforms ought to be abolished, and in so doing we found that many were so situated as to be impossible, under any circumstances, of procuring the elective franchise, it being impossible to extend the constituency in those boroughs that only possessed the name and ancient rights of places which formerly sent representatives to Parliament. Under these circumstances, we thought that they could only be considered as grievances, which defied all cure but that of extinction; and we therefore determined to disfranchise entirely the boroughs mentioned in schedule A, taking as our criterion a certain rate of population, as found in the census of 1821—not that we supposed that there was any particular virtue in the number we selected, but because it enabled us to draw what might be deemed a fair and impartial line, and helped us to conclude what boroughs existed into which it was impossible to diffuse a new or vigorous constituency. These boroughs, therefore, we determined to propose to Parliament to abolish altogether. These then presented itself to our notice another class of boroughs, having a higher population, and which we thought might be allowed, to a certain extent, to return their franchise, by the admission of regulations, which will be found in the bill, for the purpose of raising their constituency, after depriving each borough of this class of one of its Members. I know that it will be alleged against this measure that there are anomalies in this bill; and I admit that if it was altogether a new scheme, such an accusation would be a just one; but still it certainly does appear to be a little inconsistent that such a change should be urged by those who think that the measure is already too extensive (hear, hear), more especially after I am fain to admit that this second class of boroughs has been retained for the purpose of consolidating those who are most ready to deprive too extensive a change; but, in all events, it will be well for your Committee to consider that these anomalies could only be remediable by a general division of the population and the counties into districts, and in establishing a more equal franchise. The framers of the bill then proceeded with the disfranchisement of the boroughs contained in Schedule A, and to limit those contained in Schedule B to the return of one Member each. The extent, then, to which the House of Commons was reduced by the disfranchisement of the boroughs in the first class, was 111; those in the second class

amounted to 41, and with two taken from the borough of Weymouth, made the total number taken from the House of Commons 154. That having been done—the work of disfranchisement having been to that extent completed—the next step to be taken was to see what means were necessary and practicable for the purpose of supplying the deficiency in the numbers of the House of Commons which those proposed disfranchisements had created. The bill, with those disfranchising clauses was proposed to the House of Commons, and by that House adopted, and the clauses were adopted for the purpose of bringing back the numbers of the representatives of the people in the legislature to nearly their usual amount, in point of numbers, that it had previously been. Sixty-five new Members were given in counties, twenty-four additional Members were given to the House as representatives for twelve large towns not before sending Members to the House, and which, under the bill now before the House, are each to have Members; and then there are twenty-eight towns with one Member each additional, which, with the Member left to Weymouth, make 154, which taken from 154, leave a remainder of 36, leaving the number which the House of Commons was to lose. Having thus removed the rotten portions of the constitution, our next step was to consider how we should best impart fresh health and vigour to the whole body of the constitution—having removed the rotten and decayed branches, our object was to consider how we should best infuse new vigour and freshness to the parent stem and the remaining branches, so that the tree should be borne, and permanent health and energy established.

**"Inadvisable false names important  
Fetters there is."**

Your Lordships will see that these arrangements constitute the plan upon which we now propose to take the sense of this House of the Legislature; and I hesitate not to say that it will not only be hastened with danger, but that it will effect the best purposes of permanent security. This plan, then, will obtain the consent of your Lordships. Your Lordships will further see that in Counties all the present rights of voting are preserved—that all freeholders in counties vote exactly as they were—that every man in possession of a freehold retains his right of voting; but no franchise can be communicated to a freehold for life, unless it be of the value of ten pounds. Thus, then, will that manufacture of votes be prevented, which in practice worked so mischievously. To those rights already existent or created by the bill we propose to add the right of voting from copyhold and customary tenures of the value of ten pounds—to leases for sixty years, and to other leases, as the printed bill will more particularly exhibit to noble Lords. In this part of the arrangement I have now to call your Lordships' attention to a clause which was introduced into

the bill during its passage through the other House—it was not recommended by any one connected with his Majesty's Government, yet I nevertheless sincerely hope that its operation will be beneficial, though I am not without fear that a contrary result may ensue, the evil consequences of which I speak in that of the right of voting given to persons holding lands of a certain value without leases. It must be obvious to your Lordships, that in this case there exists a considerable danger that the power given to landed proprietors may be used in a manner such as it has been in places that I am not naming; and if so used, it will probably lead to a general demand for that regulation formerly mentioned in reference to this subject, but not that word respecting which has found its way into the petitions recently presented to both of the other House of Parliament—the regulation I allude to is in the right of voting by ballot. It is one which has not been taken up by petitioners from the moment the measure of reform was taken by the responsible advisers of the Crown as a Government measure, and which will probably not be resorted to again unless the power imparted by the clause I have just mentioned should be abused in the manner so recently and so justly censured. At all events, this clause in the bill cannot but recommend it to the adoption of every man in the country who sincerely desires to increase the power and influence of the landed Aristocracy; with them, this clause can but form an argument in favour of the measure, but before it was introduced into the bill there was not even a plausible ground for saying that the landed interest was not sufficiently provided for and protected. Will not the sixty-five additional county members increase their influence and power? In fact, there was no part of the bill which did not show a tendency rather to increase than to lessen or destroy that influence. Having thus laid before your Lordships an outline of the principles of this most important measure, I shall not trouble you with those details which will more properly form the subject of discussion in the committee. The object of those details chiefly was to guard against expenses at elections—taking in as a first principle, that the reform of members to the Commons House of Parliament should be free and unshackled. The division of Counties is the next subject to which I shall call the attention of the House, and that only very briefly, observing as I pass that that division ought to form one of the strongest recommendations of the Bill to that portion of the landed Aristocracy who limit their views to the narrow objects of private and personal interest. I know that that portion of the bill is open to the charge of favouring these combinations and compromises by which particular persons have been enabled to return members to the other House of Parliament; but my persuasion is, that reflection and experience of its operation will convince its warmest opponents that such



arguments which I hold cannot be refuted; let us then come to the practice of the Constitution. I hold it to be equally inconsistent with all that I have ever been able to discover of that practice, where in the proof of it ever having been resorted to. Can any man, by any reference to the practice of our ancestors, show that such a practice was ever legally introduced? It is not the custom of the Crown to take advantage of force and

the Parliament.

And it is equally inconsistent with the most part of those writs issued with a view to the compulsory receipt and payment of those places, and that power should be returned members of Parliament who are summoned. It is not historical that the request of those writs has been discontinued, either on application to be relieved from the burden of returning members, or in those cases in which a burden is put on the tenure of those places? There are facts sufficient in the history of Parliament to denote that this prerogative has at all times been wisely exercised. I do not mean to say that it might not have been abused—that writs might have been denied where they ought to have been issued, and continued where they ought to have been withdrawn; but that calls nothing against the principle for which we are contending—that principle is, that the representation of the people ought to have real representation; the only ground on which writs could be refused, was that the benefits had fallen into decay. These considerations then lead me to the other branch of the subject. It is said that the measure is one of spoliation and robbery. (A cheer from a noble lord on one of the Opposition benches.) I think I hear some noble lord assenting to this position. Let us look at the foundation upon which this rests. I deny that the right of returning members to Parliament is other than a trust; and surely no man will have the audacity to affirm that the obligations of a trust are not perfectly distinct from the rights of property. Property may be enjoyed—may be used—may be abused, provided the abuse injures no man but the owner; but a trust is confided for certain ends and purposes; and if a trust be violated, it may be deemed with perfect justice. In the private transactions of life, that principle has ever been acknowledged, and I see nothing that should deprive us of its benefits in transactions of a public and political character; and I say that same, however long, can constitute no abuse so glaring and indisputable. Nothing can convert a trust into a right of property. This, then, is free of robbery or spoliation. I will affirm that over and over again, the old practice of the constitution was, that the King should refuse his writ; it is a matter of the most perfect notoriety that forty-four boroughs and one city were thus, in effect, disfranchised, in consequence of the discontinuance of the writs; thus, then, the bill only proceeded according to the usual practice of the constitution, in

proceeding as it did with the boroughs contained in Schedule A. Much has been said of spoliation and robbery; but is there nothing in modern times that actually well deserves to go by that name? Look to the Union with Scotland; on that occasion fifty-four boroughs were returned to Africa, and one hundred boroughs in Ireland, returning two hundred Members were, under similar circumstances, disfranchised; was that an act of robbery and spoliation? Oh, but there was, on that occasion, compensation! (Loud cries of "Hear, hear," from the Opposition benches, repeated from the Ministerial.) No, it was not compensation, it was gross and scandalous bribery—bribe and notorious bribery—it was a bribe for agreeing to the Union. I was in the House of Commons at the time. I remember that the question of the Union at the time but now that I feel how carried, that it has astonished for many years; I must say, that any attempt to do so would be in the last degree unjust to both countries. Once again I repeat, that what was given to the Irish boroughs was not compensation, but a bribe. (Here Lord Thelwall addressed a few words to the noble Earl.) I am reminded by my noble and learned Friend, that 23 of the Irish boroughs returned half of their representatives without any compensation whatever. It is to take the whole as bribery, surely to take half is in principle the same; but the object is too obvious to be disputed, or to need any discussion. No, if the Irish Parliament had not completely forfeited all claim to the confidence of the people it professed to represent, that fact would never have been heard of, which if now attempted to be repeated, and which I think never can be revoked without ruin to both countries. At the period when that Union took place, I was, I have said, in the House of Commons, and shortly afterwards I heard Mr. Foster, who had been Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, say in his place in the United Parliament, that money had been directly given, and Peers had bartered in lieu of votes. (Cheers and counter cheers.) I have no hesitation in saying, on the subject of peerages, that on a recent occasion, I spoke to the Coronation, a time when the Royal grace and prerogative are usually exercised in reference to the peerage—that I should not have done my duty if I had advised the exercise of that prerogative in favour of those who were adverse to the present bill; but I believe there do not exist men more independent than those who have been added to the peerage. But to return to what Mr. Foster said. He made the statement which I have described. The late Lord Londonderry got up, and objected to such insinuations being thrown out. Mr. Foster replied, "I make no insinuations—corruption and bribery have been practised—money has been paid—seats have been bartered—is that an insinuation?—I am ready to prove the statement." So did that right hon. Gentleman speak, and no answer was given.

Upon no ground, then, I repeat, can nomination be called the practice of the constitution. A schedule, amounting to forty-four boroughs, and one city—to say nothing of the disfranchisement of Scotland and Irish boroughs—is to be found in our Parliamentary history; and as to the restoration of boroughs, which is now to be used for the benefit of the parties for whose advantage it was framed, I believe that is a position against which no intelligent or impartial man will for a moment contend. Now in answer to all this, I am told that the constitution, in its present form, works well; but that rule of working well proceeds too far; for if a despotic Prince happened to be a man of mild and amiable disposition, his subjects should incur the hazard of submitting to his tyrannical measures, rather than deprive him. Surely that is not doctrine that can ever be adopted in a British Parliament. Freedom is the first of blessings; when possessed it should be most scrupulously cherished; and when wanting it should be obtained at almost any cost. Has the constitution, in its present form, worked well? Has it consolidated and preserved the confidence of the people? If it is necessary that the representative portion of our legislature should appear to the avoidance of the people, I will say of the present system, that instead of working well, nothing could have worked worse. What has happened to be in this House a subject of conversation, a most valuable admission, and made by a great statement in the newspapers. Of the present representation of Scotland I can say the same is said—it is really an absurd and ridiculous that I only wonder how any one could for a moment imagine the possibility of its continued existence. Its thirty-three counties had but 3,255 freeholders. It drew members from these the members who were really in right of superiority; it reduced the whole number to 1,250—scarcely enough for a small barony. Argyll, with a population of 97,000, had only 120 electors; there were only 12 in Caithness, of whom but 11 were real proprietors. Glenfrew, with 15,000 souls, had only 148 electors; Inverness, with 95,000, possessed only 90 electors, and of that number but 24 were real proprietors. But what has happened, of whom one only was a gentleman. But my Lords, we are not now going into the system of the Scotch representation; and I only make these statements in answer to the argument of those who assert that the present system works well, notwithstanding its absurdity, its good habits, its tendency to respect for property and increased prosperity, are the criteria of improvement. In this country are they more remarkable than in Scotland? Surely that improvement is not to be ascribed to the system of Scotch representation, which, as has been acknowledged by a noble Lord opposite, is so bad that it can no longer be maintained. I know not, then, by what reasoning it is attempted to attribute the prosperity which this country has enjoyed to the defective representation, or to prove that the

abuses should be perpetuated, because the country has improved notwithstanding their existence. But, my Lords, I am at a loss to understand the distinction which has been drawn between those parts of the Scotch representation, which noble Lord opposite condemns, and Galloway and Berwick. (Hear.) In what way is the mound of Old Galloway the wall of Galloway? But noble Lord is representation that the Scotch representation, which reduced the constitution of a country to one individual? I cannot see how it is possible to retain one, if you diminish the others (Hear); nor can I believe that the removal of those abuses, without destroying the Constitution, will make it more secure. Now, my Lords, has it been my duty to show that the power of nomination is vested in the Commons House of Parliament? The most boroughs was enjoyed, but by a few individuals, who exercised that power for their own advantage and to promote their private ambition, while the odium is thrown upon the whole body. (Hear.) That power is not exercised for the advantage of the Peers as a branch of the Legislature, nor is it exclusively possessed by Peers, but shared with them by loan contractors and attorneys, who speculate in the purchase and sale of these boroughs for their own profit. The effect was to diminish the respect of the people for the Peers, and to place entirely at the disposal of a few individuals those offices of honor and greatness which ought to be the reward of merit. By removing such abuses, you will relieve at the same time the Peers from odium, and do justice to the people. But, my Lords, do the Peers themselves gain nothing by the bill? I am not one of those who think that it could be for the advantage of the nation that each branch of the State should act on its own right, should stop to inquire as to the Constitution for its own advantage against the interests of the nation. It constitutes the happiness of the State in which we live that all the three orders are so blended together, that each, when acting as a separate body, is of necessity at war in its own interests, wound up with those of all the others. (Hear.) My Lords, I would by no means deprive the Peers of that natural and useful influence which they possess; at the same time that I think that they do not possess such immunities and privileges as were possessed by the old French nobility. I greatly prefer that just influence which they possess, as landed proprietors, and as magistrates, by good offices, benevolence and justice to the people, with whose interests theirs are identified as members of the same community. That influence they will continue to possess, and that not diminished but increased; after the passing of this bill (Hear.)—for the odium excited by the nomination boroughs will then be removed; whereas, should the unfortunate decision of this night be to reject the bill, I verily believe that the just, and natural, and useful influence of the Peers of this country

will be seriously reduced—by reforming those abuses which had become odious in the eyes of the people, and which, amidst the improvements of time and the increasing knowledge of the people, cannot be retained for any considerable length of time by any existing power in this country. The bill, however, relieving the Peers from the odium cast upon them by their supposed participation in these abuses, will add considerably to their just influence by the addition of sixty-five Members to the county representation. (Hear.) The bill has been hailed by the country with a more unanimous expression of approbation than any other measure upon record, and this measure, my Lords, has brought me to the last upon which it is my intention to address you at present. I have said that the country was unanimous in approbation of the bill, which I have risen to propose the second reading. For although it has been said that the energies of the people had passed away, something was this opinion in the minds of many persons at the time of the dissolution of the last Parliament, that they confidently predicted that the result of the election would be unfavourable to the Government which had resorted to that measure. But I need not remind your Lordships of the result of those elections, nor need I remind you of the petitions which have lately been presented to this House, bearing signatures more numerous than ever before were attached to petitions upon any subject. I may be told that these petitions must not be referred to, for that the Peers of England must calmly deliberate this great question on its own merits, and without regard to the desires of any portion of the people; and that the Peers will do their duty. Again, I may be told, that those petitions do not express the sentiments of the people of England; and that if they do, the Peers are noble and high-minded, and courageously bold to yield anything to intimidation. I believe, my Lords, I should be one of the last men in this House to recommend it to your Lordships to yield to intimidation. Far from addressing your Lordships in the language of intimidation, I would say, "Do not give way to popular clamour." But I do not use menace when I say, "Do not resist the just and liberal wishes of the people unequivocally expressed." I do not use the language of the people when I pray your Lordships to attend to the voices of nine-tenths of the people, who must not be heard, and the plain and reasonable to be mistaken or denied. But, my Lords, do not flatter yourselves into the belief that there is any abatement of the feelings of the people upon the subject of Reform. The prediction that if this bill passed, a more violent measure can be substituted with safety or advantage. You must either take this bill, or you will be called on, not for this, but for something which you will think infinitely more dangerous than the present measure, although perhaps not more dangerous than a second refusal. I would not recommend it to

your Lordships to regard popular clamour, but I would earnestly pray you to consider impartially and attentively the general expression of public opinion, and, if expedient, to yield to it. (Hear.) What was it that induced the noble Duke opposite to condescend to the claims of the Catholics? Did the noble Duke ever state that his opinions respecting those claims had been altered? Did he retract the sentiments and principles by which his former conduct had been governed? (Hear, hear.) Did the right hon. Member of the other House of Parliament, who was second only to the noble Duke himself in influence and importance, say that his own opinions had undergone any change? Did he not rather found the change in his policy upon the exigency of the times and the altered state of public opinion? Was not the noble Duke himself charged in this House with inconsistency, and with departing from his principles?—and was not the defence of the noble Duke that he had not changed his opinions, but that he could no longer act on them consistently with the opinions of the country? (Hear.) With respect to the present measure, I have not to excuse myself to your Lordships for any change of former opinions, or for any departure from principles formerly professed. But, had it been otherwise, I should have felt myself borne out by the example of the noble Duke, in yielding to the unequivocally declared opinions of the people, and giving them that full, free, and fair representation to which they are entitled by those principles of that Constitution which have rendered it the admiration of the world, and the envy of surrounding nations. I do not, therefore, my Lords, address you in the language of intimidation, when I entreat you to attend to the opinions of the people. But as noble Lords may dispute that those petitions express the opinions of the people, I will ask, can they dispute that those opinions were expressed in the results of the dissolution of last Parliament? When Sir Robert Peel introduced into the other House of Parliament the Bill for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, he stated that such changes had taken place in the opinions of the people, it would have been impossible for the Government to persevere in opposition to those opinions. Now, my Lords, how did the right hon. Gentleman make out his proofs that the people had so changed their opinions? He stated that the best criterion, the most practical and constitutional way to ascertain the opinions of the people, was to take a considerable number of the principal counties and towns, and to observe in what way the votes of their representatives had varied upon a particular question. On this principle the right hon. Gentlemen compared the votes of the representatives of sixteen counties, which, although the most important, and finding but of those representatives fifteen votes for, and only seventeen against the emancipation of the Catholics, when the question had been last before the House, he considered



that bare majority of two, a sufficient proof that the opinion of the people of England was favorable to that measure. The right hon. Gentleman's assertion of the change in public opinion was still more borne out by the vote upon the Relief Bill, which he introduced; for, of the representatives of those sixteen counties, twenty-seven voted for, and only nine against the bill. But how do we stand now? Every county for those sixteen counties has voted for the Bill, because a majority of twenty-seven to nine we have absolute unanimity. If this be not proof of the public opinion, I know not what is. (Hear.) On examining the list of names the second reading of this bill in the House, your Lordships will find that of eighty-two county members, seventy voted for, and but six against the bill; being a proportion of more than thirteen to one in favor of it. Again, my Lords, the representatives of towns, which are not included in either of the schedules A and B of this bill, are 134, and of these only forty-six voted against the bill. But in the schedules A and B there were entirely different. (Hear, hear.) Of the boroughs in schedule A, twenty-six members voted for, and twenty-six against the bill; and of those in schedule B, twenty-eight voted for, and twenty were against it. Defeating, therefore, from the whole assembly of English members against the second reading those who represented the boroughs in schedules A and B, who had a direct and personal interest in opposing the measure, there would remain but fifty-two against it. (Hear, hear, hear.) Nor does it stop there. For besides those boroughs, there are many other corporations, such as the City and School, in which, although the population is immense, the franchise is extremely limited. Now, the representatives of all these places had no direct interest in voting against the bill. Now, how does the question stand in regard to those boroughs? Of the forty-six members for boroughs, forty in schedule B and six who voted against the bill, twenty-four were appointed by a very small number of corporations. Defeating those twenty-four, therefore, and adding to the remaining twenty-two all county members, you will find that you have only twenty-eight persons voting the pretence of representing the representatives of the population of the whole of England opposed to the bill. (Hear, hear.) With that proof of public opinion, what is to be said of the necessity of a bill of this kind? (Hear, hear.) With no reason to be put forward, no reason, anything, my Lords, and that is the condition of the country with all the interests of the country. (Hear, hear.) I say, my Lords, that if we once begin to concede, there will be no end to the demands. That is as the country, which has led to such measures in our own times. When was it that concessions over-

turned a government? Was it concession that lost the Netherlands to Philip? Was it concession that brought Charles I. to the scaffold? No, it was his unfaithful attempt to violate that which he had already conceded. Was it concession that compelled the emperor and his son, the German Monarch, to abdicate the throne to which the people had renounced his father? Was it not rather his weakness through his wishes, and his unwillingness to do otherwise? Was it by concession that we lost America? (Hear, hear.) France has been so constrained the old monarch of France? I know that it has been said so, but I am fully persuaded, that if the old monarch of France had done that which I now propose to demand your Lordships to do, that he had consulted the wishes of the people and had aided their King in granting to the people the concessions which the exigency of the times demanded, and finally if that monarch would never have been driven from the throne of France. Was it concession that more recently drove Charles the Tenth from the same throne? Was it not rather the fact, that if he had adhered to the Charter to which he was bound, the people would have been content with the rights which it gave them? I know, my Lords, that some persons make a different application of these facts of history, and say—"See, what are the effect of concessions; when you offered to the Americans all that they required, they would not accept it." But their refusal is easily explained. The concession was not made in time. You proceeded in resisting the reasonable demands of your fellow-subjects, until at length you drove those colonies into the arms of France. No man can blame those who led to the present unsettled state of Ireland, notwithstanding the concession to the Roman Catholics of those rights of which they have been deprived so long, and the withholding of which I have always considered as impolitic as it was unjust. For the concession they were indebted to the good sense of the people; and I repeat that no man can regret more than I do that the concession was not followed by peace and tranquillity in that dear island. But what is the lesson to be drawn from this fact? It is not that the concession of the rights to the Catholics. It is not that it is a good thing to concede, and just to concede, and that it is most important to concede. (Hear, hear.) The lesson to be drawn is, that our concession should be made at the right time, and most experienced members of the House of Commons would be at the moment of the concession, prepared to see of the empire. For conceding the demands of the people, they would not be so violent. They would not be so violent, and when they did know their own power, and when they did know it, perhaps they were not willing to lay it down when the occasion for exercising it had passed away;





upon my seeing a reasonable prospect of being able to carry into effect this measure, to which I am pledged, as I think, by every tie of private honour, and by every obligation of public duty, both to my Sovereign and to the people. (Hear, hear, hear.) I wish your Lordships distinctly to understand (as I have already said, and the amendment was received with some apparent eagerness), that it is my deliberate conviction, that the dangers to be incurred by the rejection of this bill cannot be obviated by any measure of less force and efficiency. If such a plan be proposed, it is not by me that it will be supported; I never will consent to hold out to the people a delusive prospect of reform. I am convinced that they have a right to expect constitutional reform to the full extent of the bill upon the table, and that without it in its favour there is no sufficient ground. I have not before your Lordships any amendment which should tempt you to any such action, which in my view must inevitably bring rejection. I advocate this bill as a measure of peace and constitution; and in the words of the prayer we daily offer, I hope that Providence will "propose all your consultations to the advancement of his glory—in the good of the church, and to the safety, honour, and welfare of the empire." Much cheering! I am aware that I have already too long detained your Lordships; but I cannot conclude without expressing a hope—which I could not in a sanguine expectation—that this measure may receive your sanction. I thank your Lordships to take into view the situation of the country, and I trust that you will recognise the necessity for continuing by your vote a measure calculated not only to produce a beneficial good, but to prevent a calamitous evil. Cheers and reiterated thanks.

It is now Wednesday morning, the 5th of October. The debate was adjourned on Monday night, and again last night, and it may not terminate before this *Register* goes to press. There are some observations called for upon the part of the *Senate*, which is now before it. Upon the speech of Lord Grey it would be useless to waste time in pointing out a serious imperfection as the report misrepresents so much as the oldest of us have never heard before; but then it is the speech of a man whom I need for more than twenty years past always held up to my friends as a man possessing greater talent and knowledge, with regard to the major part of public matters, than any other man in the kingdom. He has always been, in my opinion, ever since he first

appeared in Parliament, by far the best speaker that England has possessed during my time; and I say all this without forgetting that he would have utterly deceived me if he could; and that it is no excuse for such a man to say that he was induced to make the attempt by the undue importunities of others.

There was, however, something far beyond the ability displayed by Lord Grey in the course of his clear and powerful statement, his unanswerable arguments, and his judicious appeal to the justice and prudence of the Peers; I mean, his bold and honest declaration, that he would not keep his place an hour if deprived of the means of carrying this great measure complete. That is precisely what the country wanted, and also what it expected from him. Now, we all know how we stand. We all know that this bill will pass, or, that the powers of the state are to pass into other hands.

The opposition was begun by Lord Wharncliffe, better known to the country by the name of Stuart Wortley, who was one of the messengers to Queen Caroline, along with Banks, Wilberforce, and Auckland. He moved at once that the bill be rejected; but he afterwards wished to withdraw that motion, and after a great deal of talk about the matter, a great deal of ability shown by the *Minister*, and a great deal of feebleness shown by the Opposition, he was allowed to new-model it into a motion, "That the bill be read a second time this day six months."

The speech of Lord Wharncliffe was a speech of words rather than of principle. It had no argument in it worthy of attention. Lord Mansfield, however, who came next on the same side, dwelt a good deal on the effects of the bill upon the character and proceedings of the House of Commons. He said that he believed, "that men of talent and enterprise, active and enterprising, who held opinions contrary to the interests of the country, would get into Parliament; and that these men would reduce the taxes, wipe away the National Debt, and abolish the

tithes. He also alluded to an abolition of the pensions, sinecures, and grants; and his great objection to the bill seemed to be that it prepared the way for an abolition of the peerage and an interference with the succession of the crown.

Now, I will deal frankly with his Lordship. I am for a government of King, Lords, and Commons; and, if this bill pass, it is my settled opinion that that government will still remain, and will be more respected and more honoured than it ever was before; but I am not for a government of King, Lords, and borough-mongers and loan-mongers, and with such government I never will rest contented. It is quite possible that I myself may become of the men of "talent, activity, and enterprise" that this bill may let into the Parliament; and I can assure his Lordship that, if that should be the case, no exertion within my power shall be wanting to cause to be done the very things, the rendering of which things possible makes him object to the bill. In all the just prerogatives of the King, in the dignity and privileges of the peerage, I see the greatest utility, not only in maintaining the honour of the country, but in promoting the happiness of the people themselves. These high stations, beyond the reach of mere riches, serve effectively to check the everlasting thirst for the masses of money; to be sure, I am to be understood as supposing that they are not to be purchased with money. They are, indeed, no harm to the people, and in certain cases they do them a great deal of good. They are attended with some evils; but, after long thinking and long observation, I am satisfied that, if judiciously used, the good of these institutions very far surpasses their evil. But if a peerage cannot be supported without pensions, sinecures, grants, half-pay, allowances, and salaries, such as we now behold, and such as we see the effects of, then where is the man who will hold up his head in defence of a peerage? A peerage can be upheld without any of these: it has, for many centuries, been upheld without them.

only about half a century has elapsed since the peerage stood in need of such support; instead of upholding a peerage, they tend directly to destroy it, by showing the people that the peerage is thus made the cause of their burdens and their misery. When the people are told, as they were by the result of the motion of Sir James Graham, that a hundred and thirteen of the Aristocracy swallow up as much money, taken out of the taxes, as is equal in amount to the poor rates of nine of the counties of England, how are the people to love that aristocracy? Not one shilling of this money would be voted by a reformed Parliament; on that, at least, that is my hope; and if it were not my expectation as well as my hope, I would not give a straw for that bill for which the nation now is so eagerly contending.

"They expect to have the taxes reduced." Expect? We are sure of it; yes, and to "see the national debt wiped off," "judgy mind; but, wiped off to a certainty," and to see the tithes abolished." To be sure we do, and if we did not, I tell Lord Mansfield that I really believe that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the people would wish the bill to be rejected, and never heard of more; for what is it to us that a thing called reform take place, if the same burdens upon us be to continue? The petition for reform which was presented by Lord Grey in the year 1793, contained this passage:—"Your petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable House to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of PRIVATE PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE; an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the House of Commons, and which, in its progress, threatens to sweep the sovereignty of the country to the equal danger of the King, of the Lords, and of the Commons."

I am compelled here to turn my commentary aside, and let it wait for

another week, if indeed, events should not arise which may make it quite obsolete and of no use. This is **THURSDAY MORNING**. Last night the debate was renewed and continued from Tuesday night; but there was nothing which took place from the debate began, which was a wholly unimportant matter in the debate itself, namely, a dissent on the preceding, or rather on the subject of the **BIRMINGHAM PETITION**. I shall here treat this debate at full length. It shows that things are coming to that point which I always said they would come to; namely, to a general reform for the direct taxes, in this bill and no more. Last year I gave lectures to most of the principal towns of thirty out of the forty counties of England. In every pair of those counties, with the exception of two, I was asked, in the most serious manner, by grave, sensible, and even rich men, whether I would recommend a refusal to pay the assessed taxes; to which I always answered that I would give no recommendation on the subject. I was then asked, generally, to give my advice on the mode of proceeding if the parties should resolve to do it. I always answered, that it was a thing about which I could offer no advice; and that I thought it was better for us to petition with great perseverance for a reform of the Parliament, and to wait patiently for the effect of those petitions, lest, in our eagerness to obtain redress, we should cause the destruction of things which we wished to uphold.

Now, let it be observed, that this was not only many months before the Duke of Wellington threw the country into a ferment by his violently expressed resolution against reform; but ten far greater public convulsions took place in the country before the French Revolution took place in the Duke's new career. The French Revolution was the French Revolution. It had not been for an hundred years that would actually have taken place in this country, so early had the convulsions. I shall now, indeed, this debate, paying my readers to go through every part of

it with great attention, and particularly to notice the clever manner in which my Lord Holland blew up the story of Lord Brougham about the inhabitants of Birmingham. But the great danger to which is the resolution at Birmingham to refuse to pay taxes, and I shall return to the Lord Chief Justice upon this question. I hope that all parties present will be rendered necessary by the speedy passing of the bill which, after all, I think the Lords will pass, notwithstanding all the big talk we hear against it.

Lord Wharfedale has another petition to present from merchants, bankers, and other wealthy inhabitants of the city of London, the prayer of which he would have read at the table, in order that he might avoid falling into a talking mistake as he had fallen into in regard to the prayer of the other petition. But as to that petition, he might fairly have considered it as being against the whole bill; since it prayed for alterations, whereas ministers had declared to reject all alterations. (No, no) He understood that such was the declaration of the noble Earl at the head of the Administration. But, however, as to the present petition, he was instructed to say that it had been signed between two o'clock on Saturday, and the same time on Tuesday by 500 persons. It had been agreed to at a meeting of merchants and bankers, held in consequence of another petition agreed to at another meeting, and said to be the petition of the merchants and bankers of the city of London, and which had been presented to the House as such. The petition which he had now to present was signed by many of the partners of the great mercantile houses in London; and although the private members might be on the other side, yet the men of the greatest property in London were adverse to the bill. Even among those who were friendly to the bill, there was in its favour was by no means an unanimity in that originally been, and as a proof of this he would say that the petition formerly presented from the merchants, bankers, and others in London had been signed by 500 persons; whereas the petition now presented had been signed by only 500 persons. He was instructed to state that the signatures to this petition included a large number of the property, including the City of London. But now he would turn the question over to what the House did with respect to some remarks of the other side in the view that the feeling in London and Westminster in favour of the Reform Bill had very much abated. It was said that he had taken his efforts to

inhabitants of Bond-street and St. James's-st. But he would assert with confidence, that if they were to apply not only to the inhabitants of Bond-street and St. James's-street, but to inquire at the shops in all the streets in London, Southwark, Westminster, and Mary-bone, they would find that the people had not only become cool towards the ministers, but that they generally blamed the ministers for proposing such a Bill. When they were told that to pass this Bill was the only way to prevent a revolution, it might be more justly said their passing it under the present circumstances would occasion a revolution; and when he looked at the proceedings at the Meeting of the Birmingham Political Union, in order to vote their petition, he might say that the revolution was not only threatened, but actually begun. (Hear, hear.) These people were not contented with the accounts of their proceedings given in the newspapers, but they published them for themselves, with medals attached to them; and if the language used by the orators at such meetings was not that of intimidation, he did not know what was; for in case the Bill did not pass, they openly threatened to employ physical force to carry their measure. One person—he believed a person of the name of Haynes, had said that they were not in the number of 150,000, in petition the Lords to pass the Bill, and this was the style in which he addressed these 150,000 men:—“I agree that the power of the people is great, not when it strikes, but when it holds in awe; not when the blow is actually struck, but when it is suspended. As Marcius said to the Roman people, ‘*Ostendite bellum, pascite libertatem*,’ so I say to you, show that you can fight, and you will never be under the necessity of fighting. (Loud cheers.) It is to this aim, in which the people have exerted their power that their success has been derived. As Mr. Attwood had said, the Levianthian is hoisted in the sea, and with 150,000 men at the foot of Newhall Hill to hold the rope, the Levianthian could not escape. (Loud cheers.) When the Reform Bill was carried into the House of Lords, they were surprised that the Levianthian, as his unholy feast. They were not, Mr. Speaker, professing the vessels of Gold, silver, but they were professing that which was not, his altar, the Levianthian, the Levianthian, namely, the Levianthian, and the Levianthian people. (Loud cheers.) But how, Mr. Speaker, is ending to the Levianthian, the Levianthian has appeared against them, they have been weighed and have been found wanting, and if they do not repent, they will be which is cut down, as well as the Levianthian them. (Loud cheers.) The power of the people is triumphant, they are now, and against it; as well might the Levianthian rise in opposition to the Levianthian, the Levianthian. (Loud cheers.) As you are aware, my countrymen, we are not in the number of 150,000, in petition the Lords to pass the

“Bill. (Hear, hear.) The question has been frequently asked, ‘Will the Lords pass the Bill?’ I answer the question by proposing another—Dare they refuse it? (Loud cheers.) If they do refuse, upon what can they ground their refusal? Is it upon right? If it comes to a matter of right, they have no right to interfere at all in the case, for the reform we seek is the reform of the House of Commons, and the House of Commons is not the House of Lords. (Hear, hear.) Observe, that the greatest legal assessments of the Law and Courts of our country have declared that the Peers have no right. So Simon D. Ewes, and John upon Lyttleton, have decided, that in cases which concern exclusively either House, the other House has no right to interfere. (Hear, hear.) Upon this principle it is, that the House of Commons does not interfere with the election of the representative peers of Scotland. (Hear, hear.) Can the Peers refuse the bill, because their trust is in the army? No. They cannot have an army to fight for them without they pay that army; and if the people refuse to pay taxes, how will that army be paid? (Loud cheers.) But supposing the English people were foolish enough to consent to pay taxes for the supply of such an army, where would it be found? (Hear, hear.) Would the gallant men who have won immortal honours in foreign lands consent to tarnish those honours, by murdering their wives, their friends, and relatives? (Loud cries of No, no.) To support the tyranny of four hundred men over sixteen millions, would they imbrue their swords in the blood of their countrymen? There is not a town, nor village, nor even a hamlet, which had not contributed one or more brave men to fill up the ranks of our army; and will these men, at the call of the thoroughbreds, come forth to shed the blood of their relatives upon their fathers’ graves? The supposition is ridiculous. Here this man had dared the Lords to refuse to pass the bill. Was not this the language of intimidation? If it was not, he could not understand what was the language of intimidation. The whole tenor of the language applied to physical force, and he might therefore say, that revolution was not only threatened but begun. Mr. Attwood, who was at the head of this meeting, told them, “that the unholy Levianthian of the Oligarchy was now hoisted in the sea. He (Mr. Attwood) would swear to any that they could live without labour, and hard labour too. But he would say, that every honest labourer in England had as good a right to a reasonable maintenance for his family in exchange for his labour as the King had to the crown jewels on his head; and that was the right which he was determined to enforce. If he had every right secured—if he had seen every labourer in England possessing an undoubted security for an honest life of bread for his family—if he had seen every honest labourer possessing abundant wages



hear), and so on from all the streets which his noble Friend might choose to name in the course of his prognostications, this would be the best answer to his noble Friend's remarks, and there he would leave them.

Earl Grey: After what his noble and lamented Friend had said, it was hardly necessary for him to make any observations on the remarks of the noble Lord opposite. He joined in the protest against circulating the idle and intemperate expressions of an individual to a whole body. But these Lordships would not be prevented by idle and intemperate expressions from doing their duty. When the bill in favour of the Roman Catholic was before their Lordships, they might well remember what intemperate expressions were used on one side and the other; but the noble Duke who was then at the head of the Administration, had disregarded those intemperate expressions, and passed that great and important measure. The noble Baron still persisted that the general feeling of the country was not in favour of the Reform Bill; but all that he would say in answer to that was to appeal to the petitions that were laid on their Lordships' table. (Hear, hear.) He was ready to admit that there were persons of respectability in London who might entertain sentiments unfavourable to reform; but he thought that it was rather too much to assume, that a petition from 800 persons formed a satisfactory ground for thinking that it spoke the sentiments of the great body of that opulent city. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the meeting at which the petition, presented by the noble Baron had been agreed to, it had been held pursuant to no public advertisement or notice; while, on the contrary, the meeting from which emanated the petition that he (Earl Grey) had presented the other night, was held, after having been advertised for a week, in the Egyptian Hall, and being attended by numerous as any former meeting; the petition was agreed to unanimously. It was true that the petition in March had been signed more numerously, but that was owing to its lying a longer time for signatures, and not to any falling off in the public opinion. (Hear, hear); and he believed that on investigation it would be found that the people of England were now as much in favour of reform as they had been at any former period. (Cheers.) And as a proof, he would mention that he was sure that there were persons who previously would not acknowledge the public advertisement, and said that all the excitement was imaginary; but who had at length very much changed their tone. (Cheers.) And had now an inclination to accede to some sort of reform, according to that time expressed, in the manner of some or any reform whatever. (Cheers.) The noble Baron said that he (Earl Grey) had refused to admit of any objection to his bill. Now he really did think, that when he had stated on Monday night was sufficiently open for all men to understand. It was the case that he had stated on the first meeting of

the measure in that House. He had originally stated, that though he would submit to any alteration that was consistent with the principle of the bill, he would not agree to any that would detract from its real efficacy. That was the assertion which he had again made the other night, and he added, that if their Lordships should reject the bill, he would submit the person to propose any measure that should be less conclusive. (Loud cheers.) These were the words which he had made use of; and he thought that he had been rightly understood, as the noble Earl had, in the course of that very evening, very nearly quoted his (Earl Grey's) observations verbatim. This, I think, was the fact as to what he had said; but did the House suppose that he was so ignorant of the privileges of that House, or so presumptuous as to his own power, as to say what should or what should not take place in the committee? That alone depended on their Lordships. (Cheers.) When the bill shall have reached the committee, the noble Lord may propose any alteration he pleases, and, indeed, he ought to vote for the second reading, after his declaration of the other night, in order that the bill might go into committee. (Hear, hear.) When they heard the noble Lord assent to the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs—to the giving representation to populous and opulent places—to aiding in the number of the county members—the noble Lord had, in fact, assented to the whole principle of the bill (loud cheers), and all the rest was only a question of degree, which it was for the committee to decide. Let the bill then go into committee, and let the noble Lord, when it was there, propose his alterations; and he (Earl Grey) would tell the noble Lord what should be his (Earl Grey's) conduct in that case. If the noble Lord proposed alterations which he thought calculated to diminish the effect of the bill, and, instead of making it a benefit, only turn it into a delusion for the people, he (Earl Grey) would most strenuously oppose them; but, on the same thing, he should be perfectly prepared to discuss them, and to leave them to the decision of the committee. These were the grounds on which he intended to act, and which he had stated over and over again; and after this explanation, he trusted that there would be no further misunderstanding of him. (Cheers.) (Hear, hear.) He was pained by the manner, in which he was efficient, and he would join in a party in anything that should diminish it; but he had not stated these observations might not be made, that should be a division in efficiency, or that he was not prepared, in the committee, to consider any alterations that might be proposed. (Cheers.)

The Earl of Mansfield said, that the noble Baron had made a lecture to his noble Friend concerning a speech in one way, by the Duke of the Reform Bill, but, the noble Lord (Mansfield) thought that the noble Earl who had just sat down had been saying

exactly the same thing (Hear, hear) With respect to the question brought before the House by his noble Friend (Lord Wharcliffe) he thought that the House had a right to complain that threats had been held out, and that they were not to be allowed to judge of the bill on its own merits. (Hear, hear.) He believed, that although there was a general feeling in favour of reform, there were also great apprehensions as to the result; should the bill pass into a law. (Hear, hear.)

The Duke of Buckingham begged to retract their Lordships to the question of the Birmingham petition. He agreed with the noble and learned Lord that the size of the few were not to be visited on the many; and it was a matter of congratulation to him to hear that noble and learned Lord state, that what had been read by the noble Baron was only the language of a single individual; and he would never believe, till he actually saw it, that any body of Englishmen could be seduced by a demagogue to set themselves in opposition to the institutions of the country. But he, nevertheless, begged the noble Earl to take warning by what had taken place at Birmingham, and to recollect that this language had not been held out at a common meeting, but at a political union, which the noble Earl had himself acknowledged, (Cheers,) and with which he had himself corresponded. With respect to the words which had fallen from the noble Earl on Monday night, he (the Duke) had taken a note of them, and they were—"Your Lordships must take this bill"—upon which there were cheers on this side of the House, after which the noble Earl went on—"Your Lordships must take this bill, or some other measure more dangerous, which you may not be able to resist." (Cheers from the Ministerial side.)

Lord Palmerston did not see there was anything in the words that had just been quoted by the noble Duke calculated to call for reprehension. What his noble Friend had stated was a matter of opinion; and, as far as that opinion went, he must say that he entirely agreed with his noble Friend (Cheers); and he believed that any one acquainted with the consequences of rejecting a measure safe, just, and reasonable, must feel that there would be a demand on the part of the people for something that would be unjust, unjust, and unreasonable. (Hear, hear.) With respect to what had taken place at Birmingham, he agreed that the words that had been stated by the noble Baron were only chargeable on one individual.

The Duke of Buckingham: Do you see then?

Lord Palmerston: Well, suppose it were so. Upon this the noble Lord—suppose now, two or three more had been taken up—suppose they had been taken up, and the House that there was not only a resolution in progress, but one actually completed in the country. (Cheers and laughter.) This certainly was an im-

agined deduction from slender premises as he had ever heard. (Laughter and cheers.)

Lord Tenterden agreed with the noble and learned Lord as to the danger of rejecting a just and reasonable measure; but the matter for them to consider was, whether this bill was just and reasonable (cheers); and in order that they might come to that consideration, he should move the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate.

Earl Cairns rose to order. There was a question concerning a petition already before the House, and there were other petitions to be presented.

Lord Tenterden had not been aware of that.

The Earl of Winterton would not have addressed their Lordships if there had only been the words read by the noble Baron to be complained of at the Birmingham meeting. But he would ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, whether his correspondent had informed him that one of the speakers, after having asserted to Hampden having refused to pay the ship money, had stated that in like manner he would refuse to pay the taxes, and had then called upon those who would refuse with him to hold up their hands, upon which the hands of one hundred and fifty thousand persons were held up; after which he called on those who would not refuse, to hold up their hands, and there was not one exhibited. (Hear, hear, hear.) He should like to know whether, after that fact, the noble and learned Lord would still maintain the peaceable, orderly, and kindly disposition of the meeting at Birmingham. (Hear, hear.)

The Lord Chancellor said, that nothing could have been more natural than his noble and learned Friend's (Lord Tenterden's) mistake, in supposing that they had been debating for a couple of hours without a question before them; for it was a thing that they were in the habit of doing continually. (Hear, hear.) But less happened, most extraordinarily, that there was a question before them at that instant, and he should avail himself of it to answer the query that had been put to him by the noble Earl who had just sat down. His correspondent, he begged to say, had not mentioned the fact which had just been stated by the noble Earl, nor had he (the Lord Chancellor) heard of it till that moment. He certainly did not like the fact, but what he had to say about it he would reserve for the debate on the bill. Undoubtedly it was a dangerous piece of intelligence (a laugh); but, nevertheless, as a lawyer, he must say, that all those hands might have been held up, and yet he could not say that there was any breach of the King's peace, or any offence that the law knew how to punish. He could not help it. Such was the law. With respect to the "kindly" disposition of the meeting, that was a new word introduced by the noble Earl. What his correspondent had stated, was, that the meeting was conducted as regularly as one of their Lordships' meetings (a laugh),



and that it had separated as quietly as children coming out of school. (A laugh.)

The Earl of ELDON should be ashamed of himself, if, *after living so long in his profession*, he did not take that opportunity of saying a few words. No man could be more ready than he was to admit that a meeting was not answerable for the declarations of an individual; but if by *holding up their hands*, or in any other way, the meeting had *endangered the peace of the country*, he knew no reason for believing that they had not already fallen into the situation of being answerable to the laws of the country. (Hear, hear.) If those statements which had been read to the House had really been made, he would take the liberty of saying, that if those statements had come under the cognizance of the law officers of the crown, and if no satisfactory explanation of them had been given, *those authorities had not done their duty to the country in failing to bring them under legal notice*. (Cheers.) But this being the case, he was necessarily disposed to believe that there was some way of accounting for men having presumed to make such statements. As a lawyer, he begged to apply himself to the *Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench*, and to the noble and learned Lord who, for so many years, had presided over the *Court of Common Pleas* (Lord Wynford); and he desired to know from these noble and learned Lords whether, if those hands had been held up in the manner that had been described—and the fact could be proved—*every individual in the meeting was not in point of law as much answerable to the law who had proposed to them to hold up their hands*. (Hear, hear.) And he begged to tell the noble and learned Lord (Brougham), towards whom he should ever entertain the greatest respect, that that seat on the Woolsack would not be a seat which any one could maintain for six months, if the doctrines which were now circulated throughout the country—which were every morning placed under the review of everyone—were suffered to be promulgated any longer. (Hear, hear.) That was his opinion; he alone was answerable for his opinions, and for that he was prepared to answer at all hazards.

The LORD CHANCELLOR rose, not so much for the purpose of replying to the observations just made, as for the purpose of preventing his noble and learned Friend under the gallery from answering the question put to him. If the matter in question were an indictable offence, his noble and learned Friend might be called upon to try it, and therefore he would at present feel the impropriety of delivering any opinion respecting the law as applicable to the acts done. It was quite a mistake to suppose that he (the Lord Chancellor) had given the slightest countenance to the Birmingham meeting; he merely said that no breach of the peace had been committed. An indictment might be preferred for an offence of another nature; upon that he gave no opinion: he went no further than to say

that no breach of the peace had been committed. The Chairman said it was a peaceable meeting, meaning that there was no riot.

LORD TENNENT was not ungrateful to his noble and learned Friend upon the Woolsack for the admonition received from him, but he could assure the House, that even without that admonition he should have refrained from pronouncing any opinion, for the matter might come before him judicially; and if his noble and learned Friend had not so addressed to the House the necessary explanation, he himself should have felt bound to explain.

LORD WHARFCLIFFE and the Earl of DUNDAS rose at the same time, but the latter gave way. The former said, he did not mean to impute the words of the speech to any one but the persons by whom it was spoken, or to fix responsibility for it upon any other person; but he desired to call the attention of Government to this, that if they allowed such proceedings to go on much further every thing like legitimate authority in the country must cease.

LORD HOLLAND.—I do not rise for the purpose of calling any one to order, but I would beg to request the attention of the House, in order that I may be allowed to state the condition in which matters now stand. The question before the House is, that a certain petition do lie upon the table, and upon this a conversation takes place. Now I have no intention of making observations upon the Birmingham meeting, or upon Political Unions, any further than to observe, that what we have heard to-night is nothing more than a repetition of what the noble and learned Lord opposite has often said before upon similar occasions. For example, when the Association in Ireland was under discussion, and also in the case of various other associations in other places, he over and over again told us, that the country would not last if such things were allowed to continue. I confess it has always appeared to me, that discussions of this nature will neither redound to the honour or dignity of this House, or to the least degree assist our deliberations. However, upon that subject I will not trouble your Lordships with any observations, neither shall I say much upon any other topic; but I cannot refrain from just noticing what fell from a noble Baron as to the feeling of the city of London, and which I cannot for a moment allow to pass without registering my dissent. But, as to what fell from a noble Baron on the other Cyren Bench, I will assert, that nothing more unjust, more unwarrantable, or more unbecoming for, was ever uttered. The words of the noble Duke were quoted, and what do those words amount to?—If you reject this bill you will soon have another bill for reform, though not from the same hands or from the same government—that would be a bill in truth more unpalatable to some of your Lordships, though, probably, more in accordance with the votes of this House. I can think of such circumstances of a noble Lord or noble Duke who had previously declared, that no-



thing could induce him to form part of any government which sanctioned a measure of reform. I can now fancy such a noble Duke coming down to this House and saying:—"Things are now most materially changed—there is a collision between the House of Lords and the House of Commons. I know what war is, and you do not, I said you had no intention of bringing forward a measure of reform, but now the state of things is most materially changed; but don't allow large Meetings such as Birmingham to intimidate you—be bold, be stout, be determined. But if the association be once formed, you must give way, then there is danger of war, and agitators are abroad; and I know what war is, and I tell you you are in a different situation from that in which you before stood, and I will drag you through the mire after having before bespattered you." It is your business that a noble Duke might hold such language. Is it not just possible that a noble Gentleman in another place might say something of the same sort? He might say "My opinions are not altered—I am really opposed to the bill, but there is danger, and it is only to danger that I would yield; and, therefore, I recommend you to make concessions to the dangerous spirit of the times." Surely, my Lords, you cannot fail to ask yourselves this—Is it not much more dignified to yield before there is danger than afterwards? As respects this House, the present is now a virgin question. If you agree to reform now, it becomes the spontaneous act of this House. I inquire of your Lordships, is not such a course more consistent with the dignity of this House, and likely to prove more advantageous to ourselves? There is no shrinking from this truth—either that you must take the bill now or be forced by circumstances to adopt hereafter a measure felt as efficient, and, perhaps, less acceptable to this House; whereas, if the proposed change be adopted before the danger arises, all idea of intimidation will be out of the question. (Cheers.)

The Duke of Winchester. The noble Baron rose, and made a speech to order, and I never recollect a speech more distinguished with order, or with the practice of this House. On the question:—"That the petition be lie upon the Table," the noble Baron rose to take a debate, and on, I may say, upon a subject now under the consideration of Parliament, and he alluded to a debate on a subject respecting which I rather thought that, for once in my life, I retained the opposition of the noble Baron. This discussion has now lasted some time; but during the whole of it I remained silent. I did not wish to draw your attention to the bill now in your Lordships' table, upon the occasion of my presenting a petition. I have already said so, and I have not uttered a word during the present debate, and I do not see how my sentiments can with propriety be brought into discussion.

I do not deny that I always felt strongly the attempts that were made to intimidate your Lordships; but for that Meeting which has been described in the paper produced in this House, and for all such Meetings I feel the greatest contempt; and I am perfectly satisfied that the House is superior to any intimidation founded on the proceedings of any such assemblies. I feel no concern for all these threats, whether proceeding from Birmingham or elsewhere. I have always thought, and I think still, that the law is too strong to be overborne by such proceedings. I know further, that there does exist throughout this country a strong feeling of attachment to the Government of the country, as by law established. I know that the people look up to the law as their best means of protection, and these laws they will not violate in any manner to endanger the Government of the country, or any of its established institutions. I am afraid of none of these, but I will tell your Lordships what I am afraid of. I am afraid of revolution, and revolutionary measures, brought in and proposed by his Majesty's Government. (Long-continued and enthusiastic cheering from the Opposition benches.) I assert, and I believe that history will bear me out in the assertion, that there has been no revolution in this country, or any great change, which has not been brought about by the Parliament, and generally by the Government introducing measures and carrying them through by the influence of the Crown. I would therefore entreat your Lordships to do all you can to defeat this measure—use every means of resistance which the just exercise of your privileges will warrant, and trust to the good sense of the country to submit to the legal and just decision you come to. (Cheers.)

The Earl of Cambridge said, that none of the revolutions which occurred in this country were brought about by Parliament. He wished to inquire from the noble Duke who had just sat down, if he meant to say that the reformation of the Church of this country was a parliamentary revolution, or if the revolution of 1688 was a parliamentary revolution, and were there any other revolutions besides these?

The Earl of Winchester could not suffer the unwarrantable attack which had been made upon a noble Duke near him to pass without notice. He could not allow without notice that any noble Lord should say of that noble Duke that he would aim at obtaining office by a sacrifice of principle. (Cries of *Wine*, and *Wine* from the Treasury bench.) A more unpardonable attack than that which had been made upon the noble Duke he had never heard. Though he (Lord Winchilsea) differed from that noble Person upon a great and memorable occasion, yet he gave him the fullest credit for perfect sincerity, and for an earnest wish to maintain the peace of the country. It was with much regret that he had now to acknowledge that he assisted in

removing that noble Duke from office, and putting in place of him and his colleagues a Ministry deserving neither the confidence of Parliament, nor the respect of the country—a Ministry ready to sacrifice the dearest rights and interests of the country, and incur the hazard of overturning all the established institutions, from too great a facility in yielding to clamour and popular excitement, rather than listening to the dictates of good sense and sound policy. The noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack had laid down a doctrine to which he (Lord W.) could not subscribe, namely—that to refuse those taxes which the necessities of the country and the honour of the Sovereign demanded, was no breach of the public peace—he would say it was treason; and if the Government did their duty, they would instantly prosecute the persons accused of such an offence.

Lord Holland rose to explain; he did not cast any imputation upon the sincerity of the noble Duke—neither did he raise any question as to his motives for accepting or rejecting office. The noble Lord then recapitulated the speech given above.

Earl Grey. I wish to vindicate myself from the imputation of having made, upon the presentation of a petition, a second speech upon the bill now upon your Lordships' table. I am sure it will be felt that I did not say more than the occasion called for. There is another topic upon which I think it necessary to say a few words. I think the noble Earl opposite will, upon reflection, be induced to think, that in the heat of debate he has gone further than he meant. I am not one of those who object to observations upon public men. I admit that he, believing we deserved to forfeit the confidence of Parliament, is fully entitled to say so. If he had not gone further, and said that I belonged to a body which had forfeited its claim to public respect, I should have had no right to complain; but I do think that parliamentary usage affords no justification for his saying that we are ready to sacrifice the dearest interests of the country to retain our situations. That, I am sure he will upon reflection, see is against all parliamentary order. What I would desire to ask the noble Earl is this—Does he mean to say, that for the purpose of retaining our situations we are prepared to sacrifice the rights and interests of our country?

The Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Winchelsea rose at the same moment and for a considerable time the calls for each appeared pretty equal, but the noble Duke eventually succeeded in obtaining a hearing. He was sure that the noble Earl merely meant that Ministers were ready to sacrifice what he (Earl W.) considered—not what they themselves considered to be, the rights of Englishmen.

The Earl of Winchelsea: I never meant to impute to the noble Earl opposite the sacrifice of any principle which he ever professed. Individually I feel the highest respect for the

noble Earl. So great was my respect for him, that I did feel the strongest inclination to support his Government, for I felt quite sure that he would be the last man in the country who would retract a word he had uttered, or swerve from any principle he professed, and the noble Duke near me has correctly interpreted my sentiments. I did mean to impute to the noble Earl merely the intention to destroy what I conceive to be the dearest rights of the country.

Earl Grey expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

There was then a very general call for the Order of the Day; but

Lord Holland said, there were still several petitions to present.

The Earl of Dudley was understood to agree to the continued reception of petitions.

Lord Russell rose to ask a question, but could not obtain a hearing.

Lord Holland said, he had a petition to present from the inhabitants of Bond-street; it was signed by 161 persons; there are little more than 200 households in the street, and a large proportion of these were females, so that the inhabitants of Bond-street had now relieved themselves from the reproach to which they were liable amongst their fellow-citizens of being unfriendly to Reform.

Lord Wharnccliffe said his mention of Bond-street and St. James's street was purely accidental. He merely referred to them as they presented themselves first to his mind—not from supposing that they were particularly adverse to Reform.

Lord Holland. If the noble Baron will only mention the particular street in which he supposes an opinion to prevail unfriendly to the bill, I am ready to pledge myself that I shall bring down to the House to-morrow a petition from the majority of the inhabitants of such street, setting the noble Lord right as to the state of their opinions. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.)

Lord Mulgrave rose amidst loud cries of "Order!" which for some moments prevented his being heard. He would stand there, he said, until it should be their Lordships' pleasure to hear him. (Order, and hear.) He assured his noble Friend, that in the remarks which he (Lord Mulgrave) had made upon the opinions of the inhabitants of Bond-street, he did not mean to compare them in comparison with their fellow-citizens. All that he meant was, that if his noble Friend would take the trouble to extend his inquiries and perambulations to other streets, he would find the same species of contradiction of his statement, that the feelings of the people had cooled upon the subject of reform, as was afforded by the example which he himself (Lord Wharnccliffe) had chosen. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Lord Wharnccliffe had never said that the feelings of the people were altered on the general question of reform, but that a great part of them shrunk from the bill upon the table.

Lord MULGRAVE had not read the petition just presented by his noble Friend beside him (Lord Holland); but he believed that the petitioners earnestly prayed their Lordships to pass the bill now before them. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Kenyon and the Marquess of Westminster rose together, amidst loud cries for the latter, to whom at length Lord Kenyon gave way.

Lord Westmoreland said, that the motion before the House was that the petition (from Bond-street) should lie upon the table, and as he had presented a petition from the city of Westminster, of which the present petitioners are inhabitants, he begged leave to say a few words upon that petition. (Hear.) The noble Baron opposite (Lord Wharfedale) had said that the petition of the inhabitants of Westminster was in fact being ignorantly rejected—that it was a strange petition, and as such, to be left altogether. (No, no, says Lord Wharfedale.)

The Duke of Buckingham rose to order (Great Interruption by cries of "Hear" and "Order"). He said that the petition had been ordered to lie upon the table, and that, therefore, there was no question before the House.

The Marquess of Westminster said, that the question respecting the petition had not been put, and that he was accordingly in order. (Hear, hear.) He had only to say

that Bond-street or St. by other street in Westminster is the Reform Bill.

they would have rejected the motion, and opposed the petition which he had presented. It was not to be believed, that the majority of the inhabitants of that city were of different opinions from those of the petitioners; they would not have allowed it to be rejected, and overwhelmed the reformers by their vote.

Thus, then, we stand. On Thursday morning, the 14th of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and now, I think, we stand in the test of my memorable prophecy, contained in my leave-taking address when I left America to cross the Atlantic, of the success of the cause of the reform. After stating that that reform, viz. with a million and a half of us, had actually petitioned the Parliament, and stating that that reform alone could save the country from revolution, and saying that that reform would soon deliver us from the scourged and degraded paper currency, the effect of which I then pronounced to be fatal. I pronounced, "that the thorough-mongers are frightened at the work

of their own hands; they have surrounded themselves with all the securities which an army and the absolute power of imprisonment at pleasure can give them; but he you assured that they tremble within. They are scared at the desolation which they have brought upon the country. They are compelled to smile upon the fundholders, and yet they would fain that there were no such people in existence. Refused in all their projects and prospects, they know not which way to turn themselves. Their progress seems to be like that of the Quaker in Hogarth, and their situation at this particular stage is nearly approaching to that of his, when, having entered and lost his last desperate stake, you see him gnashing his teeth, holding up above his head his two clenched fists, stamping upon the floor, and uttering curses, while the fundholders, who sit round the table, are sneering and scoffing at his demoniac agonies.

Some time ago it was their project to cause the Bank to pay again in specie; and agreeably to that project, they issued the new silver currency. It appears to be now their project to get fresh quantities of paper again afloat; and, if they can do that, the first effect of it will be, the disappearance of the new silver currency, which, though inferior in sterling value, will nevertheless continue to circulate amidst such additional quantities of paper as will produce any sensible effect in the raising of prices, and in the lowering the real amount of taxation. I do not deny the possibility of augmenting the quantity of paper in circulation, seeing that the proprietors of landed and goods have nothing to offer in pledge for it. But, besides, if it were to be effected, what tremendous mischief it would produce! Suppose the paper thus put out to reduce the value of the currency one-third. A man who has made a contract to pay to receive three hundred pounds in a hundred days, would in fact receive only two-thirds of what he

" had contracted for. This real breach  
 " of contract would take place with  
 " respect to all bargains made at this  
 " time, or recently made; all mortgages,  
 " lands, leases, annuities, yearly wages  
 " of servants, and every thing else of  
 " that description. Goods sold on long  
 " credit would share the same fate; and  
 " as there is perhaps many millions-  
 " worth of goods always sent to foreign  
 " countries upon long credit; when the  
 " money comes to be paid, it would be  
 " paid in a currency of one-third less in  
 " value than the currency *estimated*  
 " upon when the goods were sold. Thus  
 " a merchant abroad, who must now  
 " send three hundred pounds sterling  
 " to discharge his debt to his creditor  
 " here, would, in fact, have to send only  
 " two hundred pounds sterling in real  
 " money; because, two hundred pounds  
 " in real money would purchase three  
 " hundred pounds in the paper that  
 " would then be afloat."

" Here, then, the waves of the sys-  
 " tem, by suddenly taking a swell in  
 " this new direction, would overwhelm a  
 " new class of the community; and by  
 " this time, the discredit of the paper  
 " would become so notorious to the  
 " world, that the people of all foreign  
 " nations would keep aloof from it;  
 " would begin to shake their heads, and  
 " exclaim, '*Babylon the Great is fallen.*'  
 " What I am disposed to think, however,  
 " is, that this project for getting out  
 " new quantities of paper-money will  
 " not succeed; and yet, without it, the  
 " interest of the debt cannot be paid out  
 " of the taxes; for though standing  
 " armies and sedition bills and Habeas  
 " Corpus suspension bills are dread-  
 " fully powerful things, their power is  
 " not of that kind which enables people  
 " to pay taxes. In all human proba-  
 " bility, then, the whole of the interest  
 " of the debt and all the sinecures and  
 " pensions and salaries, and also the  
 " expenses of a thousand standing  
 " army, will continue to be made up,  
 " by taxes, by loans from the Bank,  
 " by Exchequer Bills, by every species  
 " of contrivance to the latest possible  
 " moment, and until the whole of the  
 " paper system, amidst the war of

" opinions, of projects, of interests, and  
 " of passions, shall go to pieces like a  
 " ship upon the rocks."

This was my prophecy then; and it  
 now depends, in all human probability,  
 upon the conduct of the Lords and of  
 the Ministry and the King, whether the  
 last part of the prophecy or the first part  
 of it shall be literally fulfilled. The  
 Lords do not know that the country is  
 absolutely convulsed with its distresses.  
 They imagine that the club-houses are  
 a specimen of the state of the country.  
 My belief is, that a great deal more  
 than one-half of the farmers and trades-  
 men are totally careless about all mat-  
 ters relative to the preservation of prop-  
 erty. I believe that such is their  
 state, that they hardly hope to be able  
 to recover themselves by the operation  
 of the ordinary and peaceable course of  
 things, even if all the taxes were re-  
 pealed. So that their Lordships are  
 quite deceived if they think that even  
 men of property will be frightened at  
 the sound of revolution. Baring was  
 reported to have said, at the opening of  
 the Parliament in October last, or soon  
 afterwards, that the people were as well  
 off as they ever were, and that all the  
 disturbances and all the projects of  
 change were produced by the then re-  
 cent French Revolution; so says the  
 Duke of Wellington still. I have re-  
 lated above, that, in a great proportion  
 of the English counties, men of prop-  
 erty, men of sense, proposed, long be-  
 fore that French Revolution, to resort  
 to a refusal of the payment of taxes;  
 and that they only were prevailed upon  
 to wait in order to try the Parliament  
 once more for a reform. The Duke of  
 Wellington was driven out of office  
 solely because he expressed his deter-  
 mination to grant no reform whatsoever.  
 In other respects, he was rather popular  
 than otherwise; but that declaration  
 ruined him. It is notorious that Lord  
 Grey came in in order to quiet the peo-  
 ple by promising them a Parliamentary  
 reform; so it, then, to be supposed that  
 those who opposed this reform, having  
 a great majority in the House of Com-  
 mons elected under the old system  
 even; is it to be supposed that they

could now come into power and govern the country in peace? Lord GAY has distinctly declared that he will not remain in power a single day longer than he has a full prospect of speedily carrying this measure: this is a most important declaration. The country understand the full value of it; and, then, who is to succeed him? Who is to carry on the Government in opposition to him? Why, when he comes into power, it was as nearly anarchy as possible: the Prime Minister could neither walk nor ride in the streets without insult; there were fights in the streets, the people against the police, one attacking and the other defending him. It was impossible for him to go on without a dreadful conviction, without something or other that must have speedily brought order and law to an end. What, then, should we have to expect now? To describe the state of things that would arise if Lord GAY were to be driven out and WILKINSON put in his place, is a task that I shall not undertake, and that for more reasons than one; but one is quite sufficient, and that is, that I have not the power to describe it.

The debate which I have just inserted, relative to the Birmingham petition, was, to be sure, most triumphant for the ministers. They showed their superiority over their opponents in every possible way. Without expressing any probation of the strong language made use of at Birmingham, they endeavored to have its full weight with the country; they suffered the unanimous declaration of 150,000 people, against the payment of taxes to have its full weight; and they were certainly right in so doing: they were right in taking the example of Birmingham, operate on the people, and on the minds of their opponents. The ridicule of Lord HOLLAND upon WELLINGTON and ERSKINE, showed any thing of the kind that I have seen for a great many years; and the sting seems to have been felt in a manner proportioned to its sharpness. It was a complete and most admirable answer to all that the Duke had said the night before in his defence. But, of all the things

that have occurred during the whole of these six months of debating, nothing equals the nice little exposure which Lord HOLLAND brought snugly in his pocket for the Seigneur of WHEARNOLIFFE, who had sold them, on Monday night, that he had talked with the sensible tradesmen of Bond-street, and that they had told him that they saw great danger in the Reform Bill. There are, it seems, two hundred houses in Bond-street, many of them in the occupation of women; and say Lord HOLLAND had, in his pocket, a petition from a hundred and one men, shop-keepers in Bond-street, praying the Lords not only to pass the bill, but to do it quickly. The same Seigneur of WHEARNOLIFFE brought petitions from some persons at Ipswich, containing, as he said, a prayer against Reform. My Lord RUSSELL took a peep into the petition and found that the petitioners prayed most earnestly for a moderate and *reasonable* Reform, and he had found this to be the case in several other instances of anti-reform petitions. Out of the 15,000 of whom Lord ELDON had presented the petition against the Reform Bill it was discovered, that *ten thousand* had been put down by mistake! The Seigneur of WHEARNOLIFFE, finding himself answered by Bond-street, said that he did not confine himself to Bond-street, but that his observations extended to London, Southwark, and all round about, upon which Lord HOLLAND desired him to be so good as to bring some one street somewhere, and he pledged himself to bring from that very street, a petition of nine-tenths of the inhabitants, praying for Reform.

In short, all the infamous lies, representing the people to have cooled upon the subject of Reform, now stand exposed to every day, are now proved to have been but hatched for the purpose of mischief: the Lords must see that they have the whole of the people against them if they throw out this Bill. They must see that all their objections are futile: they must see, at any rate, that the people pay no attention to those objections: they must see that the question now is, whether they shall

declare open hostility to the people, or whether they shall shake hands with them, and live together upon friendly terms in future. All the professions (put forth by every opposition Lord) that they opposed the Bill, *not for their own sakes only*, but for the sake of the people also; these professions are, alas! of no avail. The people now know how much their families are benefitted by the rotten-borough system: the people know, that what my Lord King said was true; namely, that "*the proprietors of seats in Parliament were also now the proprietors of the taxes*"; and that this proprietorship worked "in such a way as to give Members of the House of Lords more than three hundred thousand pounds a year out of those taxes." The people know all this; they have long known it; and, knowing all this, how useless, alas! are the professions, that, in refusing the Bill, which will take away the proprietorship, the Lords consult the interests of the people, and not the interests of themselves alone!

If the Lords who oppose this bill were to read the speeches at the Birmingham meeting for purposes of information, and not for purposes of cavil and of quarrel, never would they have put forth professions such as I have been pointing out: never would they have hoped to cause such professions to have any weight with the people. The speakers at that meeting have developed the whole history and mystery of the opposition to reform on the part of the Peers; and their Lordships should bear in mind that the knowledge discovered by the speakers at that meeting is possessed by them in common with almost the whole of the people of this kingdom. Let them then read those speeches for information: all the people do not make speeches; but all of them think; and they all think alike upon this subject. It is, in fact, simply a contest between the payers and the receivers of taxes. The payers are satisfied that they never can know prosperity and happiness again unless they have cheap government. If, indeed, the Seigneur of WHARNCLIFFE had gone to the Club

Houses; to the "*United Service Club*," and the "*Junior United Service Club*;" if he had gone to the offices of Stamps, Customs, Excise, Navy, Army, Victualling; if he had gone to the cloth and meat and corn contractors; if he had gone to the contractors for loans, transports, and the like; if, in the counties, he had gone to the tithe-owners; if he had gone to the Universities; there he would have found petitioners enough for no reform whatsoever; they being quite willing to leave "*well enough alone*." If he had taken those who profit by our populous pension list, and sinecure list, and list of grants, and of retired allowances and of widows' pensions, and children's pensions, what a goodly petition he would have had to present; and, if one had time, one might imagine the sort of petition that they would have drawn up and put into his hands, setting forth, "that your humble petitioners are well aware that bribery, corruption, perjury, drunkenness, and all sorts of evils, arise from a system of rotten boroughs and rotten corporations choosing Members to serve in Parliament; but that your humble petitioners know also that there is seldom any good, without its concomitant evil; seldom any virtue, possessed in a high degree, without some concomitant vice; that Providence has so ordered it that good and evil shall co-exist in this world; and that, all that mortals have to hope for in this vale of tears, is, that the good shall preponderate over the evil: that we find the good so to preponderate in this case; that we find that, notwithstanding the bribery, corruption, perjury and infamy, belonging to elections, the Parliament *works well*; and that, therefore, we beseech your right hon. House not to suffer any change whatever to be made in the representation in Parliament."

There is not a tax-eater in the whole kingdom that would not sign such a petition as that. And, talk about the thing as long as we please, it is, after all, a question of money: it is, after all, a question whether those who labour and who have an income out of

their own property, shall or shall not, continue to be made poor and miserable; to be constantly exposed to all sorts of anxieties and hardships; many of them frequently to want a meal, and occasionally some of them to be starved to death; whether or not all these should continue to be inflicted upon them in order that those who have no property, of their own, or who do not work in any way whatsoever, should be able to live in ease and in luxury. That is the real question, after all; and that question, as far as this present House of Lords can go, must now be decided in a very few days. The system works well for those who receive the taxes and the tithes; but these are the thousands, while the payers of the taxes are the millions; and the question, therefore, is, whether the Lords will or will not prefer the good of the thousands to the good of the millions.

Lord Mansfield is reported to have said that a reformed Parliament would, amongst other things that it would do, "wipe away the national Debt, regardless of the gratitude due to those who assisted the Government in the time of its need." This is just the language that old Lord Chatham said the mock-worms made use of. But, Lord Mansfield is not treated fairly here by me, until I have finished his sentence, thus: "and to do away with PENSIONS which had been won by the blood and glorious exertions of those who had procured for us a safe and honourable peace." What, then, my Lord Mansfield, I suppose that BURNES and THOMAS GREENVILLE and Lord GREENVILLE and MORTAGU BURNES and Lord CAMDEN and the late Marquis of BUCKINGHAM and the two RICHMONTS and Lord ARDEN and CHARLES YORKS and SIMONDS's son; I suppose that all these, and hundreds of others, have shed their blood for us. And CANNING's mother and sister, and the Duke of WELLINGTON's mother, and all the long list of noble ladies and honourable ladies, and their little boys and girls, and HARRIS's mother and sisters, and Sir JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE's wife, and CUMBERLAND, the play-writer, and his

children; all these have shed their blood, I suppose, and we, poor ignorant mortals! never knew any-thing at all about the matter. Poh! my Lord Mansfield, say put a word more about the matter! We will take care that we will have no ladies to shed their blood for us in future, nor little girls nor boys; and I tell you plainly, that every exertion in my power shall be made to cease giving one single farthing more of the public money to those which we already have upon the list. It is a question of money, again I say. Dividing it into parts, this question will arise: Shall the persons keep the sixteen hundred thousand pounds which the Parliament voted them out of the taxes after PENNELL came into power? Another question will be this: Shall this nation continue to be taxed, in order to send one hundred thousand pounds a year out of the country, as half-pay to Hanoverian and other foreign officers, and as allowances to widows and children of such of them as may be dead? If the Seigneur of WARRNOLIFFS had gone to Hanover, what an unanimous petition he could have got against Parliamentary Reform! In short, we are a nation of most industrious people, pressed down to the earth by want, in consequence of our incomes and our earnings being taken from us to be given to those who scorn us while they wallow in luxury upon the fruits of our labour. We all understand it. There is not a labourer in any hamlet in the kingdom who does not, in substance, understand the matter as well as I do. We all know that the sixteen hundred thousand pounds given to the persons came out of the loans of which we have to pay the interest. We all know that the war against the French had for its principal object to prevent Parliamentary reform in England. We all know that the loans made to carry on that war were greatly injurious to us. We all know this, that the Government of this country may be carried on; that the King and his family may be generously maintained in all the splendour of Royalty; that a navy ready to cope with all the world may be always in a



state of preparation; and that all this may be done with taxes amounting to less than ten millions a year; without any tax of Excise, without any assessed tax, without any stamp tax, and with only as much tax and customs as would be advantageous, instead of being injurious, to the industry and resources of the kingdom, and with only such a tax upon the land as would form a security for the state in case of emergency. We all know this now; we all know that Providence has done so much for us that it requires nothing but common talent and integrity in the Ministers and the King, and a vigilant and honest Parliament, to make us always the most powerful country in the world, and to give the whole of us that ease and abundance and peace and security which our industry so richly merits. We all know this well; and I, for one, will never cease my best exertions to obtain that which we ought to possess. Therefore the Lords might save themselves the plague and trouble of any further debating upon the subject. If they mean to refuse to pass the bill, the sooner we have their refusal the better. I hope and trust that their decision will be the contrary of this; and I am sure, that if such be their decision, they will very soon perceive that their alarms, if they really entertain any, have been groundless; and that, this day twelvemonth, the alarmists will be very much obliged to any one who will say nothing to them about the matter. The consequences to them shortly stated are: they will lose rotten boroughs, pensions, sinecures, grants, and allowances to themselves and their families; and they will, in future, have their own estates in reality, and not be showed out of them by butcher and other contractors, and by loanmongers. These are the consequences to the Peers of England; and their taste must be very different from mine if these be not consequences which will delight them instead of plunging them into that despair of which some of them now so ludicrously talk.

WM. COBBETT.

## ADDRESS

TO THE

EARL OF RADNOR

FROM THE

BRIGHTON POLITICAL UNION.

Mr. Lord,

We, the Members of the Brighton Branch Political Union, have learnt with great pleasure, the generous and patriotic sentiments expressed by your Lordship in a letter to Mr. Whittle at Manchester, recommending Mr. Cobbett to the people of Manchester as a person capacitated in an extraordinary degree for the representation of them in Parliament, and the support of all their rights and privileges as men, and equal members of society; also, your offering pecuniary assistance, which will be necessary to the accomplishment of an end so ardently anticipated by the people.

Though Englishmen have yielded in almost a tacit submissiveness to unabating tyranny, arising from the barbarous caprices or the unhallowed interest of their imperious enemies; nay, though Englishmen have flattered the very authors of all their ills and miseries; yet they have ever felt gratitude and the highest esteem for the individual that would boldly enter the political arena to arrest the iron hand of oppression, and as the champion of the people, to defend their ostensible rights.

As such is Mr. Cobbett justly and pre-eminently regarded by tens of thousands of his fellow creatures.

Unequaled in political talent, he has for a long period of years directed the voluminous productions of his pen in the protection and defence of the enslaved millions of his native country; the powerful influence of his astenishing mind has been a moral lever exerted with singular perseverance upon the solid fulcrum of truth against the ignorance that has more or less pervaded all ranks of society upon subjects of a political nature; yes, he above every other person, has contributed to remove from the nation at large, the



gross film that has obscured and does even now but too much obscure their visual faculties.

By his instrumentality, the people of this kingdom have been roused from a moral lethargy, and the rising generation feel surprised that their forefathers knew so little.

Deeply impressed with these feelings, conscious of the invaluable mental advantages we have reaped from his writings, and of the consequent debt of gratitude due by us to him, we feel the utmost pleasure in seeing him supported, and of course must respect your Lordship, who has, with so much disinterestedness and manliness, declared your sentiments at this most momentous crisis, regardless of those who do not appreciate our worth.

To your Lordship then, who entertains so high an opinion of Mr. Cobbett; whose breast is warmed by a patriotic sympathy for the condition of an outraged people; and who has publicly recommended and offered to support so talented and persevering a man as a Member for Manchester, after the passing of the Reform Bill; we feel it our duty to testify the esteem we entertain for your Lordship, and to show that we are capable of appreciating the exertions of every zealous advocate of freedom.

Unused to this method of expressing our sentiments, we trust your Lordship will overlook the irregularity of the style and the barrenness of the expression; regarding this as a token of honest respect, and the humble effusion of sincerity, untainted by the deceit of empty adulation.

In conclusion, we hope that your Lordship will persevere in the cause of freedom, and beg to remain,

Your Lordship's, most respectfully,

For and on behalf of the Union,

(Signed) JOHN FRASER, Chairman.

ELIAS TAYLOR, Secretary.

I think it just and proper to publish the above; but though I know these worthy men to be sincere in what they say, I beg to be understood as fearing that I do not merit all the praises that

they bestow on me. A letter that I received from Mr. Elias Taylor, on the same subject, it is not necessary now to insert.

WM. COBBETT.

## TRIAL.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL will receive, with my compliments, the third edition of *His and my Trial*, which took place in Guildhall, on the seventh of July last; and if the *Barrister* had not so much money and I, so little, I would send them one too. The *Examiner*, the *Bell*, and some other weekly newspapers in London, not excepting the *Handelsches neue*, have done their duty with regard to this Trial, and with regard to me; and, what is more, with regard to the case of Mr. and Mrs. DABOLZ and the conduct of the magistrates in Hampshire. As for me and my affairs, they are dust in the balance compared with the proceedings and consequences of the Special Commission in Hampshire, which, as Mr. HARVEY so well said, have awakened thoughts in the people which must lead to interesting consequences. Mr. MILDMA, who presented the petition in favour of the *Barrister* from Winchester, will soon see another petition which will bring him nearer home; and I myself promise him, that he shall have ample opportunity of conning that petition over before-hand.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1831.

## INSOLVENTS.

D'OLIVEIRA, J. A. G., and F. G. d'Oliveira, Old Jewry, merchants.

LOMAS, J. T., and F. Cooke, Dover-street, Piccadilly, tailors.

WRIGHT, A. J. C., and W. H. Buckmaster, New London-street, Crutched-friars, wine-merchants.

## BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, H., Liverpool, silk-mercant.

DEAN, W., Abbey Mills, Durham, worsted-spinner.

ELDER, J., Oxford-street, horse-dealer.

HALL, W., T. S. Hall, & W. J. Hall, Crosby-square, and Lower Thames-street, packers.  
 LUDDINGTON, W., Stoke Newington-road, Hornsey, and Adam's-court, Broad-street, coal-merchant.  
 MENDELSON, H., Manchester, Jeweller.  
 MILNER, R., C. Ely, and B. Treacher, Swansea, coal-owners.  
 SMITH, W., and M. Lewis, Tunstall, Staffordshire, earthenware-manufacturers.  
 WALKINSON, T., Marsh-gate, Lambeth, and Earl-street, Seven-dials, publican.  
 WHITE, G., North Wharf-road, Paddington, victualler.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CALDER, T. and J., Edinburgh, hat-manuf.  
 TELIER, W., Leith, merchant.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1831.

GREEN, A., Brewer street, Piccadilly, tailor.  
 JONES, T., late of Llangollen, Denbighshire, inn-keeper.

## BANKRUPTS.

DAWS, J., W. Daws, and M. Daws, Lenton, Nottinghamshire, bleachers.  
 HALL, S., Duke-st., West Smithfield, brazier.  
 HORNER, B., Bilton with Harrowgate, Yorkshire, joiner.  
 MORRIS, P., and S. Smith, Friday-street, watch-housemen.  
 TEBBUTT, S., Islington, wine-merchant.  
 WILLIAMS, J., Liverpool, joiner.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCTOBER 3.—Our supplies since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley, malt, beans, and flour, as also of foreign rye and muscad, have been great; of English peas, and Scotch and Irish flour, moderately good: of foreign flour, English, Irish, and Scotch oats, as well as seeds, from all quarters, with the above exception, limited. No foreign barley has arrived since Saturday se'nnight.

This day's market was rather numerously attended by buyers; but as these, for the most part, offered lower prices than the sellers seemed willing to accept, the trade was throughout very dull. With wheat and beans at a depression of from 1s. to 4s.; oats, white peas, and barley, 1s. to 3s., and rye 2s. per quarter. Flour was expected to fall 5s. per sack before the close of the market. There were a few parcels of new brank and Indian corn offering—the former at from 26s. to 31s.—the latter 32s. to 36s. per quarter; but neither seemed to have found purchasers.

Wheat .....	47s. to 59s.
Rye .....	32s. to 36s.
Barley .....	24s. to 30s.
— fine .....	32s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	34s. to 36s.
— Builders .....	33s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	34s. to 40s.

Beans, Old .....	35s. to 38s.
— Tick .....	37s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	23s. to 28s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 28s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 48s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 42s. to 50s.	
Pork, India, new... 130s. 9d. to —s. 6d.	
Pork, Moss, new... 50s. 0d. to 65s. per bark	
Butter, Belfast ... 86s. to 88s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 86s. to 90s.	
— Cork ... 86s. to —s.	
— Limerick ... 87s. to —s.	
— Waterford... 84s. to 86s.	
— Dublin ... 86s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire... 64s. to 80s.	
— Gloucester, Double... 64s. to 70s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 56s. to 63s.	
— Edam ... 46s. to 48s.	
— Gouda ... 44s. to 46s.	
Hams, Irish... 50s. to 60s.	

SMITHFIELD—October 3.

This day's supply of beasts was tolerably good, but not so great as was that of this day's se'nnight: of sheep, fat calves, and porkers, rather limited.

The trade was, in the whole, rather brisk.—With mutton at an advance, veal at a depression of 2d. per stone: with beef and pork at Friday's quotations.—There were but few lambs in the market, and as these have become young sheep, lamb might be considered to have gone out of season. The stock was of fair average time of year quality. Beasts, 2,682; sheep and lambs, 20,010; calves, 138; pigs, 160.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 7.

The arrivals this week are moderate; but the market is very dull at Monday's prices.

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REFORM BILL.

THE WEEK OF WEEKS!

Kennington, 19th Oct., 1831

"A great man struggling with the storms of fate" has been depicted by some poet as the grandest and most interesting of spectacles. That, then, must be the spectacle of a great nation struggling with a similar storm! For, no man can doubt that the fate of this nation now depends, and entirely depends, for an age or ages to come, upon the manner in which the present storm shall terminate. Never was there a week, I believe, since civilized nations existed, on the events of which so large a portion of the happiness or misery of those nations depended, as upon the events of the week between Saturday morning the 8th of October, and Saturday morning, the 15th of October. For it is impossible for any man, at all accustomed to reflect on political affairs, not to be convinced that the Reform Bill, once passed in England, there is not a civilized nation upon the face of the earth, which will not be affected by it. The geographical position of this kingdom, its being the emporium of commerce and of wealth; its immense natural resources; its undisputed power on the water, which wash every coast in the world; its incomparable and truly marvellous effects of its industry; the high and traditional reputation of its institutions; the proverbial, unparalleled excellence of its laws; all these will give a weight to the change which will now take place, such as never could be done to a change

of any sort effected in any other country; and especially as it will be a change (for such it will be) unattended with blood or devastation. The example neither of America nor of France has furnished to the friends of freedom and justice any argument at all, to be put in comparison, for one moment, with the argument which will be furnished to mankind by this renovation of this kingdom.

It is, for these reasons, as well as for the purpose of inducing the people to continue their perseverance in the noble path which they have been pursuing for now nearly a twelvemonth, necessary that this work of mine, which contains a record of all the various causes which have led to this grand event, should contain an account, as detailed as I am able to make it, of the various occurrences of the events of this memorable week, together with such remarks as appear to me necessary to elucidate and put clearly upon record that which I wish to be remembered by my readers. My last *Register* left the debate going on in the House of Lords. It was closed on Saturday morning the 8th instant, at six o'clock. Lord Grey concluded the debate, in a speech of considerable length, of which only a mere sketch has been published, to which no report could possibly do justice, and which sketch I should not insert here, if it did not contain some very interesting expressions, which have been referred to by one of the bishops as of great importance, and which, therefore, it is necessary to have upon record. As I find it reported, it was as follows:

EARL GREY.—The noble Earl contended, that, at the time he undertook to form an Administration, there was an absolute necessity of making the question of reform a condition of his acceptance of office. He also contended the introduction of reform was the consequence and not the cause of the excitement. The measure was recommended from the Throne, as one by which the prerogatives of the crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people would be equally secured. That that recom-

nenation spoke also the sentiments of the people was attested—that it was answered by the unanimous voice of the people of England, who were now trembling for the success of the measure which they believed to be necessary to the prosperity of the country, and lest its rejection should be productive of those evils which he should be accused of threatening if he mentioned, but which he durst not think of as the result of so fatal a determination. It was said that there were only six zealous opponents who possessed nominations to boroughs. He rather thought the number was twenty one. (Hear, hear.) He did not mean to say that the votes of those noble Lords were influenced by the possession of such nominations; but did that make the fact of their existence less unconstitutional? It was said that the people did not understand these things. No doubt they did not understand them as parts of the constitution; but they understood them in the same sense in which they were understood by Locke, and Blackstone, and Chatham, and Fox, and other great and constitutional authorities, that nominations to seats in the other House were hostile to the principles of the constitution. A noble Lord had said that the bill was full of anomalies—that it would lead to immortality as much as the present system; and the noble Lord had made an appeal to the *Right Reverend Bishop* not to sanction such immortality by adopting the bill. He (Earl Grey) would make no appeal to them on the subject, but he would ask, were the Right Reverend Prelates prepared to sanction all the immoralities of the present system? Even if it was admitted that the system worked well for the country, were they prepared to support the principle that evil might be done that good might come of it? (Cheers.) Would they support a system which encouraged fraud, and hypocrisy, and perjury? Would they admit that the *money-changers* had taken possession of the temple, and that not only were they not to be dislodged, but that they were to be maintained, and supported, and defended? (Hear, hear.) The noble Earl then took a review of the details of the bill, and of the defects which it would cure, and the manner in which it would cure them. The rejection of the bill would produce general dissatisfaction and discontent amongst the people. He, however, felt confident that notwithstanding their sufferings, they would not endanger the public peace. He hoped also that they would not resort to that sort of passive resistance which involved the refusal to pay taxes, for that was contrary to the spirit of the constitution. After some further observations, the noble Earl said that it appeared to him that a considerable degree of party spirit had been exhibited on this occasion. (Cheers.) He had observed symptoms of an intention to attack the Government with the view of overthrowing it. All that he could say was this, that to this measure, or to a measure of the same extent, he was pledged. A noble and learned

Lord had said that if he abandoned office it would be on his part a culpable abandonment of the King. It was for him to consider what he would do. (Cheers.) He certainly would not abandon the King as long as he could be of use to him. (Loud and repeated cheers.) He was bound to the King by obligations of gratitude greater, perhaps, than any subject ever owed to a sovereign, for the kind manner in which he had extended to him his confidence and support, and for the indulgence with which he had accepted his offers and best endeavours to serve him. Whilst his services could be of use to his Majesty, it would never be a reproach to him that he had abandoned his Majesty. (Cheers.) He could only be a useful servant to the King whilst he was able to carry measures which were necessary for the security of the country. (Cheers.)—measures with which his own character as well as the security of the country were connected. If he should once lose his character, the King had better have any man in the world for his servant rather than him, for as to abilities, he pretended not to them, or to the other qualifications which long habits of office gave. All that he could pretend to was an honest will, a desire to do his duty in the best way he could, sensible of his deficiencies but feeling that there were no personal sacrifices which he was not bound to make for his King, whose kindness to him could never be obliterated from his heart, whatever might happen, to the last moment of his existence. (Cheers.) Place was not sought for by him. It was offered to him under such circumstances that nothing but a sense of duty could have induced him to accept it. He need make no professions. He could appeal to the history of his whole life to prove that he desired not office. (Hear, hear.) He found himself placed in a situation in which he thought that he could not shrink from serving his country and his King, and he accepted office very much against his inclination. He had lived a long life of exclusion from office. He had no official habits. He possessed not the knowledge which the official habits conferred. He was fond of retirement, and in domestic life he lived happy in the bosom of his family. Nothing could have tempted him to embark on these stormy seas—

“Bankrupt life, but prodigal of ease,”—nothing but an overpowering sense of the duty which he owed to his country. He had performed his duty as well as he was able. He should still continue to do so, and if Parliament and the country should withdraw their confidence from him, and he should find that he would be no longer a useful servant to the King, he would resign office, and when in retirement he would at least look back with the consciousness of having done his best to serve both the King and his country. (Enthusiastic cheering, accompanied with clapping of hands, stamping of feet, in other demonstrations of applause. The cheering lasted for several minutes.)







form at all; and the petitions for reform were ascribed to a sort of temporary excitation, produced by the French Revolution of July, 1830. Now, however, there was no Peer who spoke against the bill, who did not readily confess that a reform to some extent and even a considerable extent was become necessary. *The people had produced this change by their excellent conduct at the last election, when, in answer to the appeal made to them by the King, they, by exertions such as never were made by any people upon the face of the earth, sent him back a majority of more than a hundred for the bill instead of a majority of one.* Besides this, the people, led by the spirited inhabitants of Marybone, had now showed their determination to have reform or to resist the payment of taxes; and, an incident arising in that parish, from the usurpations of a Select Vestry, had afforded, several days before the debate began, a practical illustration of the working of the effect of such resistance, with regard to which it is justice to mention the names of Messrs. Potter and Savage, two tradesmen of that parish, who set the example of that resistance. The conduct of the people upon this occasion had been so resolute, and at the same time so cool and so peaceable, that the Lords in opposition to the bill, dropped their opposition to all reform, and only contended that this was not the sort of reform that ought to be adopted.

Even the Duke of Wellington, who, in November of last year had declared that no reform at all was wanted; that, if he had to make a representative Government \* \* \* but it will be best to take the whole of the speech that I refer to, which was as follows:—"But the noble Earl had recommended the expedient of *Parliamentary Reform*, and remarked that he did not think that the Government was as yet prepared with any plan on the subject. The noble Earl was right, for certainly the Government was not prepared with any plan for *Parliamentary Reform*. I will go further, and say that *I never heard that any country ever*

*had a more improved or more satisfactory representation than this country enjoys at this moment.* I do not mean to enter upon that subject now, as it is probable we shall have abundant opportunities to consider it afterwards; but I do say that this country has now a Legislature *more calculated to answer all the purposes of a good Legislature than any other that can well be devised*—that it possesses, and deservedly possesses, the confidence of the country, and that its discussions have a powerful influence in the country. And I will say further, that if I had to form a Legislature, I would create one—not equal in excellence to the present, for that I could not expect to be able to do, but something as nearly of the same description as possible. I should form it of men possessed of a very large proportion of the property of the country, in which the landholders should have a great preponderance. I, therefore, am not prepared with any measure of Parliamentary Reform, nor shall any measure of the kind be proposed BY THE GOVERNMENT AS LONG AS I HOLD MY PRESENT POSITION."

This speech was made on the 2nd of November, during a debate on the King's speech at the opening of the Parliament. When, after this, would have expected to hear this same Duke, in a debate on the 4th of October, 1831, speaking in favour of some change in the representation; some change in that, the excellence of which no human skill could invent any-thing to equal! Yet, such was now the nature of his declarations. His words, uttered on the 4th of October, were, according to the report, as follows:—"I have referred (says his Grace) to that which was the state of the country at the moment when the King declared from the throne his intention to dissolve the Parliament. I must say, that since that time the question has materially changed its aspect, and that change has been effected chiefly by the course which his Majesty's Ministers thought proper to adopt. It is

"quite obvious also to me, that whatever  
 "may come of this measure, not much  
 "time will elapse before the subject will  
 "be brought again under your consid-  
 "eration; and though I earnestly  
 "recommend to your Lordships to vote  
 "against the second reading of this  
 "bill, yet I would intreat that your de-  
 "cision be so given as not to pledge you  
 "to any other question or proposition  
 "connected with Reform which may  
 "hereafter be proposed by any noble  
 "Lord, whether in public or in private;  
 "your Lordships will, by thus refrain-  
 "ing from pledging yourselves, be  
 "enabled, when the question is regu-  
 "larly brought before you, to form a  
 "correct judgment, and to render great  
 "service to the country. (Cheers.)"

Thus it is evident that the plan of the opposition was immediately to bring in a bill of their own for a Parliamentary Reform; to turn out Lord Grey, and to put the Duke at the head of a new Ministry; or, at least, to make a new Ministry of which he should be a part. The Ministers therefore pinned him down to his declaration of November, 1830; when, after he was out of office, he had said that he had resigned *purposely* because he would not entertain a proposition for reform. He tried to escape from this charge, but it was so firmly stuck upon him by Lord Plunkett, that his attempt to escape was in vain. These attempts were made on the Tuesday and Wednesday; so that, before the termination of the debate, the people clearly saw the views of the opposition; and though this opposition promised them a reform, and perhaps, as in the case of Catholic Emancipation, would have brought in a bill as good or better than the present bill, the people, to their eternal honour, said, "No: we will not trust you: we will have the bill of Lord Grey, who we know will not play us false." So that these professions in favour of reform had not the smallest tendency to quiet the minds of the people, or to slacken their exertions in favour of the bill, and in support of its author. Besides this, while they all professed their readiness to give some reform, they all expressed their deter-

mination against going into the Committee, though every one saw that that was the natural way of giving that some reform, of the necessity of giving which they talked so much. The truth is this: they intended to destroy this bill; to prevail upon the King to give up his Minister; to bring in another bill, if they found the popular storm too strong for them; and if they found the storm blowing over, to bring in no bill at all; and, as one of them proposed, to postpone the discussion for *two years*. This would have got rid of the Minister, who had distinctly declared that the passing of the bill should be the sole condition upon which he would retain his office.

Such was the character of the debate on the part of the opposition, to which may be added, that, while their mouths were full of professions in favour of some reform, they made use of scarcely an argument that was not levelled against all reform whatsoever; for every man of them contended for the utility of the rotten boroughs. This did not escape the observation of the quick-sighted public, who, therefore, saw that there was no hope of a peaceable termination of the contest unless the people resolutely set their faces against every attempt to displace Lord Grey; against every attempt to induce them to place trust in any-body else.

On the part of the Ministers, the debate was conducted in a very laudable and able manner, till we came, at nearly the close of it, to the speech of the Lord Chancellor, of the very equivocal character of which I shall speak by-and-by. Lord Holland did not speak at any length; but what he did say on two or three occasions during the debate was most excellent. The speeches of Lords Melbourne and Goderich were frank and sensible. They had both been all their lives bitter enemies of parliamentary reform in any and in every degree. Both of them confessed this very distinctly; and while this did them great credit, while they attempted none of that shuffling to make out consistency, which is resorted to in so many cases, and by which men become wholly u.c-

less to the cause to which they have been converted; while, by their frankness, they entitled themselves to the apology of St. Paul, for *change of opinion*, they might, if they had so pleased, gone a little further with the same great apostle, and confessed themselves to have been *persecutors of reform*, as he had been of the church of Christ; for they both voted for the dungeoning and gagging bills brought in by Sidmouth and Castlereagh in 1817; they both voted for those cruel bills, and Lord Melbourne stood forward, nay, quitted his party to stand forward, as the defender of those bills, founded on reports, in refutation of the statements of which they would hear no evidence, though tendered at their bar. "I," says St. Paul, "am the least of all the apostles, for I persecuted the church of Christ;" I do not wish these two Lords to be thought ill of on account of their conduct upon that occasion; but when these things are remembered, an acknowledgment of mere *error* is not quite enough. However, as St. Paul founded his hope of forgiveness solely on the redeeming merits of his *MASKED*, so these noble Lords must rely, I fancy, upon the merits of Lord GAY, who has been the founder of reform, never the persecutor of reformers, but *always* their defender, upon every occasion that they have been assailed in the course of his life since he became a man. Never shall I forget his speech against the conduct of the Manchester magistrates in 1819; but it has been the same with him upon every occasion when the people have been cruelly treated. In Brongham, in Macintosh, in Plunkett; in almost every Whig, except Lord Holland, we have seen an affected condemnation of the harsh measures towards the reformers; but always accompanied (pray mark it) with ridicule, sarcasm, if not bitter calumny, on the conduct of the reformers. We have seen a speaking and a voting against the harsh measures; but a speaking *in such a sort* as to cause the main part of the nation to believe that the harsh measures were necessary; and a voting *in such a sort* as to insure the carrying of the measures, and pre-

serving amongst the unthinking millions the appearance of opposition to them. Now, this is what was never seen in Lord GAY, who never upon any occasion uttered a word to keep in countenance those of whom he saw the main object was to crush reformers and reform. The people know all this, and therefore it is no wonder that they cling to Lord GAY.

However, these two lords acted, upon this occasion, a manly and straightforward part. The speech of the Lord Chancellor was, very long. I never read a good one of his making, and this was the worst that I ever read as coming from his lips. There was a great deal of very low and even second-hand wit, containing *no severity* against the opponents of the bill. The story about the *oaks* and the tavern bill must have disgusted a man in the state of anxiety in which Lord GAY must have been. The high-flown compliments bestowed on HARRISON, and the calling of that old and inveterate enemy of reform his "*noble friend*," was very ominous; but, there was something a great deal more suspicious than this, and a great deal more offensive to me; namely, an expressed readiness to make the ten pound suffrage a subject of discussion, with a broad hint of a readiness, on his part, to give up that most important part of the bill. I will not be charged with misrepresentation here. I allude to two passages, in particular, of the speech, and I will take those two parts without any garbling, and then ask the reader what he thinks they can possibly mean, other than that the Lord Chancellor was ready, if necessary, to some purpose or other that he might have in view, to give up this part of the bill, or so to modify it as to make it no longer a thing which the people would receive. The first passage, taken from the *Morning Chronicle*, was as follows:

"I have listened with profound attention to the debate, of which this, I believe, will be the last night, and which has already occupied five days, and having heard a vast variety of objections, having weighed the arguments on both sides, and *careless whether I*

"give offence in any quarter, I must say, that I am so far moved by some points urged as to be ready to reconsider some matters upon which I had deemed that my mind was sufficiently made up. I am bound to say, on the other hand, that in the greater proportion of objections to this bill, I not only cannot concur, but that, judging as dispassionately as any man in this House, they have left my mind altogether uninfluenced as far as regards the bulk of its principles. (Cheers.)"

This was a surprising of the way. There then followed an hour of very unmeaning stuff, having neither statement nor argument, calculated merely to amuse and bewilder the people. And then, by-and-by, some good strong stuff about the rotten boroughs, but in the midst of it, and as it were by accident, out dropped the following, which I quote word for word, begging the reader to pay particular attention to every word of it.

"But, my Lords, touching the boroughs, I say it is not true that the borough representation is founded on population. Ten pound householders—now that is taken as the test. You do not say to a man, You must be a freeholder—or, you must possess a certain property in money or goods, but you take the ancient constitutional criterion of his being an inhabitant householder. If we were to grant the franchise to all inhabitant householders, then it might be fairly said we proceeded upon the principle of population. But we do not—we restrict the generality that such a principle would require when we declare that a resident householder must have no less a qualification than that of renting a house at ten pounds per annum. In London and the great towns—in the Tower Hamlets—in Marylebone—I allow that the renting of a 10l. house is a low qualification."

But this does not affect the bill. (Hear, hear.) Ten pounds is only a low qualification in London and the other large towns. It is by no means a low qualification

in the rest. Therefore, my Lords, I say the question is one for the Committee. (Hear, hear.) In the small towns the 10l. householder is generally an easy man. Twenty pounds was originally destined for the qualification, but upon inquiry into the circumstances of the small towns throughout the kingdom, we were induced to abandon it. We found one town of 18,000 inhabitants, in which there were not over twenty 10l. houses. (Hear, hear.) And now, my Lords, as to the class of men occupying these 10l. houses. In some towns the 10l. householder is a small shopkeeper—in other towns he is a shopkeeper of a better order—in others a mechanic—in others foreman to some great manufactory—in others a labourer—in others an artisan; but generally he is a man above want—a man who has a house over his head, and a family that interests him. (Hear, hear.) Now, if noble Lords, speaking upon the question in general, choose to object to this qualification that it is uniform, and say that it ought to be different in divers places—lower in the smaller towns, and higher in the larger—I will not say that I agree with them; I will not say what was originally my opinion—I will not tell the reasons that now recommend the bill, as it stands, to my support; but I will say that whatever holds that doctrine will find me ready to vote for him the most ardent—the most scrutinizing—the most candid discussion of the subject in the Committee. I speak as an individual; candour compels me to say that much. But I, at the same time, say that it is emphatically a subject for the Committee. (Cheers.)"

Now, what does this mean? Will any man of sincerity pretend that it does not clearly mean that he is ready to give up the ten pound suffrage in great towns and to make it a twenty pound suffrage? At least, that he is ready to give up the ten pound suffrage in great towns? Mark him: he says that if noble Lords think that the suffrage ought to be lower in smaller

towns, and *higher in larger towns*, he will not say that he *agrees* with them: he will not say what was originally *his opinion*; he will not tell them *the reasons* for which he now supports the bill, but he will say that whoever holds that doctrine will find *him ready* to secure for him the most ample, the most scrutinizing, the most candid discussion of the subject in a Committee! Then he says, that he speaks **AS AN INDIVIDUAL!**

Is there a man in his senses who does not see that this was saying that he felt himself at liberty to *differ from Lord Grey* in opinion as to this part of the bill? It is impossible for a man to shut his eyes to this truth; and, then, look at the passage quoted before, where he says that, "having weighed the arguments on both sides, and being careless whether I give offence IN ANY QUARTER, I must say that I am so far moved by some points urged us to be ready to reconsider some matters, upon which I had deemed that my mind was sufficiently made up." It is utterly impossible to look at these passages without believing that the speaker meant to signify his readiness to quit Lord Grey. I put it to the sensible reader whether he can come to any other conclusion. I am sure that he cannot; and this was the conclusion to which all sensible men in London came instantly upon reading the speech. So general was this conclusion, that the rumour all day on Sunday and on Monday was, that a new Ministry was about to be formed, of which the head was to be Lord **HAARLOW**, and **BROUGHAM** the Lord Chancellor. When I went into London on Monday morning, a gentleman stopped me in Fleet-street, and asked me if I did not see clearly that **BROUGHAM** meant to abandon Lord Grey, and to make part of a new Ministry. I had not, at that time, read, attentively, the speech of Brougham; but this question induced me to do it. With regard to his schemes about a new Ministry, I could not tell; but it was plain enough that he was preparing the way for getting into the long-bout, and leaving Lord Grey amongst the

breakers, which, on Saturday and Sunday, and even on Monday, appeared to be very close at hand. Lord Grey, observe, had expressed his determination to stand or fall by the bill. The two Lords, **MELBOURNE** and **GODERICH**, clearly expressed their determination to stand by their leader. Lord **DURNHAM**, though he did not speak in the debate, might be assumed to have done the same. From Lord **HOLLAND** no declaration was necessary; but, from Lord **LANSDOWNE** there dropped no expression indicative of such determination; while we had from the Chancellor the passages which I have above quoted, and which were quite enough for me.

On the Saturday and Sunday those things were made known to the public by degrees which had been known to **BROUGHAM** many days before. He saw, long before the debate was concluded, that there would be a decided majority against the bill. He had heard, without doubt, that which the public learnt on Saturday and Sunday; namely, that fears existed that the King would be prevailed upon to refuse to make a new creation of peers, without which the bill could not be carried, and without carrying which Lord Grey could not remain in office. The rumour was, that the Queen particularly, and that others of the Royal Family, but particularly the Queen, was opposed to the passing of this bill. There is no doubt that the greater part of the persons, if not all, immediately surrounding the King, wished the bill not to pass; but the public could know nothing about the matter. However, the newspapers had taken the liberty to talk of it, and that, too, pretty familiarly; and now, observe, that the Earl of Winchelsea, during the second day's debate, took occasion, without any apparent immediate necessity, to pronounce a lofty eulogium on the Queen, as a sort of preface to a speech in which he violently attacked the Reform Bill. He did not name the Queen, but the allusion was too broad not to be clearly understood. He attacked the press on account of its general alleged slanders on the aristocracy,

but particularly its slanders on the Queen. His words, as reported in the *MORNING CHRONICLE* of the 5th of October, were these:—"I approach the consideration, my Lords, uninfluenced also by the unreasonable clamours of a portion of the people, whether they be incited by unprincipled demagogues, or by the degraded and licentious press, which for the last twelve months has been heaping the vilest calumnies upon the aristocracy of England, and especially upon that portion of this House which should dare to use their privileges for the preservation of the constitution. That licentious press, which has, I may say, levelled your Lordships' rights, and whose power is directed against every thing sacred, exercises a tyranny as inconsistent with true liberty as the Despotism of the most arbitrary monarch that ever existed. In resisting that tyranny, my Lords, we shall be supported by every man whose vote is worth soliciting, or his assistance worth having. All such men will support us against that portion of the press which has poured out its venom upon an illustrious female of the highest rank in this country, whose conduct both in private and in public has engaged the esteem and admiration of all who can appreciate worth and virtue. But the calumnious press has held her up to odium as exercising an unconstitutional influence against the Reform Bill of his Majesty's Ministers. (Hear, hear.) Would to God that I knew the vile slanderer—the anonymous defamer. If I knew the calumniator, humble individual as I am, I would undertake that he should never utter another slander. As I would think myself justified before God in raising my hand against the enemy who should threaten my country with invasion, so should I feel justified in chastising the slanderer of one who is dear to my country, and who has shown her desire to promote the happiness of the people, by upholding every thing virtuous, justly feeling that a nation's happiness depends on the virtues which adorn the female character. (Hear.)"

That is to say, that, if he could find out the slanderer, he would put him to death! This terrible menace might not have been really uttered by his Lordship; but the words were published; and it must be supposed, that his Lordship did say something of this sort. Most people think his Lordship much too gentle a man and too much disinclined to bloodshed to entertain serious thoughts of acting in so deadly a manner towards the writer of a paragraph, who, perhaps, intended not the smallest harm to the Queen or to any-body else, and, therefore, people naturally thought, as I thought, that the words were intended, if uttered at all, to catch the eye of the Queen; and to encourage her, if she really had been exercising her power in hostility to the bill, to persevere in that hostility. Certainly, the words, if uttered at all, were not uttered for nothing; and the reader will judge for himself, whether they could be uttered for any other purpose.

The bill was, as we have seen, thrown out at six o'clock on the Saturday morning. The *Courier* newspaper, which is the semi-official paper of the Government, and which was published on the afternoon of Saturday, contained the following paragraph, to which I beg the particular attention of the reader. "We are now to consider what course the Ministry will probably take at this great crisis. It may be an inconvenience to the House of Peers, and offensive to some persons out of doors to have fifty or sixty new Members added to the Peerage; but such a proceeding would be attended with no earthly danger; whereas, not to take it would in all probability cause convulsion and dismay. There can be no doubt, therefore, that his Majesty's Ministers ought to advise a new creation of Peers. Whether they will do so or not will in a few hours be known." This, you will observe, made a part of the paper, which was going forth that evening to all parts of the country; but after the putting of this paragraph into the paper, the press was stopped, for the purpose of inserting the following: "At a moment of such anxiety as the

"present, when every mind is on the stretch, and every conjecture afloat as to the probable course which Ministers will pursue, it is with the highest degree of satisfaction that we are at least enabled to assure our readers of this fact. On the precise line of conduct which it will be advisable to adopt, Ministers themselves, we have reason to believe, *have not finally decided*. With respect to the suggestion made in another part of our paper, *that a sufficient number of Peers be created to carry the measure of reform triumphantly through the Upper House, difficulties, it seems, present themselves to the minds of others*, which, we confess, are not apparent to our own. We would not, however, press a measure which, in the present hour of difficulty, and almost of dismay, might tend to embarrass the Government, and, above all, *increase the personal annoyances to which his Majesty has been subjected, by individuals whose relative situation should have prescribed to them a very different course.*"

Here the thing became plain; and if here were no authority at all, all the world knew that Lord Howe, the CHAMBERLAIN TO THE QUEEN, had voted against the Reform Bill. So that taking these things together, with the seemingly uncalled-for passage above-mentioned, in the speech of the Earl of WINCHESTER, the public mind was put in a state of agitation not easily to be described. Upon the back of all this, the *Windsor* newspaper brought us up the following cool paragraph on the Sunday morning. Nothing could well exceed the simplicity of it, and hardly any thing surpass the alarm which it excited in the minds of the people. "WINDSOR, Oct. 8.—This day the weather prevented the Royal party from leaving the Castle.—Their Majesties go to London on the 15th instant to attend the christening of the Duke of Buccleugh's infant son, and will return the same night to Windsor. It is expected that the Royal departure for Brighton will be now retarded in consequence of the existing arrange-

*ments in the Cabinet.*—Lord Howe arrived at the Castle at six o'clock this evening, and had an *interview with his Majesty.*" Here was coming to the christening of the child of a Duke opposed to reform; here was no coming to London until the 15th; and here was Lord Howe, after having voted against the Reform Bill, going down to Windsor, and having a talk with the King. The *Windsor* newspaper might lie; but was it *likely* that the author of it, living under the nose of the court, and sustained by its breath, would insert such matter as this, without believing that it would not offend persons about the court; I ask was that likely? Besides, if the statement had been false, and had been displeasing to persons at the Castle, is it not likely that it would have been contradicted?

Thus stood matters on Sunday morning, the 9th of October. But in the meanwhile, the reformers had not been idle. The great parishes, forming the suburbs of the city of London, and containing the better part of a million of people, had all given notice of their intention to meet on the Monday to deliberate on the steps to be pursued. The Common Council of the city of London met at once, on Saturday night, and agreed to an address to the King, beseeching him to retain his Ministers, and Lord Garry by name, and to use the powers which the constitution had given him in order to cause the Reform Bill to be passed. A Common Hall of the city had been called to meet on Monday for the same purpose. People almost unanimously agreed to shut up their shops and to suspend all business until an answer to their addresses had been received from the King. In short, all was in a state of agitation; and, Lord SPRINGFIELD had, on the Friday moved for a call of the House of Commons on Monday, and given notice of a motion in support of the Ministers. So that it was convenient to the Lord Chancellor that he had Sunday to repose himself and to reflect on the speech which he had made on the Saturday morning. This time of repose gave him leisure for that "re-consideration" of



Lord GREY's Bill of Reform, of his "readiness" to re-consider which he had so glibly talked in his speech, he having been "careless of the offence that he might give in any quarter." In short, the storm which he must have seen brewing on the Sunday, disposed him, I dare say, to "re-consider" his speech, rather than "re-consider" the points in the bill of Lord GREY, upon which he had thought before that he had made up his mind. If he were slow in this work of re-consideration on the Sunday, the intelligence of Monday was very well calculated to accelerate the operations of his mind; for, whilst the metropolis echoed and re-echoed the resolution not to pay taxes till the Reform Bill should be passed, from the country came the news that every thing was tending to uproar; that the houses of the enemies of reform had been gutted in some places; that, at others, houses had been set fire to; that everywhere the yeomanry had resolved not to serve under enemies of reform; that no man could tell what next was to happen; and that a pressure for gold instead of paper was expected in every part of the country. All this must have been subject of deep meditation with him on the Monday. It must have been subject of meditation with the opposition Lords, too; for, when they met on the Monday evening, and when it was expected that they would have broached their plan of reform, they did nothing at all; but they gave evident signs at not feeling very triumphantly at what they had done.

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, Lord Ebrington brought forward his motion, the words of which will be found at the end of his speech, which I am about to insert, and which, as will be seen, was carried by a majority so great as that of a hundred and thirteen; a majority greater than that by which the Reform Bill itself had been carried. This motion had no other object than to pledge the House to stand by Lord GREY, and that pledge gave. I shall insert here only the speeches of Lord Ebrington on the one side and of PERCY on the other.

There was a fine speech by Mr. O'CONNELL; but I must content myself with selecting merely the matter which serves to show the state of the political parties and their views at this moment. When the reader has gone through these two speeches, he will please to follow me in my narrative and observations.

Lord EBRINGTON then rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—Mr. Speaker, although I never rose to address you without experiencing a degree of difficulty and embarrassment; it yet, might naturally have been expected, that on an occasion like this, that difficulty and that embarrassment would have been increased tenfold. But so momentous are the circumstances under which the House is at present assembled, so awful is the crisis of public affairs under which I feel myself called upon to address you, that I must confess the sense of the importance of the occasion supercedes all that private and personal feeling which has weighed so heavily on me at other periods, and gives me a degree of encouragement which I never before felt, in my humble endeavour to perform the great and solemn duty which I have this night engaged to discharge. (Hear, hear, hear.) Sir, I have, moreover, the satisfaction of knowing that the fate of the motion which I shall do myself the honour of submitting to the House will not be determined by any arguments which my feeble voice may urge in favour of its adoption. I am well aware that there are sitting around me many individuals of great and acknowledged ability, who have read the signs of the times, and who are acquainted with the circumstances in which the country is placed much better than I can pretend to be, and who are ready to support me in the course which I humbly propose to take. Their statements and their arguments will give ten-fold force and impression to any thing that I may be able to say on the subject. I have also, Sir, the satisfaction of knowing that the course which I am about to recommend to this House is simply a confirmation of that which they have already declared to be their opinion. (Hear, hear, hear.) And I am convinced that the House of Commons, which has had the virtue and the manliness to acknowledge its own deficiencies, and to pass a bill for its own reformation, will not be at the present time disposed to recede from maintaining its own consistency (hear, hear, hear); from vindicating its own rights (hear, hear, hear); and from redeeming those pledges which its members have so solemnly given to their constituents. (Hear, hear, hear.) Sir, I do not deny that I am one of those by whom such pledges have been given. I did not give those pledges for the paltry purpose of securing my seat in this House; for I believe that if such only had been my

object, I might, from feelings of perhaps false delicacy and false pride, have considered the demand of such pledges as implying suspicion of my conduct, and might have refused to give them. But I gave those pledges to the individuals whom I have the honour to represent, because they all wished for the Reform Bill, although in my own opinion it did not go so far as I wished. But, Sir, although the bill does not go so far as I wished, yet it appeared to me to unite the suffrages of a larger portion of the people of England in its favour, than I had conceived it possible could have been accomplished by any measure that any set of men could have devised. (Hear, hear, hear.) Sir, before I proceed to the particular subject of my motion, I shall take the liberty of calling the attention of the House to the circumstances under which my hon. Friends near me were called to administer the affairs of this country. I will not go into the details of that appalling period—a period so appalling, that I almost despaired of the possibility of discovering any means by which society might be restored to its proper and healthy state. In saying this, I have no wish to revert to any occurrence, for the purpose of throwing unnecessary odium on the predecessors of his Majesty's present government. But this I may at least say, that without having recourse to force, without proposing any new penal enactment, his Majesty's government did succeed in restoring the tone and security of society, and in putting an end to the disturbances which prevailed throughout the southern counties of the kingdom; and moreover, that they framed a measure, which, as I have before said, was satisfactory to a greater extent than could possibly have been anticipated, to those powerful and influential middle classes, among whom I am sorry to say were to be found many who were not exempt from the discontent which previously prevailed. But, Sir, has the Reform Bill, which was agreed to by this House after such long and such frequent discussions, has it prevented my honourable Friends from doing any thing else for the benefit of the country during the last twelve months? Have the poor of the country derived no benefit from the taking off the tax upon coals and candles? Has the moral, and thinking, and reflecting part of the community, no cause for satisfaction in the repeal of the Game Laws, which, in spite of the exertions of the humane and enlightened, had combined, session after session, to defy the strenuous and repeated attempts made to procure their abolition? Has the suitor in Chancery gained nothing by the gigantic measures of that great man, of whose almost super-human eloquence in another place I will not speak—has the suitor in Chancery gained nothing by those gigantic efforts to clear the Augean stable of all that accumulated load which has so long oppressed the unfortunate suitor in that court? These, Sir, are some of the grounds on which I think my hon. Friends near me have a right to claim

the support and confidence of the House. (Hear, hear.) I may, perhaps, be suspected of taking a partial view of the conduct of my hon. Friends. Undoubtedly long habits of private and public regard have grown out of that intimate knowledge which I have possessed for nearly a quarter of a century of the worth and integrity of my noble Friend below me. (Hear, hear.) But entertaining as I do this predilection for my noble Friend, I will not be of him, I will not be of any man, the flatterer, or the unqualified panegyrist. I am not, as we were told we were in former debates, I am not—

“—addictus jurare in verba magistri.”

For, although I admire and respect my noble and hon. Friends, I am free to say that I think their administration is justly chargeable with certain errors, which, however pure and amiable their motives may be, have been most detrimental. I think, Sir, that in England, and in Ireland too, there has been on their part too much halting between two opinions; that there has been too great a disposition to conciliate those who never can be conciliated by the acts of what I should call a liberal government (hear, hear); and that there have been some instances of their overlooking the claims of their old and tried friends, who had always given them their cordial and zealous support. (Hear, hear.) I think that my noble Friend has, in some things which he has done, and in other things which he has left undone, consulted more the unsuspicious kindness of his own generous nature than the exigency of public affairs and the necessity of supporting his own Government warranted; and if I am not mistaken, my noble Friend has, during the last two or three days, received a pretty severe lesson on that score. (Loud cries of “hear, hear.”) I trust he will fall into such errors no more. I trust that, if by the vote of this night—and on that vote the fate of the Government and of the empire depends—I trust that, if by the vote of this night, and by the confidence reposed in him by this House, my noble Friend should preserve, as I trust in God he may (hear), his station at the head of the affairs of this country, he will hereafter abandon that too temporising policy which has in some instances marked the measures of his administration. (Hear, hear.) This advice I trust my noble Friend will not despise; for I can assure him that it is the opinion of many other staunch friends of the present Government. I feel the less scruple in expressing it as there is hardly any service which I am not prepared to perform for his Majesty's Government, except that of taking an official situation under them. Sir, in speaking of the merits of my noble Friend the Lord Chancellor, I omitted to state one or two things which redound as much to that noble and learned Lord's honour as any of those matters which I have described. I omitted to state that, with a generosity inferior only to his sense of public duty, he reduced the emoluments of his situation to 7,000*l.*; emolu-

ments which arising from fees in bankruptcy, in a former year accumulated as we have been told to 23,000*l*. And in establishing a Court of Bankruptcy he has refused, in compensation of the sacrifice which he has made, any addition to his retiring pension. Sir, in asserting the right of my noble Friend and my honourable Friends to the confidence of the House and the country, I have put other matters more forward than the great measure, the loss of which we are considering to-night, because their services in those particulars are less generally known; and because I wish to establish their claim to the confidence of the House, to that confidence which I am sure the country will echo, as well on their other measures as on that great and all-important measure, without which I readily admit all the rest would be of no avail; and which, whenever it takes effect, as I trust it will after no very long delay (hear, hear), if the people are orderly and quiet, and if his Majesty's Government are firm and persevering (hear, hear), will consolidate and confirm all the other blessings of the British Constitution. Sir, in these remarks I have avoided saying anything, and in what remains I shall dwell as shortly as possible on what has passed in another place. (Hear, hear.) I can have no wish, I am sure I have no wish, to speak harshly of the Members of the other House of Parliament. There are many among them individuals, who, I conceive, have taken a most unfortunate and mistaken view of this great subject, but who, I am sure, are as incapable of giving a dishonest or corrupt vote on any question as I hope I am myself. The same credit which I claim on such points, I am willing, and am indeed bound, to give to all who composed the recent majority of the House of Lords. (Hear, hear.) There was one of that majority, by far the most able, the most eloquent, and the most enlightened, of all the opponents of the measure—I am sure no one can mistake the individual to whom I allude; one to whom I am attached [here the noble Lord was much moved], not more by the ties of family connexion than by those of the greatest respect and affection; a man distinguished by everything most amiable, by everything most honourable and disinterested in the human character. (Hear, hear.) He, I am sure, has on this, as on every other occasion in his life, been swayed by no other than the purest and most patriotic motives; by the conviction that in the course he was taking he was consulting that which has been the sole object of his political career—the best interests of his country. I say this of my noble friend; and I am sure I am not disposed to speak disrespectfully or unkindly of those who concluded with my noble Friend in opinion. And I trust those of my honourable Friends who may follow me will allow me respectfully to urge my earnest request that they will exercise the same forbearance. (Hear, hear.) I have practised this forbearance from the respect which I feel for the body to which

I allude; but, consistently with what is due to our own opinion—consistently with what is due to the recorded sense of this House—consistently with what is due to the pledge which I have given to my constituents—consistently with what I conceive to be my duty to my country—I will, trespassing no longer upon your patience, move the following Resolution:—"That while this House deeply laments the recent fate of the Bill for reforming the Representation, in favour of which the opinion of the country stands unequivocally pronounced, and which passed this House after being matured by discussions the most anxious and laborious, it feels called upon to re-assert its firm admiration of the principal and leading provisions of that great measure; and of expressing its confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those Ministers who, in the introducing and conducting of that measure, have so well consulted the best interests of the country." (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir C. DUNDAS, in a low tone of voice, scarcely audible in the gallery, seconded the motion; and expressed his hope that, by taking this decided step, the House would contribute to the preservation of public tranquillity.

Sir ROBERT PEEL could but regret that the hon. and gallant Member should think it necessary to put a hypothetical case of establishing a government of the sword. (Hear, hear.) Such hypothetical assumptions of governments established of the sword was like the pouring of oil, of which the learned Member had just spoken, (cheers),—it was pouring the oil of the sword on the stormy waves of our present discontent (cheers), when honourable members said that they wished that the angry passions might be soothed, and that the excited feelings of the people might be calmed. He had meant to take no other part in this discussion than was necessary to vindicate his own consistency in the vote he should give, and he should not have departed from that determination, had not the speeches lately made formed such a signal contrast to the speech of the noble Lord who opened the debate, and the hon. Member who seconded the motion. The noble Lord meant by proposing his resolution to pledge the majority who had passed the Bill to adhere to its principles. The noble Lord naturally expected that the Members who voted in that majority would vote for his resolution; and naturally perceived that those who voted against the bill, were precluded by that from acceding to his resolution. When the learned gentleman who had just spoken said nothing had been uttered on the principle of the resolution, did he expect, did the House expect, after the long discussion of what the honourable and learned Gentleman called disgusting and weary details of the bill; did the honourable and learned Member expect that on that occasion they were to renew the whole debate on the question of Parliamentary reform? Those who

would now vote for the resolution had already proved their approbation of the principle of reform; and he must consider it quite unnecessary that those should again agitate the subject who had expressed their opinions by voting against the second reading of the bill. The object should rather be, to place the subject at rest; and he did not think the agitation was likely to be calmed by again renewing the discussion. It would be more exact, under the present circumstances, to use the language of wise moderation. The great majority of the House had no occasion to prove, by the present resolution, their attachment to reform; and they would best support the constitution, and best secure their own view of being very moderate, and calming the excited feelings of the people on this important subject, by voting against the motion. Nothing certainly which had happened should make him not adhere to that moderation he recommended. He could not forget that on the last time he had addressed the House, he had expressed his satisfaction that no personal differences had taken place during the debate, and the noble Lord (Althorp's) reply had expressed a hope that all animosity would be buried. He knew not what necessity there was now to revive animosity. (Hear, hear.) It was not justified by the occasion on either side, either in defending the Administration or in assigning the reasons in detail for withholding confidence from the Government. In stating some of the grounds for withholding that confidence, he should avoid all acrimonious discussion. If the majority thought it advisable to agree to a resolution to support the bill, in order to place it upon the records of the House, that was not the time for him to enter into verbal criticism of the resolution, for which he certainly did not mean to vote. He, however, doubted, under the circumstances, if it were wise in the noble Lord to call on the majority to agree to such a resolution. He thought the divisions on the bill a sufficient proof of the determination of the House to support the bill, without entering into any such resolution. 'That resolution called upon the House to affirm two propositions, not necessarily connected. They were called upon to declare in favour of the Reform Bill, and to declare, at the same time, that his Majesty's Government was deserving of their confidence. He thought it unwise to call on the House to assent to the two propositions in one resolution, and it would be more complimentary to his Majesty's Government, as well as more customary, to give expression to the confidence of the House in a distinct resolution.' Allow him to say to the hon. Gentleman opposite, that he had heard his speech with great pleasure, and was only prevented from giving it great praise by the compliment the honourable Member had thought proper to pay to him; but that speech was distinguished by a tone of moderation which the majority would do well to adopt. The honourable Gentleman thought it would

be most unfortunate if his Majesty had no other alternative to pass the bill but to create a number of Peers. He said that every other measure ought to be adopted in preference to that, and that such an alternative should be only had recourse to if all other means failed; he was anxious that the House should not despair, and thought that there was yet time to avoid the difficulty by meeting the Peers half-way. (Hear, hear.) But if he entertained any hope of that, was his course wise? Why, the resolution he proposed cut off all hope for ever of moving one step toward reconciliation. The honourable Gentleman has a strange policy, for while he recommends the House to go half-way, he recommends it steadily to adhere to the bill. (Cheers.) He hoped to meet the other House half-way, and he counselled the House of Commons not to move one step. (Cheers.) The tone of the honourable Gentleman's speech was that of moderation, but he supported a resolution which cut off all hopes of a compromise. (No, no.) Was it not evident that there was a contradiction between the hon. Gentleman's speech and the resolution he supported? Hon. Members must see that the resolution was a compulsory proposition. Another hon. Gentleman had said that the provisions of the bill might have been modified, had it not been for the obstinacy of the opposition. (Hear, hear.) The Government certainly could not accept that defense. According to that, it was the troublesome opposition which prevented the bill from being made perfect; but the vote the House was called on to come to, implied that it had been improved by their obstinacy. It was urged, as one ground for the resolution, that the bill had been matured by discussions the most anxious and laborious. And the fault he had to find with the resolution was, that it implied that this Bill was necessary to be adhered to, when an equally efficient measure might be introduced, which this resolution would preclude them from accepting. Why pledge the House to the bill as it stood, and why exclude themselves from accepting another measure equivalent to that? The resolution pledged the House to all the provisions of the bill—it pledged the House to the 104. clause. One of the many provisions, which was much insisted upon, and which was much objected to, was the uniform right of voting given to the 104. householders. Now he had heard it stated, he could not say where or by whom; but he had heard it stated by a person of high consideration, that the arguments on the uniform right of voting had gone far to shake his mind, and he should be prepared to listen to extensive modifications. That was an important part of the bill, and most important if not restricted. The framers of the bill had invested the right of voting, and perhaps some plan might be acceptable which would give that right to small towns, at a lower rate, and restrict it to a higher rent in the larger towns. That right might be modified; but if the House agreed

to the resolution, they would pledge themselves against any modification of the provisions of the Bill. They might pledge themselves, if they pleased, to adhere to the principle of the bill, but by pledging themselves to adhere to the provisions, they would prevent all improvement. On these grounds he objected to the resolution. He doubted the policy of the majority who had supported the bill, pledging itself and the House to adopt the bill. He had heard the hon. and learned Gentleman complain of the nearness of discussion, while the resolution said that the bill had been matured by discussions the most anxious and laborious. The noble Lord's resolution vindicated the pertinacious opposition, and on these grounds called on the House. The resolution embraced two subjects—that of reform, and confidence in the Government. The House was called upon to express its confidence in the integrity of the Ministers, their perseverance, and their ability in introducing the Reform Bill, and in conducting it through the House. He did not wish by any means to lower the character and weaken the power of the executive Government; and in expressing a difference of opinion from the resolution, he begged to be understood as not imputing any doubt of the personal integrity or perseverance of the Ministers; neither did he express any doubt of their ability in debate; but without doubting their personal integrity, their perseverance, or their skill in debate, he might still be far from placing confidence in them as a Government. He could not, for example, extend his approbation to the manner in which they had introduced the Reform Bill, nor the time of introducing it, both of which were, in his opinion, inconsistent with the interests of the country. The resolution praised their conduct on these points, and against that part of it he could give a conscientious vote. There were several other parts of their conduct which he did not approve of. Their repeal of the coal duties had his approbation; but their foreign policy, which he would not enter into, was any thing but favourable to the country; but without stating all his objections to their policy, it was sufficient for him to say that the Government was not entitled to his confidence on account of the manner in which they had introduced and supported the Reform Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie) said, that refusing to acknowledge the principles of this bill, would expose us to a greater domestic danger than this country had ever before been exposed to. The hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to this state of domestic danger, and to the public opinion on the subject, as a reason why the House should place confidence in his Majesty's Government, as a means of continuing and repressing this agitation. (Hear.) But when he looked at the extent to which the bill went, the time it was introduced, and the means by which its temporary success was insured. (Hear, hear,) he was doubtful how much of the damage had been caused by the Government itself. He

lamented some of the expressions, and the tone adopted by the hon. and learned Gentleman; and his observations on the present state of domestic danger. Why did the honourable Gentleman seek, by stating strange principles, and exaggerating difficulties, to increase that danger? Why did he seek to augment dangerous passions on dangerous topics? (Cheers.) He must say, that the alacrity of the hon. and learned Gentleman, not unsuccessfully got the better of his judgment; and now and then, when there was some semblance of argument in his denunciation, when it was examined, it was found to make rather against than for his side of the question. Then the hon. Gentleman had stated that the House of Commons was generally in relation to the House of Lords, in the right, and the bills it had sent up to the Lords, though at first refused, were afterwards assented to; but if the House of Commons had this general means of persuading or compelling the House of Lords to adopt its views, what became of that part of the hon. Member's argument which went to state, that the House of Commons was dependent on the House of Lords? Did not that prove that the two Houses were independent, co-ordinate powers, and that the opinion of the House of Commons generally prevailed? (Hear.) He was sorry that the hon. and learned Gentleman, in talking of danger, had again introduced menaces into his speech. (Hear, hear.)—that he had thought it right to menace the House of Lords. The hon. and learned Gentleman's whole argument turned upon the principle of intolerance—I am right, and you are wrong. That was the whole of the hon. and learned Gentleman's assumption. (Hear.) He thought, however, that he was supported by physical power, and then he said, "You must give way." (Cheers.) Could he not think that he was addressing high and honourable men, who were capable of being influenced by reason and argument, and would it not have been more to expect to influence the decision of the other House by reasoning than by threats—that if they did not pass the bill they should be persuaded and aided like the nobility of France? (Cheers.) The hon. and learned Gentleman says, that it is important to produce tranquillity; and therefore, he voted for the resolution of the noble Lord; but, if he wished for tranquillity, would he call upon the House to enter into a pledge which excited hopes, perhaps encouraged discontent, and kept alive agitation? The hon. Member indulged in prophesies; and he never heard prophesies more likely to realize themselves, than those of the hon. and learned Member. Instead of calling on the people to amend the bill, why not advise them to rest satisfied and contented? Why encourage discontent and dissatisfaction? Why tell the people how they might resist the law? (Cheers) as the hon. and learned Gentleman did? The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) had alluded to the state of the metropolis; when an

infamous attack had been made upon the life of the Prime Minister, and that Prime Minister the Duke of Wellington; an act of the basest ingratitude and the greatest wickedness. The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to the intended attack on the Duke of Wellington. [Mr. Macaulay intimated that he had not alluded to any such thing.] No, it was the honourable Member for Kerry he was alluding to; but when that hon. Member had spoken of the base attack made on the life of the Duke of Wellington, not indeed by the middle classes, but by the lowest classes, the hon. and learned Member for Calne had explained how they might avoid the penalties of the law, and avoid paying the taxes. (Hear.) Was not that exciting the passions of the people? (Hear, hear.) The hon. and learned Gentleman deplored the excesses of the people and their readiness to resist the law, and said it was hardly necessary to make a speech directing them how to show their hostility. He would also say a few words to the other hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Shiel), who had imitated the hon. and learned Gentleman, but had fallen below him. He would not follow the hon. and learned Gentleman, being warned by his example that the addition to make a great attempt does not ensure success. (Cheers.) The sentences of the hon. and learned Gentleman bore the marks of much labour, and were a credit to his industry. He had given the House several old stories, and among others that of the Sybil, and on her he thought the House had already drawn often enough during these debates; and he hoped that the rules of the House concerning females would, in future, be extended to her, and she would not be suffered again to be present at the debates. (A laugh.) There was another female mentioned by Burke of whom the hon. and learned Member reminded him. Mr. Burke said that some persons who imitated the contortions of the Pythian Goddess thought they had caught her inspiration. (Cheers and laughter.) The hon. and learned Gentleman thought the whole essence of Toryism might be condensed into one short word, and that short word was East Retford. (A laugh.) He wished his honourable Friend, the Member for Hertford, were present, for he could tell the honourable and learned Member that he proposed extending the franchise of East Retford to Bassetlaw, and it was rather singular that the honourable and learned Member should have selected the act of a good old Whig to designate the party of the Tories. (A laugh.) He hoped he had not said one word to add to the excitement which existed on the subject to which the resolution referred, which it was his wish to calm. He understood that his Majesty's Government were to retain office; that they still enjoyed the confidence of their Sovereign, and still hoped to carry the bill. There was one thing he thought certain—that they were the truest friends to their country who proclaimed, not

that a majority had a fixed determination to support the bill, but a determination to support the law; and that all language which tended to influence the passions of the people—all measures which tended to excite their hopes, would only end in greater disappointment to all. They ought not to refer to the possibility—they ought not to teach the people that it was easy to refuse the payment of taxes—they ought not to exaggerate the amount of public meetings, and encourage others. It was easy enough to say that 150,000 men assembled here and 40,000 there, but before such assertions were made individuals ought to be correct as to the facts, for such statements led men to meet in other places; and such meetings did not take place, though for a legal object, without exciting apprehensions in the well-disposed, and without exposing the public peace to danger. Great masses of men could not meet without exciting apprehension. He wished that honourable Members would warn the people of the consequences of disobeying the law, particularly of refusing to pay the taxes. The whole community was deeply interested in preserving obedience to the law. It was not for the advantage of the few, but for the benefit of all; and those mad proceedings now talked of would paralyse industry, suspend commerce, and inflict the most grievous injury on the lowest classes. Again he would say, that the people should be informed that the privileges of the peers, which were now so lightly brought into discussion, were not conferred on the peers for the gratification of their personal vanity—they were not so much personal privileges, as privileges conferred for the benefit of the whole community, and which had on several occasions been useful to the people themselves. The independence of the peers was a guarantee and security to the liberties of the people, and tranquillity would be best preserved by respecting their rights. He did not like to trust himself on this subject of excitement; but when he considered the influence of the Government, he was persuaded that if the same means were employed to excite an opinion against the peerage which had been employed on the subject of reform, it would not be difficult to produce a very strong dislike to it. In conclusion, the right honourable Gentleman declared that all who had voted for the Reform Bill would probably vote for the resolution, while all who had opposed the bill were bound in consistency to vote against the resolution. (Hear.)

Lord Eastbourne replied.—The House divided.—

For the Motion	329
Against	198
Majority	131

I beg the reader to observe that part of the speech of Peel where he speaks of a readiness to re-model the bill is

far as relates to the ten-pound householders in great towns. He manifestly alludes to the speech of Brougham; and that drew from Lord Althorpe, in answer to Pease, a declaration similar to that of Lord Grey; namely, that he would not retain office for an hour if not permitted to carry this bill without any diminution of its efficiency.

In the meanwhile, the great parishes were meeting in hundreds of thousands; the Guild-hall, with the city of London, had been clogged up with people all the day; every where, resolutions and addresses were passed and about to pass, declaring that the parties would not pay taxes if Lord Grey could not retain his place; great discontent began to show itself, *that the King had not come to London at once to prorogue the Parliament and to take measures for carrying the bill.* This last circumstance excited a degree of uneasiness that it is not possible to describe. No one knew what to think: all seemed to fear that the King would be prevailed upon, by false representations, to break with his Minister; or, at least, to do that which alone could now retrieve the affairs of the Government, and give the country a chance of tranquillity. At this juncture (Monday afternoon), it was announced that Lord Grey had departed for Windsor; so that every one expected to hear, the next morning, the result of this momentous conference. This result was not known until the afternoon of Tuesday, when it was voted all over the town that the Minister had had a conference of two hours with the King; that the King remained firm in his adherence to his Minister and the bill; and that, as a proof of the correctness of this statement, Lord Howe, Chamberlain to the Queen, had been dismissed from his office. This news gave great and universal satisfaction, and, in some measure, counterbalanced the ill-effects from the country, in several parts of which, particularly Derby and Nottingham, very alarming disturbances were going on, attended with dire consequences to life as well as to property.

It is impossible that I should know any-thing at all of the fact; but it is

also impossible that I should not think it likely that Lord Grey went to Windsor for the purpose of tendering his resignation in case the King should determine not to create, if necessary for that purpose, a sufficient number of peers to carry the bill. It is impossible not to believe that there had been those difficulties, those objections to this creation, mentioned in the above paragraph quoted from the *Copernicus*. It is impossible not to believe this. The age of the King, various other circumstances, rendered it next to impossible that Lord Grey should not have found these difficulties to exist; and if he did find them, it became him to overcome them, if that were possible. He might, and, if he had been more concerned about himself than about the King and the country, he would, have quitted his post, leaving the intolerable toil behind him; or be brought back to his post again on the shoulders of the people: this is what an ignorant or a vain man would have done. It is what many a brave man would have done, too; and which he might have done without imputation of blame. Lord Grey chose the really virtuous course; to go to his Majesty, to represent to him the dangers with which he was surrounded, to point out to him the means of avoiding those dangers; and to induce him to adopt those means. We do not know, indeed, that his Majesty had been at all shaken in his purpose; and not knowing it, we ought not to adopt the belief; but, while we pass no censure upon the King, even supposing him to have been beset and to have been shaken in his purpose, we can never enough applaud the wise and virtuous course of Lord Grey, who might, by a contrary line of conduct, by *flinging up his post*, and leaving the King in the hands of others, have thrown the whole kingdom into confusion, while he himself would have been, in a short time, brought back again in triumph, and have seen all his opponents under his feet. This was the path of ambition; and it was one, too, that he might have pursued without exposing himself to censure. He chose the other course, the course of peace to the country and



safety to the King; and for this he merits the everlasting gratitude of both. He had been extremely ill-treated; he had been abused by his open enemies; he knew well *what was their ground of reliance*; he had seen Lord Howe vote against him, and then hasten back to the Court; he had heard the speech of BROUGHAM and his declaration that he *did not care if he offended him*; he had had quite enough to fill him with *disgust and resentment*; quite enough; and he had in his hands all the means of obtaining instant *revenge* on all the parties that he saw combined against him. He mastered his just resentment; and yet he maintained his own honour.

We are now arrived at Tuesday evening, having learned, in the course of the day, that Nottingham Castle, the property of the Duke of Newcastle, had been burnt by the people. On Tuesday evening the House of Lords met; when there arose a very angry discussion, or, rather, a downright quarrel, brought on by the Bishop of EXETER. The bishops had exposed themselves, by their voting on the bill. In the list of the majority and minority, which I have inserted below, it will be seen that twenty-one of the English bishops voted against the bill and two voted for it. But, besides this, we are to observe, that there were seventeen English bishops, out of the twenty-six who voted against the bill; that there are only four Irish bishops who sit in the House of Lords, as the representatives of the whole eighteen Irish bishops; and that the *whole of these four* voted against the bill. So that there were but two bishops out of the forty-four that voted for the bill; the four Irish bishops having voted against it, as the *representatives* of the Irish eighteen. This is a very memorable thing; this is a matter to be borne in mind; and, therefore, I shall here put down all the particulars, the names of the bishops as well as of their dioceses; for these gentlemen are everlastingly changing about, and one who is Bishop of Gloucester to day, is Bishop of Litchfield to-morrow. For instance, Carr was Bishop of Chichester a little while

ago; but he is now Bishop of Worcester. I will therefore put down all the names of Bishops. And here they are.

#### VOTED AGAINST THE BILL.

Canterbury	.. William Howley
Durham	.. William Van Mildert
Winchester	.. Charles Richard Sumner
Salisbury	.. Thomas Burgess
Bath and Wells	.. George Henry Law
Rochester	.. George Murray
Litchfield	.. Henry Ryder
Peterborough	.. Herbert Marsh
Lincoln	.. John Kaye
St. Asaph	.. William Carey
Bangor	.. Christopher Bethell
Bristol	.. Robert Gray
Carlisle	.. Hugh Percy
Landaff	.. Edward Coppleston
Oxford	.. Richard Bagot
Gloucester	.. James Henry Monck
Exeter	.. Henry Phillpotts

Tuam	.. Poor Trench
Leighlin	.. Thomas Erington
Cloyne	.. John Brinkley
Cork	.. Samuel Kyle

#### KEPT AWAY AND DID NOT SEND PROXY.

York	.. Edward Harcourt
London	.. James Blomfield
Hereford	.. Israel Huntingford
Ely	.. Boyer-Edward Sparke
St. David's	.. John Banks Jenkinson
Worcester	.. Robert James Carr
Chester	.. John Bird Sumner

#### VOTED FOR THE BILL.

Norwich	.. Henry Bathurst
Chichester	.. Dr. Maltby.

It is very clear, therefore, that the Bishops were the cause of the loss of the Bill; for, if the twenty-one had voted the other way, there would have been a majority of one in favour of the bill. If these ministers of peace had thought proper thus to act there would have been peace and harmony, instead of troubles and danger all over the kingdom. But this is not all; for, there were seven of the English Bishops you see who *kept away*, and who did not send their proxies. If they were ill, they could have sent their proxies for the bill in like manner as the Bishop of Norwich did. Their keeping away, therefore, does not in the smallest degree alter the public impression with regard to their conduct.

Now for the quarrel before mentioned, which took place in the House of Lords,



on Tuesday night. It arose upon presenting a petition from a place in Suffolk bordering on Cambridgeshire, and complained of grinding oppression on the part of the *Dean and Chapter of Ely*, who, as stated by the petition, not content with the tithes that they have heretofore received, have conjured up a new and most oppressive claim. I shall now forego the debate, which will speak for itself, and which I take from the *Morning Chronicle*.

Lord King had two petitions to present on a different subject from that of the Reform Bill. Both petitions were in favour of the Prescription Bill introduced by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but which was likely to be strangled in this Session as it had been in the last. One of the petitions was from the owners and occupiers of lands to the extent of 5000 acres in the county of Suffolk, and they prayed that the Bill might speedily pass, as otherwise they would be continually harassed with suits for tithes, as they had recently been, after an exemption for centuries. The petitioners stated, that the lands which they hold had belonged to the Priory of the Isle of Ely, and, as such, had been exempted from the payment of tithes; and that they had remained exempt for several centuries, till suits for tithes were recently commenced against them by the Dean and Chapter of Ely, who were Lords of the Manor, in which lawsuits the petitioners had expended 5000*l*. The Dean and Chapter had lately granted a new lease to their own steward of the manor, by the terms on which it was taken he was bound to prosecute these suits. The Dean and Chapter had also taken from them on the renewal of their rights, as if the Lords had been exempt from the payment of tithes, and had appointed a Vicar of the parish who, as might be expected, was a non-resident and a pluralist. This disturbance of the ancient order of things then came from the clergy, who professed to be averse to all changes, and to be desirous that every thing should remain unchanged, but who, when their own interests were concerned, became the arch disturbers. (Hear, hear.) The other petition was to the same effect, from a place in Ireland.

Lord Ellenborough: He thought it his duty to call the attention of the House to an expression which the noble Lord had used with respect to the clergy. The noble Lord had said that they were the arch disturbers when their own interests were concerned, although under other circumstances they were adverse to all change. But the noble Lord is aware of the conduct of the clergy. He more than was convinced there was the grossest impropriety in making such a charge against them. Even they themselves had lately come forward with

measures of improvement and amendment. He knew the abilities and kindness and excellent disposition of his noble Friend, but really these constant attacks on the clergy had a tendency to detract from the position which his noble Friend ought to hold in that House, and very much disparaged him.

Lord King thanked his noble Friend for the good opinion which he entertained of him in some respects; but yet he must still say that the complaints in the petition from Suffolk were well founded. They had enjoyed the exemption from the payment of tithes for centuries, and now they were disturbed, not by laymen, but by the Dean and Chapter of Ely. The clergy these were the disturbers of the existing order of things, and if the Prescription Bill should not pass, the grievances would become intolerable, and the strongest claims would be excited against the clergy generally. The petitioners from Ireland prayed for a speedy passing of the bill, as delay was a bonus and a premium on law-suits.

Lord Somerset: Being warmly attached to the Church of England, he had frequently suggested to his noble Friend (Lord King) to abstain from these attacks on the Clergy and the Church; but he confessed that what had taken place within these few days had caused some change in his opinion respecting the general body of the right reverend prelates, although his attachment to the Established Church remained as strong as ever. But he felt that he owed some apology to his noble Friend, for he thought that the conduct of the right rev. Prelates did call for some observation. He certainly did not come prepared to make any such observation, for he had not been aware of the petition to be presented by his noble Friend, nor of the observations which he intended to make on presenting them. He had always considered the existence of the right rev. Prelates in this House as liable to one objection, as they always threw almost the whole weight of their body into the scale of Government. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition benches.) He would presently show how he meant to apply that observation. The right rev. Prelates, in a firm and wise phalanx, lent their weight to the Government, and this led him to observe that the right rev. Prelates always did so when the Government was arbitrary and oppressive; but that the very instant that a liberal Government came into power, and proposed liberal and beneficial measures, the right rev. Prelates voted against them.

The Earl of Lonsdale rose to order. It was decidedly disorderly for any noble Lord to arraign the conduct and motives of other Lords because they happened to vote contrary to the opinion and vote of him who made the charge. There would be an end to all freedom of discussion and decision if this were to be allowed.

The Lord Chancellor:—He had been lauded for not taking care to keep order, but

but he could only give his advice, which he would now give, *et vixit quantum*: To refer to any speech that had been made in the course of a former debate was not strictly according to order, but still it was often done, and overlooked. But to arraign the motives of any noble Lords in voting as they did, was certainly contrary to all rule and order. (Hear.) But he did not hear that his noble Friend imputed any sinister or bad motives to the right reverend Prelates in voting as they did, but merely stated the fact, and his opinion that this might prove injurious to the church establishment, of which he was a firm and steadfast friend. It was in that view that his noble Friend made observations on the conduct of the right reverend Prelates, and neither they nor any noble Lords were exempt from observation, both here and in another place. The right reverend Prelates did not want to be exempted from observation. They courted observation. The right reverend Prelates had no doubt acted with the greatest disinterestedness. (Hear, hear.) Good God! to impute to the right reverend Prelates that they acted from selfish and interested motives! No, they had with the utmost disinterestedness acted against the present Government. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) *They thought of tripping up the present Government* (hear, hear); they had a right to do so (hear); and it could not be imputed to them that they were actuated by selfish motives when they acted against the present Government, and attempted to trip it up, and probably thought that they had tripped it up. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ELLENBOROUGH rose to order. The noble and learned Lord had risen to give his opinion on a point of order, and now he was treating them with a speech from himself.

Earl GREY:—He hoped the House would allow him to say a few words on the point of order. He had often had occasion to advert to the very great inconvenience attending these discussions when they took place, merely on the occasion of presenting petitions. It appeared to him that his noble Friend (Lord Sumfeld) had rather overstepped the bounds of order: but without giving any positive opinion on the subject, he put it to the consideration of his noble Friend whether he ought to persevere in a course which could be attended with no advantage, and was sure to be very inconvenient. The discussion could lead to no good.

Lord SUMFELD:—If he was out of order, he was very sorry for it. Certainly he had not come prepared to make any observations on the conduct of the right reverend Prelates. He had not been aware of the intention of his noble Friend to present these petitions, nor had he been aware of any observations which he intended to make on presenting them. But he felt that he ought to take the opportunity of apologising to his noble Friend. He did not question the motives of the right reverend Prelates, though he had thought that he was in perfect order in making some observations

on their vote. Their motives were, no doubt, excellent. He had only observed on the matter of fact, that the right reverend Prelates had, for the first time, voted against the Government, when that Government happened to be a liberal one. He had stated the fact, without arraigning the motives of the right reverend Prelates; but if he was in any degree out of order, he begged leave to apologise to the House.

The Bishop of LONDON was aware of the inconvenience of entering upon these discussions, on occasion of presenting petitions; and he was averse to prolonging this discussion. But there was one expression used by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, upon which he was anxious to say a few words. *He said himself, given neither opinion nor vote on the subject of the important measure lately before the House*; but when the noble and learned Lord said that the Bishops desired to trip up the Government, he must say that no such thoughts had ever entered into their minds. The Bishops had no reason to wish that the present Government should be tripped up. They had no reason to complain of the present Ministers, who had always shown a disposition to consult the best interests of the church; and even the noble and learned Lord himself had introduced, or promised a measure, which was of great advantage to the church. Setting aside the Reform Bill, the Bishops had no reason to complain of the present Ministers; and as to the vote of the general body of the Bishops on that bill, whatever might be said as to the wisdom of that vote, the prelates were clear as to their integrity and sincerity. (Hear.)

The Bishop of LANDAUF: His own frame of mind in regard to this bill had been very much like that of the noble Earl (quere Hadlington), who had pronounced a splendid eulogium on the late Mr. Canning. He had been most anxious to find reasons which might enable him, consistently with his own sense of duty, to vote for the second reading. That had been the state of his mind. He had been anxious to vote for the second reading, but could not find reasons to enable him to do so. He had been convinced that the bill could not pass, and then the motion for the second reading was the only one on which they would have an opportunity of intimating their sincere and conscientious opinion on the measure. As the suppositions insinuated, if not expressed, that they had voted from interested and selfish motives, he regarded them as idle sounds—*as new echoes of the discordant notes with which they had been assailed on their entrance into that House*. (Hear.)

The Bishop of EXETER: The Bishops had not opposed the measure because it was the measure of a liberal Administration, but because of their consciences they could not approve of it, and they were ready to brave the sneers of the mob, even when urged and incited by those whose duty it was to restrain these ebullitions of the mob—those who ought

to uphold and maintain all the institutions of the country. And now they were to be told that they always supported an arbitrary Government, but voted against the Government when it acted on free principles, and introduced liberal measures. He defied any of the accusers of the Bishops to show a single instance in which they had voted from *interested and selfish motives*, although they had been *outrageously insulted by a person holding the highest station in office*! If he was wrong in being so warm, he trusted that the occasion would be some apology for him. A trumpety petition was presented, and that occasion was taken to hold out that the clergy, who professed to be averse to all change, were the greatest disturbers of existing rights and institutions, and were spoken of with sarcasm and insult, as being interested and selfish, and engaged in a conspiracy against liberty.

Earl Grey: This was the most unfounded accusation that he had ever heard brought forward against any Ministers by any Member of the Bench of Bishops (Hear, hear.) Whether the attack was personal to himself, or was meant to apply to his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack, he did not know; but when the Right Reverend Prelate said that they (the Ministry), or some of them, had spoken of the Bench of Bishops with reprobation and sarcasm, he would ask the Right Reverend Prelate whether, in the few words that he had spoken, there was any thing like reprobation or sarcasm? As to the annoyances that the Right Rev. Prelates might have received from the people, he and his colleagues had done every thing in their power to prevent such annoyances, both as regarded the Right Rev. Prelates and others whose votes were most likely to expose them to such annoyances; and he asked the Right Rev. Prelate whether he meant to say that he (Earl Grey) had ever done any thing to excite and encourage such annoyances? The Right Rev. Prelate had said that a person in the highest station in office had insulted and vilified the Church. Now he was in what was generally considered as the highest station in office, and he asked the Right Rev. Prelate whether he alluded to him or to his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack? But to which ever of them the Right Rev. Prelate alluded, sure it was that to neither of them could the accusation be applied with justice or truth. (Loud cheers.) But, not content with this, the Right Rev. Prelate, with a warmth which little became the garb that he wore, had been so grossly unjust as to accuse them of being excited and instigators of a mob to rally and insult the Right Rev. Prelates (Hear, hear.) He had been so grossly wrong, that he treated the indignation with the utmost restraint and moderation. There was not a syllable of truth in any of these words, and he could describe it in no other terms than as the foulest calumny. If he could be capable of exciting and instigating a mob, there were no terms of reprobation with which

he would not deserve to be visited. But he repeated, that there was no truth in the imputation, nor shadow or colour of truth. He denied the charge. He had done nothing but what he was justified and bound to do in the discharge of his duty in that House. Instead of exciting and encouraging a mob against the right rev. Prelates, and any other lords who had voted against the measure, he had exerted all the powers of Government to protect them, however hostile to him their vote might be. Thus vote they had a right to give if they chose it, and he never meant to question that right. He therefore called on the right rev. Prelate to state the evidence on which he rested as *foul an imputation*. In all his observations, he had shown the greatest respect for the right rev. Prelates, and was a firm friend to the Established Church of England; and he still respected the right rev. Prelates as a body, notwithstanding the most improper speech, and the *foul aspersions* of the right rev. Prelate who spoke last. (Loud cheering.)

The Bishop of Exeter: He was ready, on being thus called upon to produce the evidence on which he rested his assertions. He wished to premise, however, that he imputed no improper motives to the noble Earl, however he might disapprove of his language. It might be irregular to refer to what took place on a former debate; but when thus called upon, he might be allowed to produce his proof. On the first night of the debate on the Reform Bill, the noble Earl was pleased to call on the Bishops seriously to consider what would be their condition in the estimation of the country in case they voted against the measure. The noble Earl had put this in such a way as if he meant to induce the Bishops to vote for the measure, from a dread of the odium which they would encounter, in case they voted against it. This, whatever might be the noble Earl's intent, was to call on them by a menace, to vote for the bill, and it had a tendency to excite the people against the bench of Bishops. The noble Earl had called upon them *under a threat to vote for the measure*, and he had assumed the character of a prophet, and called upon them to *set their house in order*. The noble Earl did not indeed conclude the sentence. That he had left for themselves to do. But, at the same time, the meaning was clear that destruction to the House was threatened. The noble Earl had also reminded them that certain important questions were under consideration, of which the decision might be favourable or unfavourable as the vote might be. What were these questions and where were they under consideration? Was it before the members of the Government, or was it in Parliament that they were under consideration? Did the noble Earl mean that schemes of plunder were in agitation, which might be affected by the conduct of the Bishops? Whatever was meant, they had not supposed their conduct to be affected by such threats, but had voted as their consciences and sense

of duty had dictated. What he said was, that the language of the noble Earl had a tendency to expose the Bishops to odium in the eyes of the people, and to *instigate the people against them*; and this was the echo of what others had suggested, for the very same language was held by the public journals, which had assailed the Bishops *because they had done their duty*. (Hear, hear.) The Bishops, at the time of the Revolution, had opposed an arbitrary government, when they found themselves called upon to act in self defence. This was the first time since the Revolution that the Bench of Bishops, as a body, opposed a great measure of Government; and yet they were threatened and menaced for having done so in compliance with their own sense of duty.

EARL GREY: If any part of his speech on the first night of the debate on the Reform Bill had given offence to the right rev. Prelate, he ought to have commented on it at the time, and then he would have answered. But the right rev. Prelate's proof corresponded but very little with his assertions, for the right rev. Prelate had said, that Ministers *had encouraged and instigated the mob to annoy them*.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER: No, he had not used such an expression. He did not recollect that he had said so.

EARL GREY: He certainly did understand that the right rev. Prelate had said that the Ministers or some of them *had encouraged and excited a mob against them*. But certainly the right rev. Prelate did say, that they had assailed the Bishops in the language of outrage and insult, and how did he make out this hypothesis? This right rev. Prelate had said, that he had on the first day of the debate on the Reform Bill addressed them in a tone of menace. He had certainly addressed them in a tone of warning, but not of menace. He had put it to them as he had put it to other noble Lords, to consider the consequences of opposing a measure, upon the passing of which the public mind was so much bent, not meaning to call on them to surrender their consciences, or to vote any otherwise than as their sense of duty prescribed. He did put it to the right rev. Bench to look at the state of the country carefully, and to consider well before they decided how they should vote; but this he had done, not in the language of insult and outrage, but in terms of the greatest respect, and as a decided friend of the church. He absolutely could not conceive what the right rev. Prelate meant when he said that he had addressed them in the language of insult. He had put it to them whether they ought not to vote for a great measure of reform, and had expressed his joy at the circumstance that some of themselves had appreciated the issue, and had introduced measures of reform and amendment. If the right rev. Prelate but takes his objection at the time, he would have been answered and explained; but instead of that, the right rev. Prelate had said nothing at the time, but came down afterwards with a general

charge, which was nothing better than a *calumnious aspersion*, for which there was not the slightest foundation in anything that he (Earl Grey) had ever said or done.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON: The whole of this discussion had arisen on the question whether a petition against the payment of tithes should be laid on the table; and the clergy were censured by a noble Lord, because they asked for that which was justly due to them. Another noble Lord had assailed the Bishops, because they who had always voted for an arbitrary government, had now voted against a liberal one. He called on the noble Lord to say what he meant by an *arbitrary government*. He had been at the head of the late government; but he denied that that was an arbitrary Government, and he wished the noble Lord to state on what fact he rested his charge, that the Government was arbitrary: As to the charge against the Bishops, there was not a question for the last ten months, in which they had decided against the Government, till the question as to the measure of Reform had come to a division a few nights ago; and yet they were accused of voting against a liberal Government, because on that one occasion they had thought proper to judge for themselves. If they had opposed the Government, it was, of course, because they thought it their duty to do so. Nothing could be more unfair than to take every occasion even on presenting petitions, to throw out these charges against so respectable a body of men as the Bench of Bishops and the clergy in general.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE asked whether those who had voted against the bill were to have protection for their lives and their property? He himself had been assailed by a mob, and had applied at the office of the Home Department for protection, but found no one of authority at the office. He thought it the duty of the head of the Department to take care that some one high in the office should be always in attendance. He had then applied at the head police office, and there had received proper protection. But in reality, there was at present no Government, or rather they were under the Government of the mob. He had heard of collections of persons who had done him and others much mischief, but he only mentioned the circumstance for the general good.

THE MARSHAL OF LONDONDOVEY: He was not much inclined to trouble the House with any thing personal to himself; but as the subject had been started, he would mention what had happened to himself. The police stationed about the Houses of Parliament did not extend farther on than George-street. As he was coming down Parliament-street at Whitehall, a mob assailed him, and a strong fellow gave him a violent blow on the arm, and he and others attempted to pull him out of his cabriolet, and if they had succeeded, he believed they would have murdered him; but the cabriolet was driven on and he escaped. He

thought that the persons and the property of those who voted against the bill ought to be more effectually protected. All the windows of his house, which had been spared by the mob on a former night, had been broken by a mob last night. He was indifferent, however, about that; but unless their persons were more effectually protected, noble lords would carry arms in their pockets to protect themselves; and if lives were lost, the Government would not protect them would be answerable. For his part, he would protect himself, if he should not be protected by Government. He hoped Ministers would take more precautions; for, if the police had been extended up Parliament-street to Whitehall, he would not have suffered under the infliction of a dastardly mob.

Lord Malmesbury: It had been the endeavour of Ministers to afford every practical protection to person and property, and they had had particularly in view the protection of the persons and property of those who were most likely to be obnoxious to the people. He deeply lamented the agitation which prevailed, and was very sorry that the noble Marquis and others had suffered by it, and he had directed a strong body of police to be ready to afford protection wherever it was wanted. But their Lordships must be aware, that when very great bodies of people had assembled and separated, there was generally a rabble left behind who were inclined to do mischief. But it was impossible for Ministers to guard every house in town. He was sorry that the noble Duke did not find any principal officer in attendance when he called at the office of the Home Department; but every arrangement had been made by Government to afford protection, and the noble Duke had only to apply at the Head Police Office for the requisite protection, and he had, in fact, found it. But outrages on persons were still more than outrages on property, and he was very sorry for the violence which had been offered to the noble Marquis. But here again the observation applied, that it was impossible for Government, at such times, to afford complete and efficient protection to all, but orders had been given to afford as much protection as possible; and the orders had been given in the spirit of attending particularly to the protection of those who were most obnoxious to the populace. But Government could not prevent all outrages; and he deeply lamented the one to which the noble Marquis had been exposed. He would be one of the last in the world to encourage such proceedings, and had used every means in his power to prevent them.

The Marquis of Lansdowne: He gave the fullest credit to the noble Lord for everything that he had said; but when he complained of was, that the Police force had not been extended up the whole length of Parliament-street; and he suggested that they should still be extended from the entrance of the house to Whitehall.

Lord Wharncliffe gave great credit to the people for the peaceable manner in which they had conducted themselves, which, he owned, had caused him some surprise, considering the great excitement which was kept up by the Press of the Metropolis. The people had not done any thing to disgrace themselves. Indeed he was surprised at their peaceable behaviour. If there were no persons employing means to excite the people to treat their Lordships with disrespect, he believed that they would not have been disposed to do that in consequence of the discussion in which their Lordships had been engaged, but would rather think that their Lordships had done their duty, and had given their votes out of a desire to do justice and protect the liberties of the people. The object of their Lordships was to do justice, and the inhabitants of the town would repent of the excesses they had committed in the first heat of their disappointment.

Lord Eldon: He did not expect any disturbance, and was not surprised that none had taken place. He did not attribute the excitement of the people to their Lordships' decision, but to the labours of the Press. If the Ministers permitted the Press to go on exciting the people to crime, it was impossible that crimes should not be committed. He had no doubt that the Government would preserve the peace of the town; and he had no doubt that, under the present circumstances, the Ministers would do their duty, which was required of them, both from their official character, and as men of honour.

Petition laid on the Table.

I shall have plenty of occasions hereafter to speak of the conduct of these bishops; and I must now hasten to the important occurrences of Wednesday; that is to say yesterday, for I am writing on the Thursday forenoon. I have described the uneasiness which had existed on account of the King keeping away at Windsor; but, it was announced on the Tuesday that he was coming to London on the Wednesday to hold a levee and to receive the addresses of the parishes, and particularly of the city of London, which, according to a very ancient custom, he had to receive upon the throne. The estimation of the time and place of doing this was not received in the city until a late hour on Tuesday night; so that there had manifestly been but a very short foreknowledge of the King's intention to be at St. James's on Wednesday. However, on Wednesday he came. My house at Kensington is close

to the side of the road on which he passes; and, when I saw him go by, and heard the shouts of the people, I could not help thinking of that salutary journey that the King and Queen of France took *from Versailles to Paris*, in the year of the demolition of the Bastille; which journey, had it been followed, as I trust this journey of our King will, by a resolution to accede with sincerity to the just wishes of the people, that bloody Revolution, which afterwards took place in France, would have been prevented. When the King, accompanied by the Queen, arrived at the palace, they were received by the cheers of, probably, a hundred thousand people. Soon after their arrival came the Lord Mayor, some of the Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, with their address, passing along about two miles distance from the Guildhall to the palace of St. James, amidst the shouts of the people. At the same time, the great parishes, headed by their committees, and carrying banners and placards, having on them words descriptive of the feelings and wishes of the people, arrived with their addresses. The order, the regularity, the judicious and peaceable manner, in which all this was conducted, must have astonished and confounded those *foreign creatures*, who are said to have been jumping for joy when they heard of the vote of the House of Lords against the Reform Bill, and who are said to have instantly sent off intelligence of it to Austria, Holland, Prussia, Russia, and other places upon the continent. When these creatures saw, if they did see, upon the white flag of the parish of Marybone, "*The King the Commons, the People's Rights*;" and, upon other flags, "*Equal Rights*," "*Union is Strength*," and the like, they must have begun to think that all was not over. But all had not been decided when the bishops and the rest of the one hundred and ninety also had given their votes against the bill.

The King always gives a written answer to petitions or addresses, which he receives from the Common Council of the city of London; and upon this occasion he gave them the following an-

swer:—"I receive with satisfaction the expression of your loyalty and attachment to my person and government, and of your confidence in my constitutional advisers. You may be assured of my sincere desire to uphold and to improve the securities afforded by the constitution for the maintenance of the just rights of my people, and you may rely on my continued disposition to further the adoption of such measures as may seem best calculated for that purpose. For the safe and successful accomplishment of such measures it is, above all things, necessary that they should be discussed with calmness and deliberation; and I earnestly recommend to you to use all the influence you justly possess with your fellow-citizens, for the purpose of preserving the public peace from any interruption by acts of violence and commotion."

With this answer, there is no fault to be found. It goes as far as the King could well have gone without becoming undignified. The Common Council had, to speak in plain words, prayed him to keep his present Ministers and to make a new creation of peers, and thereby to cause the Reform Bill to pass; and this, taking the address into view, he tells them that he will do, if such new creation shall become necessary for effecting the object of their prayer.

After presenting their addresses, the people gradually dispersed; and the evening and night passed off without any thing beyond a trifling smashing of windows and a hoisting and kicking and beating of Lord Londonderry. This was very reprehensible; and for the act itself every one must be sorry; but in a case of such general ferment, and with the passions of hundreds of thousands so much excited, who is to wonder that now and then an act of violence should occur, even from mere accident, without any forethought, and really without any violent disposition in the persons committing the act. In short, it is impossible that such things should not occur under such circumstances, and it must be a subject of ad-



miration with every candid man in the world, that so little violence should have been committed in such a state of things, amongst such swarms of people all assembled upon the same spot.

In the country the acts of violence have been of a more serious character. I insert as a specimen the following intelligence from Nottingham and Derby, two of the finest towns in the whole kingdom.

Nottingham, Tuesday (Three o'clock).—We are here in the most dreadful state of insubordination and riot. After the meeting in the Market-place, notwithstanding every exhortation to peace, the multitudes went away with lowering brows, and a gentleman of long experience observed that he never less liked the people's looks. The windows of many persons in all parts of the town were broken, and a mob out of the Forest nearly demolished. Towards dusk an immense mob went through Sutton; at Colwick-place they tore down an immense range of iron palisades, and armed with these they marched to Colwick-hall, the seat of John Musters, Esq., about two miles distant, demolished all the windows, broke and tore to pieces the furniture, and set fire to the house in two places; it was afterwards extinguished without much injury. The speed with which a mob separated, met again in a fixed place, committed the outrages, and again dispersed, showed that some cool heads had the command. They returned at night, full into Nottingham, many hundreds armed with immense pieces of wood from Colwick, and not a few with concealed fire-arms. A vast number of special constables were sworn in, and called together by the ringing of the great bell. About seven o'clock an attack was made on the town-house of correction, which contains a vast number of prisoners; the outer door was forced, when, on the arrival of the Ash Hussars, and the civil force, the mob instantly dispersed by the numerous streets which there unite. In half an hour the Royal Castle of Nottingham, now the property of the Duke of Newcastle, was discovered to be on fire, and before aid could arrive, was so completely in flames, that all attempts to save it were in vain; indeed, from its vast height above the reach of water, the whole population could scarcely have been effectual in checking its progress. It burned away in awful grandeur till about eleven o'clock, when it began to smoke, and continued to flare and smoke throughout the night. It must have been a terrible scene to the surrounding country, being situated in a tract of forty-five perpendicular acres between the meadows. A heavy shower of rain, of very long continuance, prevented further mischief that night. This beautiful edifice was more than a hundred yards from any other building; it was not recently inhabited. Its magnificent stair-cases and floorings of black

oak and cedar, and the tapestry hangings of Queen Anne, with every thing it contained, are consumed. This morning the mobs have again assembled; their first exploit was to force a way into the Castle-yard, to gloat over the complete devastation—none but the external walls being left standing. The mail was expected by them to bring some intelligence from the metropolis; but they expressed their conviction that the reports, that all was quiet there, were delusive. The return of night is dreaded. An hour ago I saw from the park hills a vast volume of smoke and fire arising at Beeston, three miles distant, said to be the factory of Mr. Lowe, of this town. The mob have never come into direct collision with the military, and have continued to disperse on their approach; but it has always happened that the mischief has been done. Several gentlemen's seats, and some large manufactories have been threatened. The rioters are principally young men and boys from the country, to the number of 3,000 or 4,000. It is said that many of the Derby mob are amongst them. The races, which should have commenced to-day, are postponed. All the shops are closed.

Nottingham.—(Extract of a Private Letter.)—"It appears by the papers you have sent me that London is not so turbulent, and I sincerely hope it will be tranquil, and set an example to the kingdom. Mr. G. has just told me Mrs. Musters died from excessive fright. How it will end, God only knows. No lives have as yet been lost. All business is suspended; all the shops in the market-place have their shutters up, and many are totally closed. Mr. Lowe's mill, at Beeston, is on fire at the present moment (two o'clock, P.M.); what violent acts further the mob may do cannot be foretold, and how they are to be put a stop to I know not."

Derby, Oct. 9. (Half-past Six o'clock, P.M.)—"The town still continues in a dreadful state of excitement. An immense body of people have proceeded to Little Chester, and have entirely destroyed the front of Mr. John Harrison's house; returning back, almost every house was attacked, and scarcely a window remained whole; but the anti-rioters shared much the worst fate. The disturbances continued the whole of the night, and the greatest excesses were committed. The banking-house of Messrs. Crompton suffered dreadfully; every window was forced in. Mr. Gidder's surgeon, shared the same fate, and I am sorry to say, Mr. Haden's son, Henry, was killed by the mob. The night was very dark, every lamp was broken. The soldiers patrolled the streets the whole of the night, but owing to the darkness were of little use. Many shots were fired, and, I fear, many wounded; one man was shot in Kin Street, who is not expected to live."

Oct. 10. (Two o'clock, P.M.)—"An immense body of people are now assembled, and the worst consequence is to be feared; business is quite at a stand, the shops all shut, manu-

factories at a stand, and the greatest fear prevails of the result of to-night. It is currently reported that the manufactories will be the point of attack.

Three o'clock.—The Riot Act was read about an hour ago; the soldiers are now firing upon the people; two men are just shot—one dead, and the other, it is stated, cannot live long.

Four o'clock.—The soldiers are using every means to disperse the assembled multitudes; there is no doubt many lives will be lost before morning, as I can hear constant firing at this time."

It is probable, and I most anxiously hope it, that the apparent resolution of the King to cause the bill to be carried through, will quiet the people in the country, not only in the great towns, but in the villages, where the danger is still greater than in the towns; but it is very foolish for men to flatter themselves with the hope that there will ever be tranquillity in England again or in Scotland either, until this bill, or rather another bill, shall have passed into a law. To exhort the people not to commit violence; to exhort them to submit to the laws; to exhort them to withhold their violent hands from the property and the persons of their neighbours: this is the duty of every man who has any influence over the minds of the people; but to expect that his exhortations will have any effect unless accompanied with a statement of reasonable grounds for believing that the bill will speedily pass, is foolishness of the higher order; is foolishness sublime and supreme; except that it may, possibly, not surpass the foolishness of telling the people that their violence will prevent the bill from passing. Why, we have church prayers for rain, in dry seasons; but do we pray, at the same time, *not to be wet through*? We desire the rain to fall upon the earth; but do we desire that the rain shall not fall upon our heads when we are standing upon that earth? To see the rejection of the Reform Bill, and to expect no violence in consequence, is to believe all that the people have been told by the Ministers, and by all the supporters of the bill for six months past. I like the pretty song of the Lord Chancellor of Wednesday night, very much: he ex-

horts the people to be quiet as lambs, lest they should defeat the Reform Bill, of which he, four days before, expressed his readiness to enter into a reconsideration. Why, the people see that the Reform Bill is defeated, and they see no revival of it, and no positive pledge that there shall be a revival of it; and under these circumstances do the Ministers expect the people to be quiet? I hope that they will be quiet and that they will wait patiently to see what is to be done; but the question is, can the Ministers, consistent with their own declarations a thousand times made, expect the people to be quiet in this state of things? Let us see how this matter stands: let us see what reason they have for such expectation.

Nobody will dispute the truth of any one of the following facts; namely, that the Duke could neither walk nor ride the streets in safety, on account of his declared hostility to Parliamentary Reform; that he quitted his office because he could not carry on the Government without Reform; that Lord Grey came into office upon the express ground of making a parliamentary reform; that the bill, when brought in, was grounded upon the necessity of it to restore peace and harmony to the country; that the ministers have all along insisted that, to pass the bill was absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of the country, and to prevent the people from taking the work into their own hands; that during the late debates in the House of Lords, a great argument with those who urged the passing of the bill was, that the country would be convulsed, that uproar and violence would immediately succeed if the bill were rejected; that the opponents of the bill called this *intimidation and menace*, but that the ministers answered that it was merely *foretelling* the natural consequences of the rejection. No one can deny any one of these facts. The ministers were accused of *inciting* to violence by these foretellings, as their Attorney-General accused me; but they answered, that they were only giving a salutary warning of the danger, while, at the same time, they pointed out the *remedy*. The



remedy was not adopted, and, therefore, if they were sincere in their forebodings, as I was in mine, ought they to have expected that the violence would not take place? Mr. HOBBS, one of the faithful members of the county of Kent, told the House of Commons: "The county which I have the honour to represent is now tranquil, after being so terribly convulsed. I believe that it owes this tranquillity entirely to the hope that this Bill will pass; and I firmly believe that, if this Bill be rejected, the disturbances will break out again."

Therefore what a waste of words is it; what an abuse of reason is it, to argue now as if no violence was to be expected! Mr. HOBBS, for instance, must most anxiously wish that the county of Kent should not again be convulsed; but, is he not too just a man to wish to deal harshly with the people, even if they were again to proceed to acts of violence? And have not the people been told, and by the Ministers themselves, that they were not represented in Parliament; that their rights had been usurped; that the bill was necessary to restore those rights to them; and to give them security for person and property? This is what the Ministers themselves have told them a thousand times over; and were they then to expect that the people would be quiet when they saw this bill rejected, and themselves thereby brought back to their former state, taxed, as Lord JOHN RUSSELL himself expressed it, by men who had usurped their rights?

And, as to the way in which the people are to express their discontent: but first of all, do the Ministers wish that the people should be quiet under the rejection of the bill? Do they wish this? Well, in what way do they wish that the people should show their discontent with the rejection of the bill? By petitioning and addressing? By cheering the Ministers and groaning their opponents? One recommends the people by no means to withhold the taxes, and the Lord Chancellor prays them not to proceed to breaches of the peace. They must then mean that the people

should confine themselves to petitioning and addressing; to the huzzaing of them and the groaning of their opponents. Now I beg leave, as the Lord Chancellor is "ready to reconsider" the matter relative to the ten-pound voters; as he is so ready to reconsider this matter, let me ask him to reconsider his speech of last night, and to give me an answer, yea or nay, to this question: *Do you believe, my Lord Brougham, that if the boroughmongers could be made QUITE CERTAIN that the people would NEVER DO ANY-THING but petition, address, huzza you, and hiss and groan your opponents, that this bill, or that any reform at all, would EVER BE ADOPTED?* If you be a true man, answer me that question, yea or nay; but before you do it, remember that the bloody JEREMIAHS, who once sat on the very bench on which you now sit, when he had just condemned one of his scores of victims, and when the victim exclaimed, "*My blood be upon your head,*" answered, laughing at the same time, "*Let it! Let it!*" I am CLAMOUR-PROOF." Hardened and bloody as he was, he was not more completely clamour-proof than the boroughmongers are.

It is therefore perfectly useless to send forth exhortations to peace and patience without sending forth at the same time assurances as positive as can be given, that the Bill will finally pass. The Prime Minister and the King are, I sincerely believe, resolved upon the carrying of the measure; but people in general have not the same means of judging that I have. They are full of suspicions; with them all is uncertainty and alarm; and, in order to prevent them from proceeding to those acts of violence which the ministers themselves not only anticipated, but expressly foretold, as the inevitable consequence of a rejection of the bill, these ministers should now not lose a single moment in giving them an assurance that the bill will be carried; and of giving them an assurance, too, that no change will be made in the bill to narrow the extent of the suffrage in the great towns, and also, that no delay will take place in the revival of

the bill. Upon these two subjects I shall have a great deal to say, in my next Register; but, in the mean while, a positive assurance ought to be given with regard to them; for, without such an assurance, after what was said by the Lord Chancellor about his "readiness to reconsider," who is to expect tranquillity in the great tower?

The following intelligence has just reached me in the *Maidstone Gazette*.

#### RESIGNATION OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

SIR,—As soon as the news of the rejection of the Reform Bill arrived at Woolwich, a meeting took place of the members of the Chiselhurst troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, commanded by Viscount Sidney, residing at Woolwich and Greenwich, when they came to the resolution of immediately sending in their resignation, together with their arms and accoutrements,—their motive for so doing being that they were pledged reformers, and could not, consistently with their avowed principles, continue any longer under the command of an anti-reformer; it being their primary object, at the formation of the troop, to support the King, and Earl Grey's administration.

SAMUEL NOBLE.

High Constable of the lower half hundred,  
Blackheath.  
Woolwich, Oct. 8, 1831.

#### RESIGNATION OF THE MAIDSTONE YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

On the reception of the intelligence of the rejection of the Reform Bill, a private meeting of some of the members of Lord Marsham's Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry took place, at which the following document, which is now in course of signature, was agreed to be presented to their noble and respected Captain:—

"To the Lord Viscount MARSHAM, Captain of the Mote Troop Cavalry, &c., &c., &c."

"My Lord,—We the undersigned, members of the Mote Troop, which you command, with every respect for your Lordship's person, but with a gloomy apprehension that the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Peers will be attended with disastrous results, beg to tender to you our respective resignations:

"We enrolled ourselves under your Lordship's command, to evince our loyalty towards our patriotic King—our confidence in his popular Ministers—and our attachment to the great and vital measure of reform proposed by them. Had this been passed, we would have stood by your Lordship's side in all times of danger, for the protection of property and person; but the bill being thrown out in the House of Peers, we cannot—notwith-

standing our respect and gratitude towards your noble House, for its support of the measure—consistently with our duty to ourselves and our country, consent to serve under a Colonel who opposed a measure in the House of Commons, and a Lord Lieutenant who is in the majority in the House of Lords—for, if tumults arise, which we sorrowfully anticipate, as the consequence of refusing reform to the people, we should be bringing our political creed, should we be called out to fight against men whose cause we profess to espouse.

Maidstone, 10th Oct., 1831.

These are the things which have made Lord WHARNCLIFF perceive that "the time has NOW arrived, when reform can no longer be withheld." The cry against the Bishops is most ominous! It may be hasty; but who can say that it is unnatural? Lord LYNDHURST will now find, that I am not the only man who is ready for an application of what is called "Church Property," to public uses. I take the following from the *Chronicle* of this (FRIDAY) morning: I see it in all the newspapers, and I hear that it is posted all over the town.

"THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND! Pay no more Tithes!—no more Church Rates! without compulsion; but, in God's name, do not withhold the payment of the Taxes; rather contribute an extra mite, if necessary, to support the King and his Ministers in this fearful emergency. Mark your detestation of the haughty, heartless, and overgrown hierarchy, by absenting yourselves and families from your Parish Churches! Let the proud and pampered followers of 'the meek and lowly Jesus' preach to empty benches! Remember, it was the Bishops who caused the bill to be rejected! If they had voted on the 'right side,' there would have been a majority for the second reading! Be determined that the bishops no longer have seats in the house of Lords!—that there shall be no person magistrates!—inasmuch as the priesthood collectively shall never again interfere with your secular concerns. Respect them as zealous and faithful ministers of religion,—pay them liberally, but call for an equalization of church property!—so that the drones shall no longer fatten on unchristian luxuries, while the working clergy are worse off than the journeymen mechanics!"

"Becket, Printer, Paradise-building,  
"Stingo-lane, New-road."

Here is a change in *six days*! Alas! what pains did I take to warn the Lords of these dangers! And I now again beseech them to hasten to close the breach as quickly as possible; and I beseech Lord Grey to believe, that a prorogation for *even a month* may be attended with fatal consequences; and that the very mention of *raising the 10l. suffrage*, in great towns, may throw all into confusion.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. A friend has just now desired me to remind my readers of the two days' visit of Brougham to Windsor-Castle, the week before the discussion of the Reform Bill in the Lords!

## NORTH AMERICANS

AND

## ENGLISH BOROUGHMONGERS.

TO THE

*Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

London, October 7th, 1831.

SIR,—I perceive, by the report of the debate in the House of Lords, last night, that Lord Falmouth quoted, as Lord Haddington had done the night before, a passage from the *North American Review*, published at Boston, in the month of July last; and I need not say that the passage was in opposition to the Reform Bill. Both these noble men spoke in high terms of the work from which they quoted; praised the profundity of the author, sent forth his words as the words of wisdom, and particularly as being worthy of the great attention of the Lords. Now, Sir, if you come at the book, and, but it should give you trouble to get at it, I herewith enclose you a copy, which I request you to have the goodness to seal up under cover and to send to Bowcourt by Sunday night next; if you read this book, which contains only fifty-three pages of open print, you will see, in a moment,—1. That a thing more shallow, more flimsy, more head-and-tails, more destitute of all real knowledge of the state of England, has hardly ever dropped from the press.

2. (which will make you laugh) That Lord Falmouth has *chopped out*, and *thrown by*, *twenty-three lines in the middle of the quotation*; and, if you look at these twenty-three lines, marked in the margin by me, in pages 30 and 31, you will be at no loss for the reason that induced Lord Falmouth to chop them out.

I will not trouble you to insert the passage quoted by Lord Falmouth, which, excepting the chopped-out part, is contained in your paper of this day, 7th October; but will first state the substance of it, which is this:—*That the Reform Bill is destitute of all principle; that King and Queen was as much a part of the monarchy as the House of Lords itself; and that the Reform Bill will naturally lead to the destruction of the Established Church, the Peerage, and the Crown.* The whole pamphlet consists of a tissue of efforts on the part of a very feeble man to induce the Lords to reject the Reform Bill, and to induce the King to join with them. Of all the anti-Reform pamphlets which have appeared in England, none have been any thing like so feeble and so foolish as this; and it would not have been quoted by the persons above-named, only they thought that it would have some weight as coming from an American; and, Sir, I am now about to show you and your readers, that its source is one very good reason why it should have no weight at all against the Reform Bill.

In the first place, there is no earthly reason why this attack upon the Reform Bill, though published at Boston, should not have been paid for by the boroughmongers themselves, or should not have actually been written by that very George Mannors who used to publish a thing called *The Satirist* in London, and whom Castlereagh made a *comet* at Boston. A system which has one branch called *secret service money* can cause pamphlets and newspapers to be written abroad as well as at home. However, this production is, I am convinced, of *genuine American origin*; is full-blooded Yankee; and, if I be asked how I can believe that

the Americans can look at this Reform Bill with feelings other than those of delight, I will tell you that presently. In the first place, I know, and I know it well, that every American, who has any feelings of national ambition about him, most anxiously desires that a Boroughmonger Government should continue in England. The reasons for this were stated very clearly in my *Register* of the 19th of June last, and you will see them by just looking at three or four pages at the end of that *Register*. You will see two Yankees engaged in a dialogue; and you will hear their reasons for being happy in the hope that the people of England will never obtain a Parliamentary Reform.

I have said in print, and I once or twice said it in America, when I was there last, that there nowhere existed, not even amongst the boroughmongers themselves; not even amongst the tenants of the lists of pensions, sinecures, grants, and retired allowances; not even in the club-houses and the hells, more bitter enemies to reform, than amongst the *politicians* of the United States of America. With the farmers and country tradesmen the case is very different. They hear of the miseries of the people of England and of Ireland: they grieve at them: they feel indignant and they speak indignantly against those who have brought the country of their forefathers to this state. But when you come to the persons in and about the general Government, or the State Governments; when you come to the lawyers, the doctors, the parsons of all the forty sorts; when you come to those who trade in ships, who call the seas "*the highway of nations*;" when you come to those who make a noise at the celebrations of the 4th of July, when you come to the inhabitants generally of great commercial places; when you come to any of these, and particularly to any of those who have views of ambition in any line, whether civil, judicial, military, or naval, you find them all the bitter enemies of parliamentary reform in England. You, and your readers, will be astonished and offended at this seemingly *unnatural* way of thinking

and wishing in these people. "What!" you will exclaim, "they! they, who have got cheap government themselves! They who take care that no one shall have public power who is not chosen by themselves, from the President and the Governors down to the very sheriff! They who would tear out a man's tongue if he were to propose a Pension List, to talk of a sinecure, a grant, or a retired allowance! They, who suffer even their retired Presidents, if they become poor, to go and live upon their relations, or upon charity! They, who knock a rich man's brains out, if he were to ask the poorest of them to vote contrary to his wish! They, in short, who, though fostered with the greatest care by the Kingly Government of England, rebelled against that Government, and finally cast it off for ever, for no other cause, either real or alleged, than that this identical boroughmonger-Parliament declared its *resolution* to tax them without their own consent! They, above all the people in the world, opposed to a reform of the English Parliament, and represent the disfranchisement of Old Sarum as an attack upon *all the institutions of England*."

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1831.

#### INSOLVENT.

LAMB, J. A., late of Battersea, Surrey, victor.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

RIX, P., St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, banker.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, J., Layton, Essex, brewer.

BARNETT, E., Liverpool, victualler.

DONNE, H., Cardiff, Glamorgans, scrivener.

HILL, R., Rotherham, Yorkshire, common brewer.

HUTCHINSON, S., Queen-street, Golden-square, engraver.

LOMAS, J. T., and F. Cooke, Dover-street, Piccadilly, tailors.

MASKERY, F., Birmingham, linen-draper.

PARKER, J., late of Holloway-Head, Warwickshire, pearl button-maker.

SNELL, W., F. & T. St. Nicholas, Devonshire,  
coal merchant.  
STEWART, J., Stafford, surgeon.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HALL, J. & R. Cumming, Edinburgh, tailors

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1831.

## INSOLVENTS.

JONES, N., Bridge-st., Lambeth, dealer in  
snuff and tobacco.

MANSFIELD, T., and J. Hackney, Colridge,  
Staffordshire, earthenware manufacturers.

## BANKRUPTS.

BAWDLIN, J., Oxford, Somersetshire, merchant.  
BURSIAL, S. and E., Kingston-upon-  
Hull, merchant.

BUSH, F. & J. Ferguson, and D. McNaught  
Liddell, London-st., Peachurch-st., merchants.

CROWNFIELD, F., Sheffield, victualler.

LLYR, T., King-street, City, Manchester,  
warehouseman.

OWEN, W., St. Asaph, Flintshire, grocer.

PARNALL, F. and J. FRANK, Clark's-place,  
Islington, Hosierymen.

SNOW, T., New-st., Covent-garden, grocer.

WELSH, J., Whitby, Yorkshire, Cumberlanth,  
tailor-chandler.

WILKINSON, B., Crown-st., Broad-st. wine-  
merchant.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCTOBER  
10.—Supplies, since this day's market, on  
account, it is supposed, of adverse winds har-  
ing prevented ship arrivals, both from abroad  
and coastwise,—have been of English, Irish,  
and Scotch wheat, and English beans, but  
moderate of foreign kinds rather great; of  
foreign wheat, as also, barley, oats, meal,  
flour, and seeds, generally, from all quarters,  
very limited.

This day's market was rather numerously  
attended by buyers—principally of London  
and its neighbourhood,—and in it, at inter-  
vals, a considerable bustle manifested itself;  
but as the sellers seemed unwilling to raise  
the trade was, with each kind of corn, pulses,  
and seeds, as well as malt and flour, very dull,  
at barely last week's prices.—Indeed, in each  
kind of grain, of intermediate quality, where  
any thing like extensive sales could be ef-  
fected, no doubt an abatement of several shil-  
lings per quarter was submitted to, we could  
not alter our extreme quotations.

Wheat .....	52s. to 51s.
Rye .....	39s. to 38s.
Barley .....	24s. to 30s.
— fine .....	32s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	34s. to 36s.
— Boilers .....	33s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	34s. to 40s.

Beans, Old .....	35s. to 38s.
— Tick .....	37s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	25s. to 28s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 24s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

## PROVISIONS

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 48s. per cwt	
— Sides, new .....	42s. to 50s.
Pork, India, new .....	12s. 6d. to —, 0d.
Pork, Mess, new .....	60s. 0d. to 65s. per barrel
Butter, Belfast .....	90s. to —, 10s. per cwt
— Carlow .....	91s. to 97s.
— Cork .....	90s. to —s.
— Limerick .....	87s. to —s.
— Waterford .....	88s. to 90s.
— Dublin .....	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire .....	60s. to 62s.
— Gloucester, Double .....	56s. to (3s.)
— Gloucester, Single .....	48s. to 54s.
— Edam .....	46s. to 50s.
— Gouda .....	44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish .....	42s. to 54s.

## SMITHFIELD—October 10

This day's supply of beasts was rather  
numerous, but in great part of middling, and  
inferior quality, of sheep, fat calves, and  
porkers, but limited.—Veal and pork sold with  
some degree of briskness, at an advance of  
about 2d. per stone.—With beef and mutton  
the trade was dull at Friday's quotations.  
Beasts, 2,023; sheep and lambs, 12,517;  
calves, 168, pigs, 190.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct 11.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The  
market very dull at Monday's price.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	5 per Cent.
Cons. Ann.	81½	80½	80½	80½	80½	81½

Published this day, in Quarto, with Thirt (n  
Engravings, price 1/6,

A SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE, from  
the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, 4th  
Edition. By JAMES CLEGHORN, Esq.  
Adam Black, Edinburgh; Simpkin and  
Marshall, Whitaker, Treacher, and Co.,  
Hamilton, Adams, and Co., and Jennings,  
and Chaplin, London; and John Cumming,  
Dublin.

The Nineteenth Monthly Part of the  
Encyclopædia Britannica is also published  
this day.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and  
published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 74.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22ND, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## REFORM BILL.

Kensington, 18th October, 1831.

In my last *Register*, which I closed on Thursday evening, I brought my history of the events, as far as my knowledge extended, down to that evening; but we now find that something very material had taken place on *Wednesday night*, which was as follows. Deputies from the great metropolitan parishes met about eight o'clock on Wednesday evening, at the Crown-and-Ancor, agreed to a memorial to Lord Grey, and appointed one deputy from each parish to wait upon his Lordship immediately with a memorial, which memorial was in the following words:

"To the Right Honourable Earl Grey,

The Memorial of the Undersigned

"Sheweth—That your Memorialists are resident in various parishes in the metropolis, and have considerable knowledge, and some influence in their several localities.

"That they have heard with astonishment that it is intended to prorogue the Parliament, and not to re-assemble it again till after Christmas.

"That they should neither do their duty to themselves, to their country, nor to the Government itself, if they did not assure your Lordship it is their firm conviction, that unless the Parliament be prorogued for the shortest possible period (not exceeding seven days), and that the bill for reforming the Parliament, which has passed the House of Commons, be there again introduced, and the necessary means be adopted to secure its becoming the law of the land, this country will inevitably be plunged into all the horrors of a violent revolution, the result of which no one can predict.

"And, therefore, most urgently implore your Lordships' immediate attention to this memorial."

This memorial, together with the ac-

count of the interview, was kept a profound secret from the public, until *Saturday morning*, though a sort of vague paragraph in the *Courier* of Thursday evening had told us that something of the sort had taken place; but had told it us in such a way as to make me, at any rate, attach no importance to it. But some one of the deputies, apparently very discontented at the result of the interview, communicated the whole affair to the *Chronicle* on the Friday; and thereupon the following appeared in the *Chronicle* of Saturday morning: "On Wednesday night, at about a quarter to eleven, a deputation of seventeen gentlemen from the different parishes, headed by Mr. Carpue, waited on Earl Grey on the subject of the memorial. The result of their interview was the ascertaining that Parliament would be prorogued till after Christmas, that no more Peers would be made, that a conciliatory bill would in the interval be prepared, of a nature to obtain the suffrages of a majority of the Lords. The deputies, we understand, assured his Lordship that the people would be content with Lord John Russell's bill. His Lordship answered that it would be absurd to think of again proposing Lord John Russell's bill—that Ministers would not think of bringing in a bill which they knew would not be carried—that, however, the people might rest assured they would support no bill which would not secure to the people their constitutional rights. As to a prorogation for seven days, his Lordship said it was quite impossible to be prepared with the bill in that time—that the framing of the bill would require much attention, and occupy much time. This is, we understand, the substance of what passed at the interview."

The *Chronicle* is but one paper, out of several; and, therefore, this disagreeable intelligence was but very partially known on the Saturday, and would not have been known throughout

the country for a long while, if ever, if the following circumstance had not arisen to give it publicity. I happened, on the Saturday afternoon, to go to the Guildhall to give my vote in the election for Lord Mayor; and a friend, who had been talking with me about this interview with Lord GREY, suggested the propriety of my remaining to the close of the poll of that day (which was then close at hand), and taking an opportunity of communicating the intelligence to the immense multitude assembled in the hall; and in the hearing of numerous reporters. This I did, and, according to their report, in the following words:—"He would avail himself of that opportunity of communicating to the livery the state of the question of reform as it regarded his Majesty's Ministers. There appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of that day a publication respecting a deputation from the parishes at the West End of the town. It stated that Lord Grey had intimated to the deputation that the prorogation of Parliament would continue till after Christmas; perhaps that might be twelve months hence (cries of "Oh, oh!"); that the same bill, for which the people wished, was not to be introduced, but that a bill was to be substituted of a modified character, tending to conciliate the majority of the House of Lords, who were the decided enemies of reform. (Loud groaning.) The Minister also replied to the anxious question of the deputation as to the creation of new peers for the purpose of carrying the bill, that it was not the intention to create new peers. (Groans.) He would not vouch for the truth of the statement he had just made upon the authority of the *Morning Chronicle*, but, "So help me God," said he, "I believe it to be true. Now, where was the man who, after such intelligence as that, could say that ever the Reform Bill—the people's Reform Bill—would pass into a law? It was for the meeting to decide upon the propriety of sending a deputation to Lord Grey, to ascertain from him whether there was any truth in a

"statement so strongly calculated to throw a gloom upon the public mind. "If the livery forbore to act in such an emergency, they might be charged once more with indifference to the passing of the bill, and by-and-by very little more might be heard about "Parliamentary reform."

This report got into the papers of the Sunday, and was copied into all the papers of the Monday, in consequence of which, and of the great sensation which had been produced by this extensive publicity, the *Courier* of Monday contained the following explanatory and exculpatory paragraph:—

"In the first place, every part of the conversation at the interview respecting the well-founded complaint of Earl Grey at the attempted dictation of the Memorialists—and with reference to the importance of maintaining public order—is omitted, and on the subject of the prorogation and the Reform Bill, Earl GREY is represented to have said that the Parliament would be prorogued until after Christmas, and that no new peers would be created. We beg to assure the *Chronicle* that Earl GREY did not so express himself, and that his informant could only have inferred what he has stated, from the general tenour of Lord GREY's observations—an inference with which some other members of the deputation may not agree. Earl GREY could not have said that the Parliament would be prorogued until after Christmas, because at that time, although anxious for a long prorogation, in order to effect with greater ease the plan proposed for the success of the new bill, Ministers had not agreed as to the time, and we are informed that his Lordship merely spoke of the impropriety of so short a prorogation as that recommended by the Memorialists, without alluding to any particular period for the recess of Parliament.—In the account which we gave of the interview, we made no comment on the abruptness of the intrusion—for an intrusion it certainly was, no announcement of the intended visit having been made—but as a version

“of the meeting unfavourable to Earl GREY has appeared, we think it right now to state that his Lordship was placed in a situation which might have very well excused *any reserve* on his part. On his return from the house of a friend, at nearly eleven o'clock at night, he found his hall filled with *strangers* DEMANDING an interview. Not one of these gentlemen was *personally* known to him. They might, for aught he knew to the contrary, except as to their external appearance, have been a deputation from the *Rotunda revolutionists*—or the *delegates of a republican convention*; and reserve, or even rudeness, on the part of the noble Earl, would hardly have warranted surprise. The deputation, however, were admitted, in less than two minutes after the arrival of the Premier at his house, to an interview, of which the *Courier* of Thursday gave an account. To that we now refer our readers; but we think proper to add a fact of which we have been since apprised. Earl GREY heard with *astonishment* that part of the memorial which recommends, or rather *dictates*, a prorogation for only seven days, and asked if the gentlemen wished to drive him from his Majesty's council, by requiring him to do what was completely out of reason, and against his own conviction of the duty which he owed to the country at large? There is another part of the *Chronicle* statement which requires explanation. Earl GREY certainly did say that a new bill must be proposed; but he observed, that if the people would repose confidence in him, and not embarrass him by requiring what was impracticable, he had no doubt of being able to carry a bill quite as efficient as the last. We are assured that the words *quite as efficient* were used. After what we have said on the subject of the prorogation, we have no fear of being thought favourable to the idea of a long recess, and will, therefore, observe that nothing could be more *injudicious* than to run into the opposite extreme. In order to

“prepare the new bill, to afford to the hostile peers *frequent opportunities of convincing themselves of the danger of further resistance*—to ensure the *non-attendance* of the bishops, and, perhaps (but this is mere conjecture), to *create a few new peers*—some time is requisite; and we are sure the public will see the necessity of a little patience. On the other hand, however, it must not be denied that a long recess may be attended with evils much greater than any which over-haste could cause. Of this the Ministry are, or ought to be, well aware; for within the last two or three days they have had representations on the subject, the importance of which was too apparent not to produce a proper effect. If Ministers act wisely they will not think of proroguing the Parliament for a longer period *than six weeks*.”

In consequence of this, which appeared, observe, on Saturday evening, I sent, on Sunday night, the following letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, which appeared in that paper on Monday:—

Kensington, Oct. 16th, 1831.

SIR,—I beg you to have the goodness to insert a few remarks from me on the two following subjects:—First, the *Courier's* criticism of last night on your account of yesterday morning, of the interview between the *parochial deputies* and LORD GREY, on Wednesday evening last; and, Second, the strange notions of Mr. CUTLER FERGUSON and of Sir CHARLES WETHERELL, relative to the supposed crime of *refusing to pay taxes in money*.

With regard to the first of these subjects, I defy any man living to say that the *Courier's* criticism damages any one fact that is contained in your statement. That statement amounted to this, in every fair construction of the words:—First, that the Parliament would be prorogued until after Christmas; that it would be absurd to think of again proposing Lord JOHN RUSSELL's Bill; that the bill to be brought in must be such as would be conciliatory,



and such as would obtain the suffrages of a majority of the Lords; that there would not be a new creation of Peers. Now, Sir, the *Courier* does not deny that Lord GREY said the Parliament would be prorogued until after Christmas; but merely says, that though Lord GREY was anxious for a long prorogation, he *could* not have stated the period, as the Ministers had not agreed upon that. As to the second point, the *Courier* says that Lord GREY says it will be a bill "*quite as efficient as the bill of Lord JOHN RUSSELL.*" Then it was not to be Lord JOHN RUSSELL's Bill; and that time was required to afford the hostile Peers frequent opportunities of convincing themselves of the danger of further resistance. Then, as to the third point, there "might be, perhaps (but this is mere conjecture), a creation of a few new Peers."

How, then, does this differ from your account of the matter? It is substantially the same; and I, for my part, am quite satisfied that yours was the correct account, and this is a mere varnishing over of that which was too ugly to meet the public eye in its unvarnished state. But, Sir, will you be so kind as to help me to discover what time can possibly be required to make a bill *as efficient* as that of Lord JOHN RUSSELL? Can it be as efficient without schedules A and B, and without 10l. voters? These are the things, and the only things that the Bishops and the rest of the 199 object to. All the rest is of comparatively little importance. Why, this scheme was written by Lord GREY six-and-thirty years ago; but, Sir, if he mean to make it conciliatory to borough-mongers, another thirty-six years will not be sufficient. "Frequent opportunities of convincing themselves of the danger" of the bill, they will certainly not want. But, Sir, did you not laugh (I am sure you did) when you read in the *Courier*, that time was wanted to give the hostile Peers opportunities of convincing themselves of the dangers of further resistance: you must have laughed to see these words put into the mouth of Lord GREY at the very moment when he was exhorting the depu-

tation to bear in their mind the vast importance of *maintaining public order*! And now, Sir, pray tell me, if you can, what were those *dangers* which the hostile Peers were to have an opportunity of seeing; what dangers were they to see in their resistance, as long as public order was maintained? In short, Sir, we here find nothing but a miserable attempt to shuffle away the facts of your true and plain tale. But again, what is this "*quite as efficient*:" a bill quite as efficient? If it be quite as efficient in suppressing the usurpation of the borough-mongers, and in restoring the people to the enjoyment of their rights, why should time have any thing to do in reconciling the borough-mongers to it? But the truth is, that it may be efficient for bad as well as for good: it may be a bill without the two important schedules and without the 10l. voting; and those who bring it in may still maintain that it is quite as efficient a bill.

So much for the criticism, and now for the *anger against the deputation* clearly expressed in this demi-official defence of Lord GREY; in which defence the writer accuses the deputation of an abrupt intrusion, and tells us that it might have formed a good excuse, not only for reserve, but even for rudeness on the part of the noble Lord who, when he came home at eleven o'clock at night from the house of a friend, "found his hall filled with strangers demanding an interview;" that he did not know any of them personally, and that they might, for aught he knew, have been a deputation of "delegates from a republican convention!" Now, Sir, in the first place, though not personally known to him, they ought not to have been found in his hall; in the next place, they came to *solicit*, and not to *demand*, an interview; they came not to *dictate*, as this writer says, but to *beseech*; they were men of property, representing nearly a million of men, all having property at stake, and all as anxious to keep the peace as he could be; and as to their resembling, or being taken for, a deputation of delegates from a *republican convention*, I trust that we shall never

see that species of delegates in England; but, if we should live to see it, the *hall* of Lord Grey will I imagine never be troubled by an abrupt intrusion from such deputation. I should have passed over this haughty and insolent language, except that it manifestly discovers *great anger* against this deputation; the exact ground of which anger, I must leave you and your readers to surmise.

So much for the first subject: now for the second. ~~Mr. CUTLAR FERGUSON~~, is represented as having said that it is a high crime and misdemeanour for any man to refuse to pay his direct taxes; and Sir C. WETHERELL has gone so far as to say, that, if men combine or conspire for this purpose, it being a general purpose, they are guilty of *high treason*. To be sure, this last was said during the utterance of what Mr. O'CONNELL very aptly denominated "a frolicking rhodomontade;" but as there may be some persons foolish enough to have their minds influenced by these bold assertions, let us see a little what is the real fact. I, for instance, have assessed taxes to pay. The tax-gatherer comes, and I say, I will not pay you; and what says the law? Not that I am guilty of a misdemeanour; not that I have committed any crime: but that the tax-gatherer shall have the power, when he has been duly authorized, to come with a warrant of distress, seize my goods, and sell them to the amount of his demand; and, if I have no goods, to cause me to be lodged in jail till I pay the amount of his demand. This is quite sharp enough; quite punishment and degradation enough, under a glorious Constitution, which is the "envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world," especially when I know that a large part of this tax is to go to help to maintain in luxury Lord and Lady pensioners, while I am compelled, if I am able, to maintain, not only my own children, but my grandchildren, and great grandchildren; and, if necessary, to sell for that purpose the house over my head, if these my descendants happen to be in need of parish relief. Quite sharp enough this, without Mr. CUTLAR FER-

GUSSON's high misdemeanour, or Sir CHARLES WETHERELL's high treason.

But, it is the combining or conspiring. Now, I am not lawyer enough positively to say whether a parcel of people actually agreeing together for the purpose of refusing the payment of taxes; of combining together to bear each other harmless; and to thereby induce the main part of the community to imitate them; I am not lawyer enough to say whether this be strictly legal or not; but I am lawyer enough to say this, that, if it be illegal, this is the most partial system of Government under the sun, for that the *Quakers* have thus combined and conspired, and have acted upon the conspiracy, and that, too, in open day, for upwards of a hundred years. Not only do they refuse to pay the militia tax, and the *tithes*, which is the same thing as to the argument; not only do they conspire for this purpose; but they openly enjoin it on the whole Society as a duty to resist such payment in money; they publish annually an account of their resistance, and the cost of it: they represent the seizures made upon them as "*sufferings*;" and they openly make collections throughout their Society to defray the cost of those sufferings. They exhort all men to follow their example; this, therefore, is for a general purpose; and, of course, the whole Society is, according to Sir CHARLES WETHERELL, constantly in the commission of acts of high treason; and yet not one man of the hundreds of thousands of Quakers has been prosecuted for this offence in one whole century, though Sir CHARLES WETHERELL has been Attorney-General during a part of that century.

Of the nonsense and of the impudence of these assertions, not another word need be said; but, on the motives for making them I beg room for a short observation or two. This, Sir, is the *tender part*: this is the vulnerable point: this is the *heel of Achilles*, who is every where else cased in brass or covered with ten bull-hides; it is the quiet, it is the peaceable, it is the all-convincing argument; and, therefore, Sir, wonder not, I beseech you, at the *extreme*

anxiety to scare it down by these terrible menaces of high misdemeanours and high treason. The sagacious public will not fail to perceive, too, that both the parties; that both sides of the House, both battalions of the regiment, agree in this cry.—“*Don't refuse to pay taxes; petition, address, shout for us, hiss our opponents;*” say the one side: “*Be quiet as mice in cheese:*” say the other side; but both sides say, “It is criminal and horrible to suffer your goods to be seized in payment of your taxes.” I leave your readers, Sir, to guess at the reason why men who are in deadly hostility as to all other matters, agree so perfectly in this, while I, in the words of the sensible workmen of Maidstone, conclude with exclaiming, “*They are all tarred with the same brush!*”—I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

It is but acting fairly towards the Ministers, whom God forbid I should wish to embarrass or misrepresent, to insert the following paragraph from the *Courier*, remarking on this letter, which paragraph appeared in the *Courier* of Monday last, the 17th inst. “Mr. Cobett says—‘The *Courier* does not deny that Lord Grey said the Parliament would be prorogued until after Christmas.’ The *Courier* did deny that Lord Grey said so, and denies it still. We do not feel it necessary to say more on this part of the subject.” The account which we gave of the interview between Earl Grey and the Deputation was a correct one. It differed from that of our morning contemporary in one point only—our statement was one of fact, that of the *Courier* one of inference. We reported what Lord Grey said the informant of the *Morning Chronicle* communicated what he supposed Earl Grey said. As to the anger, as Mr. Cobett calls it, of the *Courier* against the deputation, we must assure that Gentlemen that we intended none whatever, as they may think. We did say, and we say still, that the visit to Earl Grey was unceremonious in the extreme; and

“when we tell Mr. COBBETT, that the deputation, although composed of highly respectable men, did not represent the metropolitan parishes in an official way, he will, we imagine, agree with us in opinion, that as a mere assemblage of individuals, without direct authority from the parishes to take the step in question, there was something even more than unceremonious in their visit to the Premier for the purpose of enlightening him as to the course which, in their opinion, he was bound to pursue.”

But now, we have something a great deal better than all this; for we have Lord Grey's own account of the matter given in his speech in the House of Lords, on Monday the 17th inst., which account, according to the report, which I find in the *Morning Chronicle*, was given in the following words: “I said nothing of any period of adjournment, I said nothing of a prorogation of Parliament to the end of January (till after Christmas was the statement)—I said nothing of time—I reserved to myself the power to exercise my discretion on the advice I should give on that subject, and I think I have a right to claim from the public for my colleagues and myself, whether that time form a long or a short one, whether it prove of the usual length or less—that we have taken that course which we think most conducive to the accomplishment of that object which we, as well as the public, most anxiously desire. With respect to the Reform measure itself, I said there could be no question that some alterations were necessary—that it would be our duty to consider what those alterations were to be, but I repeated what I had said before, that I never would be a party to the recommendation of any measure not founded on the same principles as that which had been rejected, and as essential for the accomplishment of the objects which it was declared to have in view.” (Hear, hear.) These were the expressions I used, except that when the Deputies intimated in strong terms their

"fears for the continuance of the public tranquillity, I told them the Government expected that they and every one should use their utmost efforts to repress disturbance and enforce obedience to the laws; and that I trusted their exertions would be effectual, and that the Government would not be driven to the painful necessity of using the powers with which they were entrusted to preserve the tranquillity by force. These were the sentiments I uttered, and I trust, as I said before, that whatever may be the length of the prorogation, the people will do us the justice to believe, we have adopted the course most conducive to the public welfare, and in our judgment most likely to promote the object we have before us."

Thus, the whole is come out; and my readers will now clearly see the utility of my having made that statement which a very zealous and excellent reformer urged me to make in the Guild-hall. Had it not been for that statement, we should have been groping about in the dark for another week or ten days, at the least. But all the papers having stated that I did not, in fact, go to vote at the Guild-hall, but went for the purpose of filling the minds of the livery with suspicions of the motives of the Ministers, I think it right to declare that I went solely for the purpose of voting, and that I should not have given my vote at all, nor have gone to the hall upon this occasion, except for the purpose of showing, as far as I could show, my detestation of the conduct of the Court of Aldermen, for their arrogant conduct in wishing to set aside the voice of the livery in this case, as they had done in the case of Mr. Alderman SCALES, to the utmost of their power. I had no wish whatever to excite any unjust suspicions with regard to the Ministers. When they brought in their bill, though it was not exactly what I wished, I saw in it too much of good for any man of sense not to wish it to become a law; and my readers will do me the justice to say that, though I had all the personal provocation that man could possibly have,

though I had all the reason that could suggest itself to any mind, to array myself in hostility against them, I have upheld them, with respect to this measure, from the first to the last, to the utmost of my power; and that it was not till the moment arrived when the result of the interview with the deputation aforementioned gave me what I deemed good reason for believing that they themselves had abandoned the measure, that I made the above-mentioned communication in the Guild-hall. But, indeed, what have I more to do to satisfy my readers of my most anxious desire to sustain them than referring those readers to the last *Register*, where they will see, if I did not do as much to sustain Lord GRAY as ever was done by mortal man, I failed only from want of ability.

Now, then, let us see how the matter stands. When I closed my last *Register*, the general hope, and my particular hope, was, that Lord GRAY had surmounted all the difficulties which stood in the way of an immediate short prorogation and an extensive creation of peers; that being manifestly the only way of carrying the bill to the satisfaction of the people. Now, however, things are changed. Lord GRAY is silent, indeed, with regard to the creation of peers; but we are to have a long prorogation, and we are also to have a *different bill*; for *different* it must be if there are to be "*alterations*" in it. With regard to the length of the prorogation, I do not attach so much importance to that as many people do; because I know that the depression of trade and agriculture, that that stagnation or paralysis which has been ascribed to the suspense with regard to the Reform Bill, cannot be removed by the mere passing of that bill; and of this fact every one will be satisfied when he has read a letter from me to the *Manchester Mercury*, which will be found at the end of this article. A part, indeed, of the stagnation arises from the suspense relative to this bill; but the great cause of the distress in trade and agriculture are of much longer growth and deeper root; they are, in fact, arising

the cause, and not the effect, of the Reform Bill, which never would have been demanded by the richer classes in trade and agriculture, if the distress had not already existed. But, still, there is great disadvantage in a long prorogation. The working people all feel an interest in this measure: they, and especially those in the country, never stop to split straws: they reason like women, in a very short manner: they rush at once to conclusions; and, with them, a couple of months hence means never. They act upon their way of thinking: all the hopes that they had entertained will vanish; and none of that salutary patience which Mr. HODGKINS so truly described as the effect of the Reform Bill, will any longer influence their minds.

Nevertheless, the nature of the new bill is a matter of more importance; and at this we cannot get for the life and soul of us: it is to be "*quite as efficient*;" it is to be "*equally efficacious*;" and now, in the words of Lord GAZY himself, it is to be founded on the "*same principles*" as the former bill; and "*as effectual for the accomplishment of the objects which it was declared to have in view.*" My God! Why have we not something definite! Why not say that it is to go to the same extent in point of *suffrage* and in point of *disfranchisement*? Why not say that we are still to have Schedule A and Schedule B, and the copyhold and leasehold and ten-pound voters? Why not say this at once; and then, with some reason, deprecate the refusal to pay taxes! Alas! here is nothing definite. We know that these were the grounds of the objections to the bill. We know that these grounds will always continue with the majority of the present peers, and what reason have we to hope that a bill will be passed by those peers unless these great principles and provisions of the bill be abandoned, or unless a new creation of peers give a majority in favour of the bill, or unless the present majority be converted by some decisive act on the part of the people? To entertain an expectation that the bill will be passed by the pre-

sent House of Peers, without being stripped of these great provisions, the people continuing contentedly to pay taxes, demands the operation of the mind of an idiot. The *Morning Chronicle* of to-day (Tuesday) has the following remarks upon the subject, and I request my readers to weigh them well in their minds. In such cases, it is well to hear the opinions of two men, at any rate, wholly disconnected with one another. The editor of the *Chronicle* is quite sincere in his desire to see the bill carried; he is personally acquainted with some of the Ministers, which I am not. He has always said every thing that he could in support of them; he has a virtuous hatred for their opponents; he apologized for them even in their prosecution of me, though he was unable to defend them; his words are the words of a sensible, an able, and, I believe, a perfectly independent man; and, therefore, the following remarks which he makes on the explanation of Lord GAZY, are worthy of the attention of the public, and still more worthy of the attention of Lord GAZY himself:—  
 "We are sorry to see from all this that the recess, in all probability, will not be a short one. We can only repeat what we have said again and again, that the people have always been ready to do full justice to the motives of the Government. The people believe them honourable and upright men. But confidence in honourable intentions, and confidence in their ability to give effect to their intentions, are quite distinct. Ministers may have grounds for confidence which the public are not aware of; but we must state frankly in the face of the people of England, that the proceedings in the House of Lords, though highly honourable to the character of the Ministry, do not tend to remove the apprehensions of the people as to the ultimate fate of the measure. Ministers must have supposed they could carry the measure; but they did not carry it. The Lords who outvoted them are still the determined enemies of the people—still hostile to all reform that is worth one straw—still ready to avail

"themselves of whatever may turn up favourable to their views. It is of immense consequence that the present men should remain in power. Nay, more, we have no hesitation in saying that the resignation of the Ministers would have been the signal for revolution throughout the country. We fervently wish, therefore, that we could ourselves have that confidence which Ministers claim. But when we see anti-reformers still exulting in the indifference of the people, all the time loudly cheered on by their adherents, and know that they must all hate reform in their hearts, and *can only be gained over by intimidation* (we will not blink the word), how are we to believe that the moment the country ceases to be intensely excited they will not take advantage of the circumstance? Besides, all classes are now suffering so severely from the paralysis to which the reform has given rise, *that discontent is universal.*"

There is this inevitable evil which must arise from a long prorogation; namely, that the people will be quiet or they will not. If the latter, it is not necessary to describe the evil consequences; but one consequence may arise from our quietness, which, supposing it to show itself in any thing like general commotion in any one of the counties, a *panic* is the consequence to a certainty; and if that take place, the Ministers will be saved the trouble of bringing in a new Reform Bill; for all would be confusion at the end of one week. It is touch and go even now: Lord GREY has only to look at my letter to the boroughmongers which is to follow this article; he will there see that the magazine only waits for the match; so that, all individuals suffering aside, all the possible works of *Saving* out of the question, here is one possible and not improbable consequence of a long prorogation. On the other hand, if the people be quiet; if all be tranquil, and, above all things, if the *taxes be readily paid*: "There!" will exclaim the boroughmongers, "we told you the people were grown cool in the cause of reform!" We told you that

"there needed nothing but resolute resistance on our part to subdue them into tranquillity!" And when the new bill is brought in, they will exclaim, "What the devil do you stir up this thing again for, when the people are quiet and contented, are all *paying their taxes* cheerfully, and, if you will but let them alone, they want no reform, except, perhaps, a couple of Members to Manchester and Birmingham and Leeds and Sheffield, chosen by 20*l.* or 30*l.* householders!" Now, the other evils of a long prorogation; the evils arising from disturbance or resistance of taxes; the evils attendant on *panic* and on *Saving*, are only probable; but the latter evil, the renewed obstinacy of the boroughmongers, their great additional and conclusive argument for rejecting the bill, are *certain.*

But it will be said, perhaps, that Lord GREY has it not in his power to make a new creation of peers, without which a short prorogation would be of no use. *If he have not that in his power*, he should tell us so at once. Yes, but if he were to tell us that, it would be telling us, in so many words, that he *has not the power of carrying the bill*; that he is unable to do it; that his source of ability to do it has failed him; and this is what he should, in this case, have told the parochial deputation on Wednesday night, the 12th of October, 1831. That is what he should have told them; that is what they should have told us; and then we should all have seen clearly the ground on which we stood. For, is it possible for us to believe that, without such creation, and with a country tranquil and the people all paying their taxes, he can carry Schedule A and Schedule B, and the 10*l.* voters? As further illustrative of the very dubious meaning of the declarations of Lord GREY with regard to the nature of the new bill, let me here insert the words of a letter from him to HOSKINGS, dated on the 15th of October, in answer to a memorial of some sort which HOSKINGS had conveyed to him from some of the parishes:—  
"Dear Sir,—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 14th, with

"the accompanying addresses from the electors of Westminster, from the parish of St. Anne, and from the householders of St. George's, Hanover-square. The expressions of approbation and confidence with which we are honoured in these addresses, have afforded the highest gratification to my colleagues and to myself. It will be our most anxious wish to merit a continuance of these sentiments, which we know can only be secured by a steady, consistent, and persevering conduct, directed to the accomplishment of a *real reform* in the representation of the people, not less efficient than that which has been so lately rejected. A bill for this purpose will be offered to Parliament immediately on the opening of the next session, and in the meantime we hope we shall not be thought to claim too large a credit in requesting you to be assured that all our measures will be taken with a view to the *most effectual means* of ensuring the success of this important object." Always indefinite; more and more indefinite at every step. And I should not wonder if it were, by-and-by, to come, in the language of the boroughmongers, to "*some reform*."

Now, what I believe the intention to be, is this. First, I believe that Lord Grey finds that he *cannot carry his new creation of Peers*; finds that he cannot carry the *whole bill*; finds that he can carry nothing which would not dissatisfy ninety-nine hundredths of the people; and that, therefore, he intends to come to a compromise with the enemies of reform, giving that which will satisfy them, or, rather, that they will submit to, seeing that it is impossible that they can come and *take his place* and carry on the Government quietly. They would turn him out immediately; but that it is necessary to their safety and tranquillity that he should remain in, and thereby induce the people quietly to go on *paying their tithes and their taxes*. Let it be observed, that though there is a great majority of the House of Commons pledged to support the *whole bill*, they

are not pledged to support any other bill, and, if it be *absurd*, as he is said to have told the deputation, to think of proposing the same bill again, it is ten thousand times more absurd to believe that the House of Commons, who pledged themselves to support the *whole bill, and nothing but the bill*, will think themselves pledged to support any *other bill*. Full nine-tenths of those who gave the pledges, are very likely to have wished the *whole bill* at the devil: so that, here we have a House of Commons, *chosen for seven years*, for the purpose, as the people thought, of making a Parliamentary Reform, who are not at all pledged to any reform this bill being once set aside; and, which the reader will do well to remember, I venture to predict that the *new bill* will suffer this House to sit for the SEVEN YEARS OUT! Now, I desire that prediction to be remembered. Oh, no! if the people do not know when they have got good representatives, the representatives know when they have got good seats; if the people do not know when they have got a good Parliament, the Parliament knows when it has got good affairs to manage; and, if they quit their seats before the end of the seven years, I shall be ready to confess that human nature is a great deal better than I now think it.

But, my Lord Grey, is this **STANDING OR FALLING WITH THE BILL!** Is this to go off the stage of life with the glory of not having departed from a pledge so solemn? Is the talk about "*quite as efficient*," and "*equal efficiency*," and "*equally calculated to answer all the purposes that the bill was declared to have in view*;" is the introducing of a bill "with alterations;" the "taking time to use the means of getting a bill equally efficient with the other;" is this *standing or falling with the bill?* Standing or falling with the bill would have been proposing at once a new creation of Peers sufficient to carry the bill; and, if that failed, to quit your post, and to leave the rejectors of the bill to carry on the concern in your stead; that would have been fulfilling



your pledge with the people; not to cling to your place and feed the people with hopes that you never can realize; not, like LOUIS PHILIPPE, to keep the nest warm and snug for the enemies of reform to come and fill. It is truly curious how the two Governments of France and England have gone on keeping pace with each other since the summer and fall of 1830. There has been a change in the Ministers of both countries; but not one particle of change in the measures. In both cases, the new rulers have enforced all the rigorous laws of their predecessors; in both cases, the new have continued all the really heavy taxes imposed by the old; all the rigours imposed upon the press; and, in short, in both cases, one set seems to have succeeded the other only for the purpose of perpetuating the system that was going on before the change. You are gratified "with the expressions of "approbation and confidence with "which you are honoured by the addresses" of the parishes of which HOBBHOUSE was the mouthpiece; "these "afford you and your colleagues the "highest gratification." To be sure they do! And what the devil did HOBBHOUSE go to those parishes for but to get those addresses! And what did LORD ERRINGTON, the son-in-law of LORD HARROWBY and the nephew of LORD GRANVILLE, get a vote from the House of Commons for, *expressing the confidence they placed in you*, and give notice of his motion, too, before the Reform Bill had been actually rejected: what was this for, but to invite the unsuspecting people all over the country to send up addresses to the King *still to repose his confidence in you*? But the people will soon discover the reason for the playing off of all these tricks; and lastly, if they were never to discover it, their necessities, their distresses, their ruin, their misery, the beggary of some and the half-starvation of others, would finally open their eyes.

My Lord GRAY, some vile parasite will tell you of the *inconsistency* which I now display, having so praised your conduct last week. But recollect that OTHELLO, in the former part of the

play, speaking of IAGO, calls him an excellent fellow, a man of unparalleled judgment and exquisite penetration, and unshaken fidelity; and, in the last act he calls him *the perfidious, damned IAGO*. Yet has the poet made his hero perfectly consistent, by making his opinion of the man vary with the acts of that man. Last week I saw in you a reformer of forty years' standing. I saw in you a man who had, the moment he came into power, set about a work that proved his sincerity; I saw in you a man pledged to stand or fall by a specific bill, in which bill I saw the means of restoring greatness and happiness to the country; I saw you, as I thought, ready to pro-rogue the Parliament, augment the peers, and bring in the same bill again. This week I see in you a man who *will not fall with the bill*; who keeps his place though the bill be lost and be not to be revived; I see in you a man who talks of a something "*quite as efficient*"; a something that shall answer all the objects *declared* to be had in view by the former bill; but I see in you a man from whom it is impossible to extract any definition at all of the intended new bill. I see in you, in short, an entirely new man, and I entertain an entirely new opinion with regard to you; therefore, if I had gone to Guild-hall for the purpose of exciting suspicion in the minds of the livery with regard to your intentions, the act would have been perfectly consistent with my duty, and a mark of my sagacity. What I did will not prevent you from pursuing the path which you intend to pursue; but it will, at any rate, have awakened the public vigilance much sooner than it would otherwise have been awakened.

But, my Lord GRAY; like all your predecessors, you reckon without your host: you always forget, or seem never to have perceived, that it was the sufferings of the people, and not any abstract whim, that produced the cry for reform. You seem not to know that, whether there be *the whole bill*, or a *no-bill*, the cause which produced the cry for reform, will go on working its way. Read, I pray you, the letter which will follow.



this article; you will then see arithmetical demonstration that this state of things cannot continue; you will see that something, some great limb of the system (and more than one limb), *must give way*; you will see that what you call *national faith*, and that *tithes and taxes*, cannot *all* go on. I have not wanted Parliamentary Reform to gratify any whim of mine; I have not built my call for it upon any abstract principle; but upon the absolute necessity of it to enable the government and Parliament to do the things necessary to provide for the well-being of the people, to restore them to prosperity and happiness. The following letter to the borough-mongers will inform you of the state in which the people are in two important counties, and in two immense branches of trade. With very little exception, much about the same is the state of commerce in all its branches, and of agriculture also. It *must* be so, which is a thousand times better than any statement of facts or pretended facts: there is a cause at work which *must* make it so; and that cause goes gradually on making the state of the people worse and worse, as the interest of money keeps rolling on till, by degrees, it absorbs the thing upon which it was lent. You cannot stop this cause; no bit-and-bit reform will stop this cause. If *Houses* could bring you up a *palaver* from every parish in the kingdom, it would not arrest this desolating cause for one single moment. Nine years ago I addressed letters to yourself, in which I distinctly foretold that things would come to this state at last, unless arrested in their progress by a reform of the Parliament. There has been a doubt in my mind, whether the bill, if it had been passed, could have retrieved our affairs in a peaceable manner; but there is no doubt in my mind that, if the bill be not passed, and speedily passed, too, you will have sorely to lament that you did not quit your post if you found that you could not accomplish a new creation of Peers. For, observe, you have now *made the concern your own*. Last Sunday week it was not yours: now it is yours: you have taken

up the system, and, as far as a minister can be, you have now become answerable for all its effects upon the people.

In conclusion, notwithstanding these forebodings of mine; notwithstanding my strong disapprobation of the conduct of the Minister, no man in England will be so happy to find that the forebodings are not verified, to find that the disapprobation was premature, as far as that disapprobation relates to acts not already done. If a measure "quite as efficient;" that is to say, quite as efficient in the work of disfranchising rotten boroughs, and in causing an extension of the suffrage: mind what I say, reader: if a measure "quite as efficient" for these purposes be brought in, be proposed to the Parliament, it shall receive from me all the support that I am able to give it; and, if it be carried, I shall be ready to confess that the Minister is a wiser man than I am. But, again I say, that, rather than have a measure short of this, it would have been infinitely better for the country for the Minister to have kept his pledge; that is to say, to have *fallen with the bill*, and to have left the people to pursue their own course with regard to his successors: for a Minister who has distinctly broken his pledge, whose own statement shows that the bill is gone for ever, who has not fallen with the bill; for him to ask for the confidence of the people; for him to say, and under his own signature, that he has a "*claim to their confidence*," does, I think, surpass any thing of the sort that ever before came from mortal man.

WM. COBBETT.

Wednesday Morning, 10th October, 1831.

LORD GREY'S account, above inserted, of his interview with the PAROCHIAL DEPUTATION on Wednesday night, the 12th of October, has, at last, brought out Mr. PLACE, who, it appears, was one of the Deputies, and he, in a letter to the *Chronicle*, published this morning, and dated yesterday, after he had read Lord GREY'S account, gives the following account of the matter, which, I dare say, is the true one.

## MR. PLACK'S LETTER.

SIR,—In the leading article of your paper of this day you have incorporated a portion of Earl Grey's speech in the House of Lords on Monday, respecting the Deputation which waited on his Lordship on Wednesday night. His Lordship is reported to have said, that "expressions had been attributed to him which were not correctly stated" by those who made them public. This statement of his Lordship is not quite correct, and as the error is of some importance, I beg leave to correct it.

In making this communication to the public, you used these words:—"The result of the interview was the ascertaining that Parliament would be prorogued till after Christmas," and this is as correct as any inference from mere reasoning can be. There can be no inaccuracy in stating his Lordship's expressions on this point; for it is not said that his Lordship used any such "expressions;" the words used being merely inferential.

The memorial presented to Earl Grey says, that they whose names and addresses are attached "have heard" with astonishment that it is intended "to prorogue Parliament, and not to re-assemble it till after Christmas," and they "most urgently implore his Lordship's immediate attention" to that and the other matters contained in the memorial.

His Lordship observes, "I said nothing of any period of adjournment—I said nothing of any prorogation of Parliament to the end of January. I said nothing of time." True it is that his Lordship said "nothing of the prorogation of Parliament to the end of January;" but his Lordship did say something of "time." He said, "that the framing of the bill to be presented to Parliament would require much attention, and occupy much time." It would neither have been respectful nor decent to have pressed for a more particular reply; and, indeed, none more particular seemed necessary. Whoever attends to the words of the memorial, and to what his Lordship has been pleased to say, as well to the deputation

on Wednesday night, as in the House of Lords on Monday, cannot, I think, come to any other conclusion than this—the fears of the persons who appointed the deputation were well grounded. That it was in contemplation to prorogue the Parliament beyond Christmas, or that "it was ascertained," as you expressed it, "that Parliament would be prorogued till after Christmas."

His Lordship says, "I repeated what I had said before, that I would never be a party to the recommendation of any measure not founded on the same principles as that which had been rejected, and as effectual for the accomplishment of the objects which it was declared to have in view." This is undoubtedly the substance of what his Lordship said, though the words are not quite the same as those his Lordship used to the deputation.

In your paper of Saturday, you say "the deputies assured his Lordship that the people would be content with Lord John Russell's bill!" and that his Lordship answered, "That it would be absurd to think of again proposing Lord John Russell's bill—that Ministers would not think of bringing in a bill which they knew would not be carried."

This is substantially correct, though his Lordship did not use the words, "Lord John Russell's bill;" the latter part of the sentence is literally correct. In his Lordship's statement, on Monday evening, no notice is taken of the important passage.

The memorial contains these words:—"That they (the memorialists) should neither do their duty to themselves, to their country, nor to the Government itself, if they did not assure your Lordship it is their firm conviction, that unless Parliament be prorogued for the shortest possible period (not exceeding seven days), and that the bill for reforming the Parliament, which has passed the House of Commons, be then again introduced, and the necessary means be adopted to secure its becoming the law of the land, the country will inevitably be plunged into all the horrors of a vio-

"lent revolution, the result of which no man can predict."

The words "necessary means," &c., imply the creation of Peers; they were intended respectfully and delicately to suggest this to his Lordship, and they seem to me, and will, I conclude, to every man who reads them, to have no other meaning. His Lordship must, I think, have so understood them; yet his Lordship did not, *either to the deputation or to the Lords, take the slightest notice of them.*

The deputation was composed of men who knew the world, as well as the respect due to his Lordship, too well to urge any point too far, or not to take any reply his Lordship might make as at once conclusive.

Looking, then, at the words of the memorial, and at those used by his Lordship, no unbiassed man can, I think, come to any other conclusions than those which his Lordship says contain "an incorrect statement of his expressions." They may be stated thus:—

1. That it was contemplated to prorogue Parliament till after Christmas.

2. That Ministers did not intend to recommend the creation of Peers.

3. That the bill which had passed the Commons, and had been rejected by the Lords, was not to be again presented to the Commons.

It was apprehensions of these three circumstances, now proved to have been entertained on good grounds, that induced the meeting, which was a public meeting, called by advertisement, to sign the memorial, and send the deputation to Earl Grey; and, notwithstanding the false quotations and scandalous imputations of the *Courier*, the proceedings of the meeting will, I trust, be acknowledged as generally as they have already been pretty extensively, to be warranted by circumstances, and this is all which I think need be said in reply to Lord Brougham's assertion, in which he endeavoured to attribute the proceedings to "one or two well-meaning but over-anxious individuals."

Were the whole of the proceedings of the gentlemen who assembled on the

Wednesday evening, laid before the public in detail, they would be as highly creditable to them as the result will, I conclude, be acknowledged to be useful. Should that result be no more than *shortening the prorogation*, of which, however, *I have great doubt*, much good may be done—much mischief prevented. Whether the apprehensions of the meeting, expressed in the memorial, are well or ill-founded, time will show, if the prorogation be continued over Christmas.

Yours sincerely,  
FRANCIS PLACE.

Tuesday, Oct. 12, 1831.

Good! Good, Mr. PLACE! but this ought to have come out on THURSDAY MORNING, the 13th, instead of WEDNESDAY MORNING, the 19th. I give you credit for having made the communication to the *Chronicle* on the 14th, and to that paper for having published it on the 15th, and thereby having enabled me to let out the ominous tale at the Guild-hall on the evening of the 15th. But, in justice to the country, it should have come out from you, and with your name, on the morning of Thursday, the 13th; for there have the people been set on by Lord EBRINGTON to implore the King "to continue his confidence in his present Ministers," the people thinking, of course, that that confidence meant a new creation of peers, and a speedy passing of "the bill;" but if you had, on the 13th, published under your name, the account which the *Chronicle* published on the 15th, the people would have known, that, to call upon the King to continue his confidence in his present Ministers, was, in fact, to call on him to prorogue Parliament till after Christmas; to refuse to cause a new creation of peers; and not to cause "this Bill" to be proposed again. Thus have the people been acting in the dark: they have, in fact, been doing precisely the contrary of that which they thought they were doing. However, this error will do neither the Ministers nor the boroughmongers any good: the error will soon be corrected; and the public indignation will alight with double weight on both the parties.

This matter is, I think, now pretty well settled: the "*abrupt intrusion*" of the parochial deputies, on the 12th, *disconcerted the schemes that were on foot*: it took the head contriver, the "*stand or fall*" man, by *surprise*: it let out, at once, that which we were to have learned by *bit-and-bit*; that which was to have confused us; to have first *pledged us to support the Ministers*, and then imputed *inconsistency* to us, if we disapproved of their *abandonment of the bill*. It was a real, a genuine Whig scheme; but the "*abrupt intrusion*" disconcerted it.

Now let us go to the House of Commons on *Tuesday night*, where we find Colonel EVANS giving notice that he "would, to-morrow, Wednesday, move a resolution to the effect, that it is inexpedient to defer the re-introduction of the Reform Bill for any longer period than a month." The result of this motion will, I dare say, be a *negative* upon it by "*the whole-bill*." House of Commons, and will leave no room for *doubt*, even in the minds of *idiots*. But, in the meanwhile, there was a debate last night, worthy of *great attention*, relative to the *Bishops*. I insert it at length. It is worthy of our best attention.

Mr. HUNT presented a petition from an individual, stating that the Reform Bill was defeated by the Bishops, and *praying that they might be disfranchised*.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL deplored the presentation of such a petition. It could not fail to be productive of *bad effects*. Nothing could *injure the cause of reform* except the *indiscreet efforts of pretended friends*. He likewise begged to observe, that attempts, such as those lately made to *dictate to Ministers*, must decidedly be *mischievous*. He doubted whether the petition ought to be received.

Mr. ROBINSON said this was very like the things the honourable Member was bringing down every night. He also doubted whether the petition ought to be received. It bore no date, and he hoped the honourable Member would be able to show how it came into his hands.

Mr. HUMS said that the House ought not to reject the petition merely because it was contrary to the opinion of the House. With respect to the observations made by the hon. and learned Member for Stafford, he begged to say, now he was thus called upon, that he believed the opinion expressed in that petition to be the opinion of a large portion of the people

of this country, namely, that the *political power of the Bishops ought to cease*. He himself was of that opinion. (Hear, hear.) He was surprised that the honourable and learned Member should think that that wish, as expressed in the petition, was a solitary wish, and that no part of the people of the country sympathised with it. He was equally surprised that the honourable Member for Worcestershire should say it was *false to state that the bill was lost by the vote of the Bishops*, when it was clear, that as the majority against the bill only amounted to forty-one, and as twenty-one Bishops had voted against the bill, the majority would have turned the other way, had the Bishops voted in support of that measure. He believed that the time would come for all these changes, but he admitted that this was not exactly the moment for discussing it. Then as to the observation of the hon. and learned Member for Stafford, that these expressions of opinion were *like dictating to the Ministers*, he did not agree at all with that statement of the honourable and learned Member, and he believed that it would be only playing the game of the anti-reformers, if the people of this country were to lie on their arms, as if they did not care about the success of the rejection of the bill. Instead of doing this, he recommended them to use every constitutional means of showing the deep anxiety they felt upon the subject.

Mr. RUSSELL said, that the strong feeling which the people had manifested on this subject was both natural and proper, and he hoped that they would continue to show their anxiety, upon it in every constitutional way. He sincerely deprecated violence of all kinds, for riots were only injurious to the cause of Reform; but he trusted that all other efforts would be made to *sustain the Ministers*.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL, in explanation, said, that he too wished the people to come forward in a constitutional manner in support of the Reform Bill, but not to send delegates at midnight to the noble Earl at the head of the government, nor to address petitions to that House couched in such improper and unconstitutional language as the petition now presented to their notice.

Mr. FARNFIELD could not let this opportunity pass without protesting against these constant allusions to the Bishop—these attacks upon a portion of the Legislature, the existence of which was no necessary to the support of the constitution of the country. He could not avoid, too, expressing his strong objection to the sort of language held by the hon. Member for Middlesex, who, not content with saying that the Bishops should not have voted against the bill, actually assumed to declare that they should *relate their consciences* by voting in its favour.

Colonel EVANS said, that as the honourable and learned Member for Stafford had alluded to the conduct of the delegates who had waited upon Earl Grey, he begged to say, that they had done nothing which deserved the censure of

the honourable and learned Gentleman, or the imputation of having had intimidation for their object. If it had not been for the tone assumed by the hon. and learned Member for Stafford, and by the hon. Member for Worcester, upon the subject, neither the hon. Member for Middlesex nor he (Colonel Evans) would have said any thing, and the petition might have quietly gone with others of a similar kind to that receptacle to which they were all consigned; but as the call had been made, and as he had a strong opinion on the subject, he should be wanting in his duty as a man if he did not honestly state his opinion, that both the spiritual and the public welfare of the people would be better consulted if the Bishops were not in that House. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LEADER was understood to say that the conduct of the Church here had awakened this spirit of censure, as the conduct of the Irish Church had occasioned, and would continue the feeling in Ireland respecting tithes.

The Petition which was from a freeholder of the County of Louth was then brought up and read.

Mr. ROBINSON opposed the receiving of this petition, which he thought most improper and absurd.

Lord ALTHORP thought that this was a petition which, considering all the circumstances connected with it, ought not to be allowed to be received by the House. No one regretted more than he the decision of the House of Lords; but a petition from a single individual, declaring that one branch of the Legislature had not the right of voting, was a petition which he thought that House could not properly receive.

The SPEAKER said, that the question of receiving this petition involved not only a question of the privileges of the other House of Parliament, but of their own. The petitioners might, on any general grounds, have prayed the Legislature for the abolition of the right of voting of the Bishops; but as the petition stated that the petitioner founded his prayer upon what he conceived to be the vote of a portion of the House of Lords, and as he could only know how that portion of the House voted by means of a breach of privilege, it seemed to be doubtful whether the notice of a matter which was itself a breach of the privileges of the other House, was not a breach of the privileges of their own. In his opinion it was, and that on that ground, the petition ought not to be received.

Upon this debate, I shall first insert the commentary of the *Chronicle*, reserving to myself to say a word about the *Bishops*. "We are," says the *Chronicle*, "glad that Colonel Evans 'has given notice that he will this day move a resolution to the effect that it 'would be inexpedient to defer the 'introduction of the Reform Bill for

"any longer period than a month. 'Surely in a month a new measure may 'be matured, and Ministers may have 'obtained the vigour necessary for another Parliamentary campaign. A 'month the people will readily acquiesce 'in. The motion will at all events have 'the effect of eliciting some more positive declaration from Ministers of 'their intentions with regard to the 'duration of the prorogation than they 'have yet afforded. The people are 'surely entitled to some confidence on this subject.—Before this notice was 'given by Colonel Evans, the manner 'in which the people ought to conduct 'themselves with regard to this question formed the subject of an incidental 'discussion on the presentation of a 'petition by Mr. Hunt from an individual, praying that the Bishops might 'be disfranchised. Mr. John Campbell 'objected to the petition, complained 'of the injury done to reform by pretended reformers, and protested against 'the attempts at dictation to Ministers. Mr. Hume observed, 'as to the observation of the hon. and learned Member for Stafford, that these expressions of opinion were like dictating to the Ministers, he did not agree at all 'with that statement of the hon. and learned Member, and he believed that 'it would be only playing the game of 'the anti-reformers if the people of this country were to lie on their arms as 'if they did not care about the success 'or the rejection of the Bill. Instead 'of doing this, he recommended them 'to use every constitutional means of 'showing the deep anxiety they felt on 'the subject.' Mr. Ruthven in like manner, 'while he deprecated violence, 'trusted that all other efforts would be 'made to sustain the Ministers.—This 'may not be the proper time for overhauling the Church, but overhauled it must be. The conduct of the Bishops 'on the second reading of the Reform 'Bill, will never be forgotten. They 'have identified themselves with the 'Boroughmongers, and the people of 'England will not easily allow them to 'part company. With respect to the 'particular petition, it was afterwards

“stated by the Speaker, that there were objections to its reception on the score of privilege, and accordingly it was rejected. Mr. Campbell, however, took occasion to explain more particularly what he meant by dictating to Ministers. He said he wished the people to come forward in a constitutional manner, but not to send Delegates at midnight to the noble Earl at the head of the Government, not to address petitions to him that have been couched in such improper and unconstitutional language as the petition now presented to their notice. As much has been said with regard to the lateness of the hour, it is but fair to take into consideration the general uneasiness at the time. There had been a procession of 120,000 men of the different Metropolitan parishes, the shops had been closed, great excitement prevailed, and the delegates, men of much influence in their several localities, knowing the extent of the excitement, and fearful lest a long prorogation (of which they had received intelligence) might in the then excitement produce mischievous effects, lost no time in meeting the evil. It strikes us to be puerile in Mr. Campbell to attach so much importance as he does to a breach of etiquette in seventeen citizens waiting on the Prime Minister at the unreasonable hour of a quarter to eleven. They might be formed an erroneous estimate of the danger, but if they thought that the diffusion of the intelligence of a long prorogation was fraught with danger, they only discharged their duty in endeavouring to meet the evil without delay. If the intelligence arrived in a camp at midnight, that the enemy were within a few hours' march, no one would hesitate to disturb the repose of the Commander. Mr. Campbell may be of a more cool temperament than the generality of people. Rousseau says, that when the philosopher hears the cry of fire, he opens his window, and, seeing it at some distance, instead of running to afford assistance, exclaims, shuts the window, observing coolly,

“It cannot possibly reach me. Mr. Campbell seems to have studied in this school of philosophy. In *The Scotsman* of Saturday, received yesterday, there is a paragraph on the effect of the intelligence of the loss of the Reform Bill in Scotland, which may serve to illustrate this weighty matter of etiquette:—‘The movement (says our Contemporary) now begun has one most gratifying feature—its instantaneous and its indisputable spontaneity. To the very last, men persisted in believing that the peers would not trifle with the unanimous resolutions of the people; and so universal was this impression, that up to the hour when the intelligence arrived, we do not believe the reformers in any part of Scotland had formed a definite idea of what measures they ought to adopt in such an emergency. Now, look at Perth. The vote of the lords is known there at ten o'clock on Monday night—even at that late hour, a requisition for a meeting is signed; and at two o'clock next day, ten thousand persons, including the whole adult population of the town and vicinity, are assembled in the Inch, to address the King! There was no pause required for deliberation; no doubt or faltering; no need felt of the example of the capital or other great towns! The people were carried, as if by an instinctive and simultaneous impulse, to the proper steps for the vindication of their rights. Dundee, Kirkcaldy, and Hawick were equally prompt in their motions; decision, energy, unanimity, were never more beautifully exemplified; and the same spirit, the same zeal, reigned throughout all Scotland, as farther accounts will soon make known, though circumstances cannot be everywhere so favourable for its instantaneous display. Surely he is a bastard Scotsman who is not proud of his country at this moment!’”

“Now, we do not say that Mr. Campbell is a bastard Scotsman; but if he had been Provost of Perth, instead of applauding his fellow-citizens for their alacrity in presenting him

"with a requisition for a meeting at midnight, we suppose he would have read the requisitionists a lecture on their inattention to decorum, in approaching him at so unseasonable an hour. The people, no doubt, would have answered, 'An hour's repose, more or less, at a crisis like this, when the safety of the Empire is at stake, is of small moment; and therefore we have thought it better to disturb you at midnight than to lose an opportunity of meeting without delay. Fortunately decorum yielded to a strong sense of duty, and out of a population of 20,000, no fewer than 10,000 met in the open air, in the manner so much extolled by our Northern Contemporaries. Mr. Campbell may suppose he is assisting ministers by reading lectures to the people on the propriety of being more measured in their enthusiasm, more moderate in their dislikes, and more indifferent to the public tranquillity. The tone assumed by him did not, however, seem very palatable in the House. Colonel Evans said he should be wanting in his duty, after what he had heard, if he did not honestly state his opinion, that both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people would be better consulted if the Bishops were not to belong to the House of Lords."

In all this I agree, and particularly in what is said about the *Bishops*. There must be a change with regard to them. He, of Winchester, has *two palaces* and the interest of the money for which a *third palace was sold*! His income is not less than *forty thousand pounds a year*, while there are curates starving upon *thirty pounds*, and a plenty of them too. Poh! Lord Grey; you may be waspish at the "*abrupt intrusion*" of the people, but this scandalous abuse cannot remain.

### POSTSCRIPT.

PARLIAMENT is prorogued to the 22nd November. But the hack paper says that it will *then be again prorogued for fourteen days*. And I believe that it

will be prorogued *till February*. This is my belief!

On the subject of reform *the Speech contained the following*:—"In the interval of repose which my now be afforded you, I am sure it is unnecessary for me to recommend to you the most careful attention to the preservation of tranquillity in your respective counties. The anxiety which has been so generally manifested by my people for the accomplishment of a constitutional reform in the Commons House of Parliament, will, I trust, be regulated by a due sense of the necessity of order and moderation in their proceedings. To the consideration of this important question the attention of Parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing session, and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement, by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which, in combination with those of the other orders of the state, are essential to the support of our free constitution."

The Surrey meeting, on Thursday, I must state next week. I cannot do justice to it here. It was an interesting scene.

I hear, and believe, that the big *Whigs* in Essex have had a private meeting, and have resolved not to have a county meeting. It was intimated, that the Government did not wish for public meetings at present.

### HAMPSHIRE.

A county meeting is to be held at Winchester, on the 26th instant (Wednesday next) at which, health permitting, I will be.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
BOROUGHMONGERS.

Kensington, 17th October, 1831.

BOROUGHMONGERS,

OTHERS put their publications in mourning at the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords: I, if I knew how, would decorate mine with laurels and garlands. Others rave and stamp and foam with indignation: I laugh, and wish that there were combinations of letters wherewith to express the sounds of hearty risibility. Many reasons tend to the producing of this feeling in me; but I will, for the present, rest satisfied with stating *one of them*, which, stupid as you are as well as insolent, will, if you look well at it, make you scratch your heads. You have little sense, I know; but you must be quite beasts not to feel the force of the facts that I am about to state, and which I do not state for the purpose of enlightening you, or putting you upon your guard; not at all for the purpose of giving you useful advice, or of inducing you to do any thing, or to leave any thing undone; but for the sole purpose of mortifying you, and of letting you see, that I, whose views and designs were so much censured by BOSCAWEN, HERBERT, old SERJEANT BEST, and my LORD LYNDDURST, have reason for laughing; while others are filled with alarm and despair.

Hundreds of times did I tell MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, that there never would be REFORM to any extent, as long as the paper-money system remained unshaken. Since that time, it has had some pretty furious shakes. A million and a half of us petitioned for reform in 1817; and though we had all the arguments that LORD JOHN RUSSELL has now urged in support of his bill, we were crammed into dungeons, or driven into exile, for our pains, and that too with the loudly-expressed approbation of those "*merchants and bankers of London*," who now demand reform in a much bolder strain than we did at that time. In 1818, in answer to a letter, in which the Major pressed me to return from Long Island, I said, "When there is a hole made in the paper, I will return; but until then

"you will get no reform; and with the mere pen, I can do more here than I can there, and the sea is between me and Sidmouth and Castlereagh." But the next year, it pleased God, in his mercy to England, to raise up the renowned statesman PEELE, aided and abetted by Ricardo, Tierney, old Grenville, and the like of them; and he sent forth his RENOWNED BILL. I got it in August, and instantly made preparations for my return; and got home in November. For the moment I saw the bill, I exclaimed, "*There comes reform at last!*"

You are a stupid set; but if you be thirty years of age, you must have seen the thing gradually approaching from that day to this. In 1823, the thing was at hand, but was stopped for three years by the prolonged issue of one-pound notes; that is to say, by a part repeal of PEELE'S bill. This however, brought on the PANIC of 1825 and 1826, which, as the "*great statesman*," HUSKISSON, said, brought us, under this well-working Parliament, "*to within forty-eight hours of barter!*" Indeed, it was touch-and-go, when the OLD LADY slept with an ORDER IN COUNCIL under her pillow. To prevent this danger for the future, the one-pounders were to cease in England in April, 1829; and when that law was passed, or rather passing, I told the well-working Parliament, that if they enforced that law, without taking off more than one-half of the taxes, they would plunge the country into a state of ruin and misery such as the world had never witnessed; and that I KNEW this as well as I knew that fire burned.

The ruin has come; the misery has come; the fires have come; and the REFORM has, at last, peeped out, and is struggling for vent! And do you imagine, that the great manufacturers and merchants and bankers are crying for REFORM, because they have been converted to a love of popular rights! Bah! as the French say: you are not quite stupid enough for that, I think. Do you imagine, that the YEOMANRY CAVALRY have, all of a sudden, become enamoured of the Goddess of Liberty! They would kick the Goddess to the



devil; or, at least, chop her down, if she had nothing in store for the *relief of their pockets*. Oh, no! the Chopsticks have made them raise their wages; these they cannot pay and *pay tithes and taxes* also; they see that they cannot again get down the wages, and that *Reform is necessary to relieve them from the tithes and taxes*. Therefore are they *reformers*; therefore they throw their lusty arms round the waist of the Goddess, and you will have "a job of it," if you get her from their ardent embraces.

But I am now about to show you, in detail, and from authentic documents, how the *great manufacturers have been converted to the cause of reform*, and why it is that those of *Birmingham* are more ardent than those of any other of the great towns. I wonder whether you will be so stupid as not to attend to what I am now about to lay before you! You may; but other people will not. If you do attend to it, you will despair of being able to prevent reform. *Here is the security for the triumph of Reform! Here it is*; and this is what makes *us laugh*, while others put their papers in mourning. Poor TREVOR ascribed the cry of reform to *my writings*; BARNES and WELLINGTON ascribed it to the *French Revolution*: I am going to show you, to prove to you in detail and *officially*, that the cry has been produced by *PEEL'S WRITINGS*! That *PEEL* and his co-operators have *ALL* the merit of it; and that not a particle of that merit belongs to me.

"At a Meeting of the Staffordshire Iron Trade, held at Dudley, the 4th of October, 1831; MICHAEL GRAZESBROOK, Esq. in the Chair.

"It was resolved, that this meeting cannot but regard with considerable anxiety and apprehension the present appalling and long-continued depression in the prices of iron, and which they attribute mainly to the *injurious operation of the existing laws relating to the currency*.

"That the following Memorial of the Iron and Coal Trade be presented to EARL GREY, by a deputation; and that a copy thereof be sent to the chairman of the Welsh trade, requesting the concurrence and co-operation of the gentlemen of that district in its prayer—

"Memorial to the Right Honourable Earl Grey, First Lord of his Majesty's Treasury.

"We, the undersigned Iron Masters and Coal Masters, of the Staffordshire Iron and Coal district, think it our duty respectfully to represent to his Majesty's Government the following facts:

"1. That for the last five years, ever since *what is called the panic of 1825*, we have found, with very slight intermissions, a continually increasing depression in the prices of the products of industry, and more particularly in those of Pig Iron and Bar Iron, which have fallen respectively from upwards of 8*l.* per ton, to under 3*l.* per ton, and from 15*l.* per ton, to under 5*l.* per ton.

"2. Against this alarming and long-continued depression, we have used every possible effort in our power to make head. We have practised all manner of economy, and have had recourse to every possible improvement in the working of our mines and manufactories. Our workmen's wages have, in many instances, been greatly reduced, and such reduction has been attended with, and effected by, very great suffering and distress:—but the royalties, rents, contracts, and other engagements, under which we hold our respective works and mines, have scarcely been reduced at all, nor can we get them effectually reduced; *because the law enforces their payment in full*.

"3. The prices of the products of our industry having thus fallen within the range of the fixed charges and expenses which the law compels us to discharge, the just and necessary profits of our respective trades have ceased to exist; and in many cases a positive loss attends them.

"4th. Under these circumstances, we have long hesitated in determining what line of conduct our interests and our duties require us to adopt. If we should abandon our respective trades, our large and expensive outlays in machinery and erections must be sacrificed, at an enormous loss to ourselves, and our honest and meritorious workmen must be thrown in thousands upon parishes, already so much impoverished by their present burdens, to support them;—and if we should continue our respective trades, we see nothing but the prospect of increasing distress, and certain ruin to all around us.

"5th. In our humble opinion, the great cause which has been mainly instrumental in producing this depression and distress in our respective trades, and among the productive classes of the country generally, is the attempt to render the rents, taxes, royalties, and the other various engagements and obligations of the country, convertible by law into gold, at 3*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* per oz. This low and antiquated price of the metallic standard of value is no longer capable of effecting a just and equitable distribution of our products between the producer and the consumer; it renders incompatible the permanent existence of remunerative prices, without such a reduction of taxation as we cannot hope to see effected in time to afford us any relief—and it thus tends,

ultimately and surely, to destroy the industry and the peace and happiness of the country.

"6th. That until the establishment of a circulating medium of a character better suited to the various and complicated demands of society, and to the increased transactions and population of the country, and more competent to effect an interchange and preserve a remunerating level of prices in the products of industry, generally; we can see no prospect of any permanent restoration of the prosperity of our trades, or of the country being able to escape the most frightful sufferings and convulsions.

"7. We, therefore, most respectfully, but very earnestly, request the early attention of his Majesty's Government to these great facts and considerations; and we trust they will recommend to Parliament the speedy establishment of some just, adequate, and efficient currency, which may properly support the trade and commerce of the country, and preserve such a remunerating level of prices as may ensure to the employers of labour the fair and reasonable profits of their capital and industry, as well as the means of paying the just and necessary wages to their workmen."

This document was published in the *Morning Chronicle* of this day (17th of October), with the signatures at the bottom of it, and with these remarks appended:—"We are thus particular in citing the whole of this extraordinary statement, with the highly-respectable names attached to it, and which unquestionably vouch for the accuracy of its facts, because we know that it is often extremely convenient to say that memorials are 'got up' and preferred from party or private views. But here is a solemn document, signed by nearly three-fourths of the Staffordshire iron trade (and we are informed subsequently by nearly all the Shropshire iron masters), with representations of prices and make, which cannot be fictitious. The above signatures alone comprehend the firms of upwards of sixty blast furnaces, making from 3,000 to 3,500 tons of pig iron per week, and giving employment and support to many thousand large families—all, as it is observed, imbued with the strongest opinions on reform, and bitter hatred of the boroughmongers—attributing to the machinations of the oligarchy the great causes of alternate seasons of

"distress, and the felonious alterations of the currency during the last fifty years. In the Staffordshire iron district it is computed that there are about 128 furnaces. Of these, perhaps, a dozen are in ruins or unserviceable; 59 were out of blast ("blown out," in technical phraseology) in February, 1830; 41 in July, 1830; and 49 of the 128 are now out, leaving about 79 now in blast. The average make of a Staffordshire furnace is about fifty tons per week. So much for the jargon of over production. A few facts from the trade—from those practically conversant with and interested in our staple manufactures, are worth a sack of theories and treatises."

So much of the great creative concerns. And now, how stands it with dealers in, and the makers of, *manufactured goods*? Here we have it, boroughmongers! Here we have the real cause of the cry, at Birmingham, for Parliamentary Reform. If this cause of the cry had been wanting, never should we have heard of the "POLITICAL UNION" and of its "COUNCIL." And, boroughmongers, mind, this cause must be removed, before the cry will cease. Reform is not called for on abstract principles, or to gratify any whim: it is called for as something that will put an end to the ruin that is going on; and which ruin is so clearly set forth in the following TABLE, just compiled and published at Birmingham. Look at it, boroughmongers, and then have the brass to continue to say, that this sort of Parliament has worked well; have the brass to say, that this Parliament has not been the real cause of all this ruin. Such a picture of ruin no eyes ever before beheld; no war, none of the causes of ruin in trade, was ever equal in effect to the acts of this Parliament. If the acts had been passed for the express and avowed object of producing ruin, they could not have been more effectual. Look at the picture; and then hear me again.

# COMPARATIVE PRICES OF HARDWARE, MANUFACTURED IN AND NEAR BIRMINGHAM.

Description.	Prices in 1818.	Prices in 1824.	Prices in 1828.	Prices in 1830.
Anvils.....	22s. per cwt.	20s. per cwt.	10s. per cwt.	13s. per cwt.
Awls, polished Liverpool.....	5s. 6d. per gross.	2s. per gross.	1s. 6d. per gross.	1s. 2d. per gross.
Bed Screws, 6 inches long.....	12s. per gross.	15s. per gross.	6s. per gross.	5s. per gross.
Bolts for doors, 6 inches.....	7s. per dozen.	5s. per dozen.	2s. 3d. per doz.	1s. 6d. per doz.
Braces for carpenters, 12 bits.....	6s. per set.	9s. 3d. per set.	4s. 3d. per set.	3s. 5d. per set.
Bits, tinned, for saddles.....	5s. per dozen.	7s. per dozen.	3s. 3d. per doz.	2s. 6d. per doz.
Buttons for coats.....	4s. 6d. per gross.	4s. per gross.	2s. per gross.	2s. 2d. per gross.
Buttons, for waistcoats, 5s.....	4s. per gross.	5s. per gross.	1s. 2d. per gross.	6d. per gross.
Curry combs, six barr'd.....	2s. 9d. per doz.	2s. 6d. per doz.	1s. 5d. per doz.	11d. per doz.
Candlesticks, 6 inches, brass.....	2s. 13d. per pair.	2s. per pair.	1s. 7d. per pair.	1s. 2d. per pair.
Commode knobs, brass, 2 inches.....	4s. per doz.	7s. 6d. per doz.	1s. 3d. per doz.	1s. 2d. per doz.
Frying pans.....	25s. per cwt.	21s. per cwt.	13s. per cwt.	16s. per cwt.
Hinges, cast butts, 1 inch.....	19d. per doz.	7d. per doz.	3d. per doz.	2d. per doz.
Shoe hammers, No. 0.....	4s. 6d. per doz.	5s. 9d. per doz.	2s. per doz.	2s. 9d. per doz.
Latches for doors, bright thumb.....	2s. 3d. per doz.	2s. 2d. per doz.	1s. per doz.	9d. per doz.
Locks for doors, iron rim, 3 1/2 in. x 3 1/2 in.....	32s. per dozen.	32s. per dozen.	15s. per doz.	13s. 6d. per doz.
Locks for guns, single yeller.....	6s. each.	5s. 2d. each.	1s. 10d. each.	1s. 6d. each.
Plated stirrups.....	4s. 5d. per pair.	2s. 9d. per pair.	1s. 6d. per pair.	1s. 1d. per pair.
Sad. irons and other castings.....	22s. 6d. per cwt.	20s. per cwt.	14s. per cwt.	11s. 6d. per cwt.
Shovel and tongs, six irons.....	1s. per pair.	1s. per pair.	9d. per pair.	6d. per pair.
Tinned table spoons.....	12s. per gross.	15s. per gross.	10s. per gross.	7s. per gross.
Trace chains.....	25s. per cwt.	25s. per cwt.	19s. 6d. per cwt.	19s. 6d. per cwt.
Vices for blacksmiths, &c.....	30s. per cwt.	30s. per cwt.	22s. per cwt.	19s. 6d. per cwt.
Japanned tea-trays, 30 inches.....	4s. 6d. each.	3s. each.	2s. each.	1s. 5d. each.
Iron wire, No. 6.....	14s. per bundle.	15s. per bundle.	9s. per bundle.	7s. per bundle.
Brass wire.....	1s. 10d. per lb.	1s. 4d. per lb.	1s. per lb.	9d. per lb.

There, boroughmongers! That's the *cause of Reform!* Teach the 199, including the 21 Bishops, how to get over that! Some people talk of Ryder as the new Minister. Tackle it, Ryder! Will you put out paper-money, and raise prices? Do, Ryder! I wish you would; for then I could pay your tax-gatherer in paper, and carry on my business in gold. Will you not do that? Then the ruin must become greater every day, *unless you take off the taxes*; and if you do that, you *cannot pay the interest of the debt*, unless you take the church and other public property. Lord LYNDAVAST (for I don't mind Boscaawen, Herbert, and old Serjeant Best) found fault with my *Manchester propositions*; but will his Lordship show us any other way out of our difficulty? And if he cannot, it did not *become him to give these propositions as an argument against the Reform Bill*.

Let it not be said that the Parliament could not keep this rule; let it not be in the language of Sir Henry Parnham and Tooke, be ascribed to "over-trading"

and "over-production;" let it not, in the Ministerial slang, be ascribed to causes "*over which the Government had no control*." Look at the prices of 1818; look at the *progressive ruin*; see how exactly it keeps pace with the *Acts of Parliament*, affecting the currency; and you will trace the ruin to those Acts as clearly as you trace the hanging of poor Cook of Micheldever to the Act of Ellenborough, improved by Lansdown. Cook was certainly hanged *according to law*; but not more certainly than thousands of industrious and virtuous families have been reduced from competency to beggary by that series of laws, of which Pann's Bill was the first.

But it may be said, that, at any rate, the Parliament did not intend to cause such ruin. And is that a defence? It might so, indeed, as a plea for pardon for the past. But what can it avail as a ground for future trust? At the very best, it has been, for many years, doing *what it did not intend to do*; or, in other words, it *has not known what it*

was doing; it has been doing mischief enormous, it has been inflicting ruin and misery on a whole people, when it *thought it was doing right*. This is its very best plea; and yet one of the arguments against the proposed change is, that it will let into Parliament men of *industry, vigilance, and talent!* However, there it is, Ryder; make the best of it: get out of the difficulty as you can; or, let us have our reform, and I warrant you that *we* get ourselves out of it and you along with us.

WM. COBBETT.

TO  
LORD BROUGHAM.

Kensington, October 18th, 1831.

MY LORD,

It is now about; I think, five-and-twenty years since you and I had the first skirmish, you being then a very desperate *Edinburgh Reviewer*, just arrived at London in a *Berwick smack*, freighted, to the very choking of the hold, with adventurers come to get pickings out of the "loons o' the sooth." You have carried on your boisterous pretty well. I have seen you, first, declare yourself, in writing, for *annual parliaments and universal suffrage*; when those were put into dungeons or driven into exile, you called them *little nostrums and big blunders*. Since that, you have avoided definitions; but, as occasion served, have *talked about* parliamentary reform. When, however, the flashy adventurer, CANNING, became Prime Minister, and declared explicitly that he would oppose parliamentary reform, in any and in every shape, to the end of his life, I heard you, as explicitly declare that the *people had ceased to desire a parliamentary reform*; and, the same night, I saw Lord John Russell withdraw his notice of motion for reform upon the very ground stated by you. I heard you, the winter before the last, condemn the motion of Mr. O'Connor, for reform. Last fall, I saw you, while the *remue-menage* was going on, come

into the House of Commons most vehemently bent upon an extended reform, declaring, at the same time, that you would wait but a *very little time* before you brought the motion forward, whether the new ministry were organized or not, and that those were very much deceived who thought that the reform you meditated was of a *limited description*. Two days afterwards, you were *Lord Chancellor and a peer!* which puts one in mind of Lafontaine's story of the eloquent Goth who came to Rome to complain of the tyranny exercised in the Provinces, when, as a remedy, a senator wiser than the rest, exclaimed, "*Fait-le Prætor!*" However, you became a member of a reforming ministry, and, since that time, you have been bound up with the bill, and was, of course, one of its defenders in the House of Lords. This brings me to the topic which I had in view when I commenced this letter.

In my *Register* of last week, I cut out from the report of your speech in the *Morning Chronicle*, two passages, in one of which I thought I could already discover that you had no very great dislike to be thought to be ready to separate from Lord GREY; and that, in the other passage, I thought I could discover a readiness, on your part, to surrender the part of the bill relating to ten-pound voters. You have made two speeches upon these subjects; one last Saturday, and the other on Monday, both of which I will insert here, as I find them reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, which I believe to have by far the most accurate reports. The Saturday's speech was as follows:— "Another gross misrepresentation he said he had been subjected to in regard to the Reform Bill. He saw it again stated, that there was a decided difference between him and his noble friend at the head of the Administration, in regard to a material part of the Reform Bill, and this was founded on a garbled statement of what he had really said when speaking on that bill. He had on that occasion distinctly stated, that there was not the slightest difference between himself

"and his noble Friend on the subject—  
 "that there was not, nor ever had been  
 "any difference between them. This  
 "declaration, however, had been omit-  
 "ted in the statement attributed to him ;  
 "and he observed, that his statement,  
 "so garbled, had been quoted and com-  
 "mented on. He again declared that  
 "there was not a shadow of difference  
 "between him and his noble Friend on  
 "that great and important measure."

Now, what is garbling? It is taking a part or parts of a writing, or speech, and leaving out other parts, so as to give to the thing quoted, a meaning different from the meaning of the whole if all the parts had been taken. Thus, for instance, BLACKSTONE has garbled the word of God itself, and that, too, for the base purpose of justifying cruelty in the execution of the law of England relating to the poor. PROVERBS, chapter vi., verses 30 and 31, contains these words : —30. Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry—31. But, if he be found, he shall restore seven-fold ; he shall give all the substance of his house." BLACKSTONE takes these two verses and garbles them thus : "If a thief steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry, he shall restore seven-fold, and shall give all the substance of his house." No broomstick that ever was handled would have been too heavy or too rough for the shoulders of this greedy and dirty-souled lawyer. You see, he leaves out the words "men do not despise ;" then he leaves out the words at the beginning of the next verse, "but if he be found ;" then in the place of the "*he*," which comes before the words "*shall give*," he puts the word "*and*," and thus he makes the whole apply to the poor creature who takes food to satisfy his soul when he is hungry. He leaves out every mitigating word of the Scripture, and in his reference he represents the passage to be in one verse. It has often been said of BLACKSTONE, that he not only lied himself, but made others lie, and he has here, as far as he was able, made a liar of King Solomon himself. Perhaps, even in the history of the conduct of Crown lawyers, there is not to be

found mention of an act so coolly bloody-minded as this. Sir THOMAS DENMAN's dirty bill of indictment was a fool to it, though that began with a "*but*," and consisted of the middle of a paragraph, leaving out the head and the tail.

This, my Lord Brougham, is garbling. I took two passages from your speech, each of them containing every word connected with the two topics, and omitted no part of the speech containing anything bearing upon those topics. Thus, then, there was no garbling. There are the words still ; and you will explain a pretty while, and protest a pretty while longer, before you will persuade my readers to put a different construction upon the words than that which I have put upon them. But I do not see that you advert to the second topic ; that is to say, to your readiness to reconsider the matter with regard to the ten-pound voters, and yet this was a matter worthy of attention. The editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, whom you personally know, and whom I do not personally know, who has often been your apologist against me, has been too honest, however, to suppress the following remark upon this very unsatisfactory explanation of your Lordship : "This explanation will at once satisfy the people that the inferences which have been drawn from Lord Brougham's speech, of a difference of opinion between him and Lord Grey, on material provisions of the Reform Bill, are without foundation. The object of Lord Brougham, *we have no doubt*, was to furnish those Lords who might be averse to the uniform rent qualification with a motive for going into the Committee. We cannot help thinking, *however*, that it is dangerous, even when arguing by way of supposition, to meet a particular class of opponents, to appear to make light of what the people deem a very serious matter."

You repeat this denial again in the debate of Monday night, and add something (which I shall here quote) in the way of apology for the long prorogation that is intended :—"The LORD CHANCELLOR felt he must say a very few

" words with respect to an alleged difference of opinion between him and the noble Earl at the head of the Government, as the statements on that subject had been repeated. He begged to say, that he most cordially concurred in every word that had fallen from the noble Earl, and that there neither was, nor ever had been, any difference of opinion between them, although his assertion had been again denied by certain persons who could know nothing about the matter. There never had been any difference of opinion between them; even on the most minute details or general principles there could be none; but he might add, and he said it in the hearing of his noble Friend and his colleagues, that if there were any two of the Members of the Government who differed least on the matter of detail, it was his noble Friend and himself. With respect to the question of the recess, he had no fears, whatever might be the impatience of *one or two well-meaning but over-anxious individuals*, that the people would do full justice to the motives of the Government in the time which they might propose. But, good God! when they talked of a prorogation for a week, did they know the state of exhaustion, to which incessant labour had reduced some Members of the Government? The two noble Lords (Althorp and Russell) could not, he was satisfied, *go on without some repose*; and as for himself, although he did not complain, it was exactly twelve months last Friday since he had been at work, with the exception of three days at Christmas, and two days at Easter (chiefly spent, by-the-by, in travelling), from six or seven in the morning till twelve or one at night. If any man was so unreasonable as to say they should go on, he was confident at least that the great body of the reasoning classes of his countrymen would think differently; and that if they threw themselves on them, they could have no fear of obtaining a verdict. Whatever advice they might give with respect to the

" adjournment, was intended principally for the purpose of *more easily carrying the wishes of the people into effect*, and achieving the success of the great measure intrusted to them. What that measure was, *would soon be seen*; and he hoped that even those who might express regret now at the time of delay being a little too long, when they *saw the effect of it*, would have the candour and fairness to admit in all probability that it was quite short enough, and feel gratified at the course which had been adopted. "*(Hear, hear.)*"

I have not garbled here, at any rate, for here is the whole speech as reported in the *Chronicle*; and as pretty stuff it is as I ever heard come from your lips. Oh! you are in a state of *exhaustion*, are you? I wish poor Cook, of Mitchell-dever, were alive, and you had to walk after him at plough, and do no work at all, and live upon the fare that he used to live upon, for one week. You would then know what it is to be exhausted. Exhaustion, indeed! Why, I do more every week, for the whole fifty-two weeks in the year, than you have ever done for one single week since I have known any thing of you. Poh! not go on without repose! If men are too old or too feeble to go on in a crisis like this, they should not take high offices and high salaries. However, this is all a pretence. What your new measure is to be, will, you tell us, "*soon be seen.*" Why not tell it us now? Why keep us in the dark about the matter. Why do not you tell us that Schedules A and B, and the ten-pound voters, are to remain? The reason is that *you do not intend that they shall remain*. You know that an assurance that these shall remain would satisfy us at once; and, as you do not satisfy us, which you may do by only uttering a few words, we are not such fools as not to be assured that they are not to remain; and that you mean to give us a specimen of *garbling*, with a vengeance.

In the mean time, most lustily are you calling for confidence in the Ministers; for confidence in those who said that they would stand or fall with the bill;

and who suffer the bill to fall without falling themselves; that is to say, fall, in their sense of the word; but fall in reality they will in the estimation of every just man in the world; if they but whisper a proposition of any thing short of this bill. All over the country the hooks are out for addresses to the King, to declare to him the confidence that the people have in his present advisers; which, I think, is really the most barefaced, the most profligate hoax upon the people that ever was attempted to be practised. The people, however, seem generally to have bit at the hook; some busy slave, or some credulous good man, is every where found to aid in cheating them. Even at Birmingham, where one ought to expect to see good sense prevail, the following paragraph will show that the hook has taken; that the bait has been swallowed:—"A requisition to the High Bailiff 'is in course of signature, requesting that he will convene a Town's Meeting for the purpose of expressing to his Majesty, by address, the deep regret and bitter disappointment felt by the inhabitants at the rejection of the Reform Bill, by the House of Lords, and declaring their unabated confidence in the enlightened patriotism, wisdom and firmness of his Majesty's confidential advisers. The meeting will, in all probability, take place in the middle of the week."

I have no doubt that the leading men of Birmingham have been grossly imposed upon; but if they have a mind to retain their influence over the people, let them take care how they become, wittingly or not, the tools of the Government. What! hear from the Ministers themselves that they will not fall with the bill, and still call upon the King to repose confidence in them!

However, now we see all the motives for the motion so nicely got up by Lord EARNESLEY: now we see that there was a firm resolution not to fall with the bill, even before the bill fell. The enemies of reform like, of all things, that you should not fall with the bill; they like that you should remain there, and that the King should be called upon by

the people to keep you there; because, while you are there, while Lord GREY is there, and while the people can be prevailed upon to indulge hopes from his being there, all is safe with the boroughmongers; the people will, of course, hardly refuse to pay taxes to Lord GREY, while they are calling upon his Majesty to keep Lord GREY, the first Lord of his Treasury: never was there a greater and deeper contrivance in the world, except that of a woman, who, seeing her rough husband coming with a broomstick to beat her, ran to the cradle, and, catching the child up in her arms, exclaimed, "Ah! there, kill the child; do, you murderer!" This is precisely what the boroughmongers are saying to the people; and, as those who, like the Birminghamites, are beseeching the King to keep Lord GREY in his bosom, will, of course, abstain from violence of every sort, all the purposes of both the parties are answered.

And now, my Lord Chancellor, I have shown you that, however difficult it might be to see to the bottom of this muddy pool, I see to the bottom of it; and I venture to assure you that the public will not be far behind me.

WM. COBBETT.

## CREATION OF NEW PEERS.

I beg my readers to read the following, taken from a pamphlet, just published by Mr. Ridgway, entitled a Letter to Lord Grey, on an *Adjustment* of the House of Peers.

The question which at this moment agitates the country from side to side, is whether a system of governing by means of the fictitious constituencies technically called rotten boroughs, shall be continued or not. Those who are interested in them say *Aye*; and every body else says *No*. The case has been brought before the peers, and the peers have given a majority of their voices to the former. The inquiry consequently set on foot, is, What are the descriptions of peers that constituted this majority, and in what degree does justice demand

that they should severally be neutralized by the exercise of the constitutional power of the crown. The exercise of this power, to the extent which justice shall be found to demand, is what is intended by the title of Adjustment of the House of Peers. The first requisite for the inquiry, is to find a test by which to measure the extent of what will for clearness be denominated the *rotten borough* influence among the peers of the United Kingdom. And here the course must be, to take a period from which the marked expansion of the influence in question may fairly be dated; and then judge of the different effects upon the peers created before and after such epoch, by comparison of the votes of the two classes of the present question.

No objection can be made to assuming for this epoch the conclusion of the year 1792. There may be disputes whether the entire system was not a good,—whether it was not a thing to thank Heaven for, and a wonderful invention of human genius for the advancement of a nation's welfare;—but waiving questions of this nature, there can be no dispute that at all events it made a prodigious start at the conclusion of 1792. The French war, which was a war for the preservation of the rotten boroughs, was the immediate exciting cause; which ascertains with chronological exactness the era of the effect. An analysis, then, of the votes on the Second Reading of the English Reform Bill in the House of Peers presents the following results :

	AGAINST.	FOR.
Of the peers of the United Kingdom of creation antecedent to the conclusion of 1792, there voted . . .	79	81
Of the peers of the United Kingdom of creation subsequent to 1792 (including the latest creations) . . .	66	6
Of the Archbishops and Bishops . . .	21	2
Of the Representative Peers of Scotland . . .	12	4
Of the Representative Peers of Ireland . . .	19	4
Of the Royal Dukes . . .	2	1
	199	158

It appears, therefore,

1. That among the old Peers of the United Kingdom there was a majority of two in favour of the Second Reading.

2. That among the new Peers of the United Kingdom (including the creations under the present ministry up to the time of voting) there was an exact balance; and consequently the creations made under the present ministry were precisely and to a unit the number required to balance the influence of the peculiar system under which the new Peers, or part of them, had been created.

3. That (after adding the votes of the three Royal Dukes, which leave a majority of 1 in favour of the Second Reading) the 42 votes which finally made the majority of 41 in the opposite direction, were the votes of

21 Bishops against 2; being above 10 to 1.

12 Scotch Peers against 4; being 3 to 1.

19 Irish Peers against 4; being nearly 5 to 1.

The inference from the whole of which is—

That the people of England cannot have their reform because it does not please the bishops and the Scotch and Irish Peers.

The question which consequently arises is, whether

First, the Bishops,

Secondly, the Scotch,

Thirdly, the Irish Peers,

are or are not in the category which demands,—not as an act of favour, but of fairness,—not in the character of a *coup d'état*, but as a portion of that every-day justice which the sovereign is bound to execute on every day when the occasion may present itself,—their immediate neutralization by the exercise of the power lodged for that purpose by the constitution.

There are some powers lodged by the constitution which never have been exercised; from which a strong argument might be derived against their exercise at the present time. But this is not one of them, for it has been exercised, and exercised *one way*, viz. against the people. There is no reason therefore, in the outset, why it should not in turn



be exercised in their behalf. And first, of the Bishops, it may be asked, whether, as conscientious and honest men they will deny, that they or most of them are individuals picked for their zeal and talents by former ministers, to be placed in the House of Peers for the express purpose of upholding the system of those ministers by their votes whenever the occasion should arrive. It is not mentioned as matter of blame to them; and the aid and duplicity would be, if it were possible it should be denied that they are the *élite* of the troops of former administrations, distinctly posted where they are, for the purpose of acting against the present. And if so,—is the country bound to submit a secular question to their votes, when the constitution has provided the moderate and perfectly pacific measure of neutralizing them by the introduction of new Peers?

Of the representative Peers of Scotland a different view must be taken. It is not intended to deny, that they are a highly respectable, and even venerable, remnant of the feudal ages; possessing much of the interest attached to the relics of gone-by greatness, and the dignity of decay. It is not intended to assert, that, though they undoubtedly gratified their own inherent notions by falling in with the opportunity the borough system offered them, they were the creatures of the Ministry for the time being, or are to be viewed in any light but as a race of faded territorial sovereigns, whom the progress of the times has happily deposed. But what it is intended to assert, is that the Peers of Scotland are not the men to settle an English question,—that they were not brought into the House of Peers for any such purpose, and that the mode and instrument through which the constitution provided against their being ever applied to such an end, was the authority lodged in the King to neutralize their power by making peers in the event of the case arising. If at the period of the Union with Scotland, the question had been asked of the English people or Government, "Do you, then, intend, if ever the sixteen peers of Scotland, or a majority of them,

"should be opposed upon some English object, that the carrying of the English object shall be prevented by the peers of Scotland?"—the answer would instantly have been, "No; there is a provision for such a case as that; there is the power of the King to make sixteen new peers." Without an understanding of this kind, the Union with Scotland would have been totally impracticable and unreasonable; no man durst have proposed it; no man would have submitted to it: the existence of the Union is evidence of the existence of the right.

If it should be asked whether peers will be created to support the peers of Scotland in resistance to Scotch Reform, the answer is, that the necessity of Scotch Reform is conceded on all sides. The parallelism of the case is a *non est inventus*. Of the Irish representative Peers, the most moderate, conciliatory, and tranquilizing thing that can be done or said, is to point to their names and ask them, whether it is not the boast and glory of the greater part of them, that they were selected for their personal merits and capabilities in support of one side of the great question now at issue; and whether they can in honour aver, that in this light they are fair referees for the English people, without an equal number being put in on the other side. It may, in the actual circumstances of a country, be avowedly proper and expedient that the decision of a question should be referred to the ancient magnates of the land. But it never can be fair, that it should be referred to a portion of them selected by the influence direct or indirect of one of the parties at issue, without the other party having the opportunity at all events to put in an equivalent. It would be like deciding by a jury where a known portion of the jurymen had been nominated, it matters not how many years ago, by one of the parties to the case. If this portion cannot be removed, let the other side put in an equal number in its turn; and then there will be a chance that the remainder, who were neither put in by one side nor the other, will effect a fair decision. But

till this is done, it is plain that justice does not stand straight upon her legs. This last operation with a jury, if a case can be conceived where there should be no other resource, is what in the metaphor that has been facetiously put forth, would be called *swamping* a jury. It is left to the common sense of mankind, whether the proper phrase would not be, that it was *bringing it to an even keel*.

The claim, therefore, on the part of the people of the portion of the United Kingdom called England, is for the immediate neutralization of the Spiritual, Scotch, and Irish Lords, by the creation of *forty-two* more peers; and when this piece of naked, abstract justice has been performed, it will be time to debate the expediency or non-expediency of creating new Peers to carry a particular bill if required. There can be no mistake. What is advanced is, that till this is done, the English people labour under a denial of justice; and that where justice ends, and not before, the question of expediency begins. There is another claim, of smaller magnitude, but still of some; and that is, for an adjustment of the *promotions* in the Peerage since 1792. The balance consists of 2 Marquesses to be raised to Dukes, 3 Earls to Marquesses, 5 Viscounts to Earls, and 3 Barons to Viscounts, due to the popular side. The people have therefore a right to expect, that promotion to this amount should be held over the heads of the peerage, as to be conferred *after* the passing of the Bill. If the peerage is inaccessible to considerations of this nature, there is no harm done; and if it is not, the people only claim a balance *in futuro*, for what has been bestowed on the other side already.

If the opponents of the bill should represent, that it is a shocking thing to treat the rewards of eminent services as if they were cotton or tallow,—and if (as in the persuasion ~~the~~ the result would be in their favour they would be likely enough to do), they should demand that the honours attached to great names in the military, naval, legal, and diplomatic or civil lines of service

should be struck out of the reckoning, the result would be to require the creation of one more Peer on the people's side, and in the promotions one Marquess to Duke *less* and two Viscounts to Earls and one Baron to Viscount *more*; a conclusion probably unexpected by either of the parties concerned,—and which might afford matter for meditation in various ways. It is evident that if the opponents push for this particular improvement, it will be conceded.

No hurtful precedent can be derived from such an adjustment; any more than from that created by a legal award. The precedent cannot take place, without the previous circumstances being repeated; and if it does, it ought. To resist such an adjustment on the ground of the inconvenience of increasing the number of the House of Peers,—would be a sacrifice of the greater interest to the less, like declining to take cognizance of a majority in the House, to save the trouble of writing down the names. If the reasonable, limited, and moderate demand for an adjustment is not acceded to, the people of England must sit down under the consciousness that their reform has been withheld because it displeased the Bishops and the Scotch and Irish peers; and because the Whig Ministry, for reasons known to itself, refused to go forward after being lifted to the top of the rampart on the shoulders of the people, and declined advising the exertion of the constitutional power provided for the case. Why an Administration which has hitherto led gallantly and been gallantly followed, should in this manner turn round when all the enemy's defences are at its mercy,—is what, if the case happens, time will show, and posterity assuredly inquire. The only conceivable excuse is, that the Ministry has not been asked, or not been asked sufficiently. *There is time left for the people to correct this want.* If they do not correct it, and effectually, in a fortnight,—the Reform Bill may be held to be withdrawn with the consent of the English nation.

A mode of arrangement that may

suggest itself to some, is that if the Bishops and Scotch and Irish Peers would agree not to vote, the necessity for creating Peers would be removed or reduced to something of inconsiderable amount; while any number of individual recusants might be balanced by creations as before. And it is not clear, that when we are told to shut our eyes and open our mouths and see what heaven will send us, some expectation of this nature is not at the bottom of the advice. To such a plan the objections are,—First, That there is no reason why the Whigs,—who though not the abstract idols of the people's worship, are undoubtedly more the friends of the people than the opponents of the bill,—should lose the advantage of permanently establishing a battery of forty-two peers upon the breach.

“*Hei mihi rusticitas, non pudor ille fuit.*”

Secondly, That such arrangements are sure to end in discontent and charges of misconduct on one side or the other; and, therefore, the wisest way is to use the power in hand, and court no arrangement for the comfort of the enemy. —Thirdly, That it would cut off the effect the creation of peers would produce in foreign countries; where the character of the English nation is at this moment traduced and villified, in a way which nothing but a vigorous movement can put an end to. —Fourthly, which is of vastly more importance than all the others together, That if it is not done, and that without delay, the people of England will conduct themselves as on the certainty of final disappointment, with all those evils to the country which are the necessary consequences. Give us our forty-two Peers, and then Ministers may take a month or two of recreation without danger; and the nation will be content to have reform when it can get it. The pretence that the Peers would reject the bill in revenge for their numbers being increased, is an invention of the enemy;—they would no more do it, than they would jump overboard to revenge being crowded in a steam-packet. Refuse it, and whatever may be the consequences, let

it be stipulated that one is,—that there shall be no ill-will against the people for believing, that as sure as man ever cheated woman, they are going to be deceived. The perils of delay are great and manifest. There never was a British sovereign to whom the people would more gladly say, “O King live for ever;”—but the King will not live for ever, and if he should die now, it would be hard that the nation should be deprived of the legacy of his good-will. The cholera may come, and put the people beside attending to their temporal concerns; which would be a perfect god-send to the opponents of the bill. The test is, whether the bill shall be anchored in safety now. If it is not, the plan is clearly that it shall be cast adrift.

There may be plain speaking in all this, but no man has ever suspected your Lordship of any of the qualities to which plain speaking is abhorrent. No apology therefore is required, in saying

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient  
humble servant.

October 19, 1831.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1831.

#### INSOLVENT.

MADDOCK, W., Portsea, coal-merchant.

#### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WALMSLEY, F., Parliament-street, lodging-house-keeper.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BOWER, G., Chipping Barnet, Hertfordshire, linen-draper.

COATES, W., Saint Martin's-lane, Charing-cross, woollen-draper.

DAVENPORT, T., Derby dealer and chapman.

FORREST, J., Bradford, Vorks., inn-keeper.

SPIER, J., Berkeley, Gloucestershire, wine and spirit-merchant.

TANNER, J., Little Russel-street, Covent-garden, cord-waiver.

TAYLOR, G. B., Liverpool, linen and woollen-draper.

TAYLOR, J. F., Cecil-st. Strand, wine-mercht.

TIDMARSH, G., Bow-street, Covent-garden, coffee-house-keeper.

UNDERWOOD, W. R., Coaley-mills, Gloucestershire, wrought iron and edge tool manufacturer.

WEST, J. G., late of Fornett Saint Peter,  
Norfolk, shopkeeper.

WILLIAMS, J., Pontypool, Monmouthshire,  
shopkeeper.

### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'GLASHAN, J., Edinburgh, wine-mercht.

SOUTER, J., and W. Reid, Edinburgh,  
builders.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1831.

### INSOLVENTS.

KEMPSTER, W. H., Kingston-on-Thames,  
Surrey, rectifier and wine-merchant

KNIGHT, T., Edgeware, Middlesex, victual;

### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

GIBSON, J., Northwich, Cheshire, victualler.

### BANKRUPTS.

BOOTH, W., late of Salford, grocer.

CATTLE, C., Whitley, Yorkshire, cattle-  
dealer.

COX, S., Bath, boarding-house keeper.

FOX, J., Gravesend, cheesemonger.

HARTER, T., Dudbridge Wharf, near Stroud,  
coal-dealer and wharfinger.

JONES, J., New-road, Whitechapel-road,  
stationer and rag-merchant.

LEWIS, L., late of Chelsea, now of Piccadilly,  
glass and china-dealer.

NEWMAN, R., Old Cavendish-street, Ca-  
vendish-square, victualler.

ROBERTS, C., Liverpool, miller.

RAWLING, J., Keltan Mill, Cumber. miller.

SANSUM, E., Oxford-street, straw-hat man.

SCOTT, T., Manchester, commission-agent.

SHAW, W., Huddersfield, victualler.

SKILBECK, G. J., and J. Slater, King-street,  
Cheapside and Manchester, warehousemen.

STRONG, R., Thomas-street, St. George's in  
the East, baker.

THOMAS, R., late of Glyn, Glamorganshire,  
cattle-dealer.

WEBSTER, T. H., Forebridge, Staffordshire,  
builder.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCTOBER 17.—Supplies, since this day's night of English, Scotch, and Irish wheat, as well as English malt, barley, beans, and peas, have been moderately good; of English flour (10,762 sacks), and foreign flaxseed (4,000 quarters), great; of foreign wheat, Scotch and Irish barley; Irish, Scotch, and foreign flour; as also oats, rye, and (with above exception) seeds from all quarters, but limited.

As this day's market was rather numerously attended by extensive buyers, the sellers were for a considerable time after its commencement stiff to advanced prices, which they were said to obtain, to the amount of about 1s. per quarter on small parcels of hay, fine wheat, oats, rye, and barley, but subsequently the trade became throughout dull, at nothing beyond last week's prices.

Wheat .....	52s. to 62s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	24s. to 32s.
— fine .....	32s. to 43s.
Peas, White .....	34s. to 36s.
— Boilers .....	33s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	34s. to 40s.
Beans, Old .....	35s. to 38s.
— Tick .....	37s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoo .....	26s. to 31s.
— Poland .....	25s. to 28s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 50s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new... 126s. 0d. to —s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new... 60s. 0d. to 65s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 96s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow .... 95s. to 98s.	
— Cork ..... 96s. to —s.	
— Limerick .. 96s. to —s.	
— Waterford.. 88s. to 92s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire... 60s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Single.. 48s. to 54s.	
— Edam ..... 46s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ..... 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish..... 42s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD—October 17.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great; of sheep, fat calves, and porkers, but limited. The trade with beef and pork was, on the whole, dull, at Friday's quotations; with mutton and veal brisk, the former at an advance of 4d., the latter 4d. to 6d. per stone. —The stock was of fair average quality. Beasts, 3,585; sheep and lambs, 16,500; calves, 169; pigs, 200.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 21.

The arrivals this week are good. Prices much the same as on Monday.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		81½	81½	79½	82½	82½	82

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Doitto ditto Waistcoats .....	12 0
Figured Silk ditto .....	18 0
Vegetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 74.—No. 5.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29TH, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## REFORM BILL.

Kensington, Sunday, 3rd October, 1831.

"THE *Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!*" Serious as the matter is, I cannot write the words *without laughing*; and laugh at them we shall, ten years hence, long after all these intrigues have been blown to air. But it is of vast importance that we be not, even now, made *dupes* of by the Ministers, or by any of the good men whom they and their agents may succeed in deceiving. That they do not *intend* to give us the *same bill* is now certain; that they *intend* to *alter* Schedules A and B is not less certain; and that they *intend not to give the 10s. suffrage in great towns* is as certain as either of the others. If this be so, are they worthy of our *confidence*? And, if it be *not so*, why do they *not say* that it is not so? However, let me here proceed with the *history of the intrigues*, which I, last week, continued down to the close of *Wednesday, the 19th*.

On THURSDAY there was a meeting of the county of SURREY, at EPSOM, where the proceedings were as follows, leaving out speeches. Mr. LEACH, a most respected country gentleman, moved the following address:—

"The Loyal and Dutiful Address of the Freeholders of the County of Surrey, to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, approach your Majesty with the most sincere expressions of affectionate attachment to your Royal person, and with the most heartfelt gratitude for the beneficent intentions of your Majesty to restore the ancient constitution of England. That, in com-

mon with all your-Majesty's good subjects, we have felt the severest disappointment at the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords; but we rely on your Majesty's wisdom and firmness to save us from the calamities of civil discord, by *continuing your confidence in your present Ministers*, and by affording them all the means which may be necessary to carry that great measure, *unimpaired in any of its essential principles* through your two Houses of Parliament.

"Your Majesty is ever ready to acknowledge that your Royal Family was called to the throne of these realms to protect us against the arbitrary and tyrannical principle of the house of Stuart, and your Majesty is invested by the constitution with certain great prerogatives to be exercised for the benefit of the state; and they can never be exercised so beneficially as in extinguishing political corruption, and destroying oligarchical tyranny. To your Majesty personally will then belong the immortal glory of having finally established and consolidated the liberties of your country."

I objected to this address upon two grounds; 1st, that it was *silent* upon the conduct of the *Bishops*, and, 2nd, that it called upon the King to confide in those Ministers who had broken their pledges, and who did not now intend to bring in the same bill that had been rejected. One can never fully recollect what one has said; but the following, as reported in the newspapers, is nearly the *substance* of what I did say; and I insert it, not because it has any thing fine in it, but because I wish *my predictions to be remembered*, and because I may have it to *read to the county another time*.

Mr. COBBETT expressed his belief that the sincerity of Mr. Leach was as pure as could be, for he had always entertained the highest respect for the integrity and good feeling of that gentleman; but, at the same time, he believed that the address he had moved contained some things which would have precisely the contrary effect to what that gentleman intended they should have. The requisition alluded to the bill that had been lately rejected, but the address spoke of that bill or some other one equally efficient. Now, "equally effi-

cient" might mean something or nothing. (A laugh, and "No, no.") Supposing you had a pretty girl, and some one was to take her from you, and say, "Oh, I'll give you one equally pretty," what would be your answer? (A laugh.) Why, to be sure, you would say, "Leave this one, for what the devil should you take her away for?" (A laugh.) Mr. Leech had commented on the conduct of the Bishops; and, indeed, that was a part of the substantive discussion for that day. The Bishops formed one portion of a body that took from the people a very large portion of their earnings (hear hear); and it was, therefore, fit that his Majesty should be reminded of the misconduct of these Bishops, and the great mischief which they had done to the people. The plain fact was just this: that if the Bishops had voted as they ought, the bill would have been carried instead of lost; the majority against the bill was 41; the Bishops that had voted against it were 21; and, therefore, if they had voted the other way, there would just have been a majority of one for the bill. (Cheers.) The whole failure, therefore, was to be ascribed to the bench of Bishops (hear, hear); and he, therefore, thought that their address to the King ought to remark upon this conduct of the Bishops; but Mr. Leech's address was entirely silent on that head. The great object of that address appeared to be to say to the Ministers, "We have the same confidence in you" "that we had before the bill was rejected." (Hear, hear, and a cry of, "So we have.") If that was their opinion, at least it was not his. (Oh, oh.) How did the matter stand? Lord Grey, when he brought in that bill, had said that he would stand or fall by it. He did not then say any thing about an equally efficient bill; and at the last meeting that they had held at that place, the freeholders of Surrey and their county members had pledged themselves to *the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.* (A voice, "And they have acted up to the pledge.") But Lord Grey had not fallen by the bill, which he ought to have

done; for if he had resigned his office on the Lords throwing it out, he would have been forced back again on the shoulders of the people—new peers must have been created—Parliament would have been prorogued for a week—and perhaps at this moment they would have been meeting in that very spot to return thanks for the carrying of the measure. (Cheers.) But instead of this, the Ministers were now talking of alterations and modifications. But, mind this, they would not tell the people what those alterations and modifications were to be; and could they believe—he did not—that Schedules A and B would be left unimpaired? (Hear, hear, and a cry of "We do.") He would be content with this test: if Mr. Denison and Mr. Briscoe, the county Members, would pledge themselves to abandon the Ministers if the new bill did not contain the Schedules A and B, he would withdraw his opposition. (Cheers.) But he knew very well that they would pledge themselves to no such thing. They knew as well as he did that Schedules A and B would not again be presented, unless the people bestirred themselves. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No.") Lord Grey, according to his own statement, would not recommend the creation of new peers. Then how, he should like to know, were the Ministers to carry the same bill with the same peers? (Hear, hear, hear.) Instead of the whole bill, it would be any thing but the bill; and would remind him of the manner in which he was served when he was a youngster. He remembered that he one day saw his mother with some bread and cheese; and when he asked for some, a carpenter, who was by, said, "Oh, yes, Billy, my boy, I'll give you some!" on which he took a piece of chalk out of his pocket, and chalked out for him on the table an imitation of some bread and cheese. (Laughter.) This was what it would be with the new bill; which would be no more like the old one than the chalk bread and cheese was like the real bread and cheese. (Laughter and applause.) He felt, that if he was to vote for Mr. Leech's address, he should

be voting for a falsehood. (No, no.) Yes, he said yes. (No, no.) Why did he say yes? Because he had no confidence in them; and because he knew that the Tories were more eager, if possible, than Lord Grey himself, that he should continue in office. (Loud cries of "Oh, oh!") The Tories knew that if they were to come in, there would be an end to the payment of taxes; while, on the contrary, as long as they had Lord Grey remaining in office, nothing of the sort would be heard of. (Hear, hear, and no, no.) There, then, he would remain. There would, probably, be a prorogation till February, or perhaps longer; then the bill would be sneaked in (loud cries of "No"); and after that, perhaps, there would be a second prorogation. The game that the Tories were playing with Lord Grey put him in mind of the manner in which the mother held up her baby when she saw her husband coming to attack her; she snatched it out of the cradle, and holding it before him, kept crying, "Ah, you brute, murder your own infant; do." (Laughter.) So it was that the Tories, holding up Earl Grey, cried out to the public, "What! not 'pay your own favourite the taxes; oh, 'to be sure you will!' silly knowing all the while, that as soon as Lord Grey got the money, it would make its way to them. (A laugh, and hear, hear, hear.) This, in his opinion, was the way in which the people were to be choused. (No, no.) Two months, however, would show who was right and who was wrong.

#### THE AMENDMENT.

"The Address and Petition of the Freeholders of the county of Surrey, in county meeting assembled, this 20th day of October, 1831.

"Most humbly sheweth—That we your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the freeholders of the county of Surrey, yielding to none in attachment to your Majesty's person and family, and in veneration for those laws whence your Majesty derives your kingly authority, deeply lament that, while we vainly would have made gratitude to your Majesty the sole subject of this address, a due regard to the safety and honour of our country, as well as of your Majesty's throne, compels us, as children to a tender father, to complain, that

another branch of the legislature has dashed from our lips the cup of peace, prosperity, and happiness, tendered to us by the paternal and gracious hand of your Majesty.

"Having, for many long years, seen an undoubted right of choosing our representatives daringly usurped; having been bereft of all that protection for our property which had been provided for by the laws of our fathers; having seen the usurpers of our rights take to themselves, or squander on their kindred or creatures, the incomes from our estates and the fruit of our toil; having seen them mortgage every inch of our country, every house, every tree, the sweat of our brow and even that of the child in the cradle; having endured from their merciless hands, burden heaped on burden; stripe following stripe, manacle added to manacle, the last always still heavier than the former; having felt them strip us, by degrees, of every attribute that distinguishes the free from the bond; having seen them, at last, reduce our once free and happy country to a state of poverty, misery, and crime, in which the world could recognise of England nothing but the name, and that name, instead of being our glory, having become our shame; thus brought, by this band of usurpers, to choose between the basest bondage and deadly civil strife; and, seeing your Majesty nobly step forward to rescue us from this sad alternative, to restore us to our rights, to redress our wrongs, to raise us from our degradation; what has been our indignation at seeing a hundred and ninety-nine persons, enriched and made great only by taxes extorted from ourselves, scornfully reject all our claims and supplications, and treat as nothing worth even the gracious and earnest recommendation of your Majesty! But, if language would fail us in endeavouring to give vent to our thoughts relative to the whole band, where shall we find word to express our feelings with regard to the conduct of those mitred enemies of our rights and our happiness, who, rolling in wealth and lodged in princely palaces by means drawn from our property and labour, and so exalted as the immaculate guardians of piety and virtue, have, by this, their vote, stamped the seal of their approval on scenes of drunkenness, fraud, corruption, subornation, and perjury more flagrant, more shameless, more teeming with abominations than were those, on the actors in which God, by the mouth of Jeh, pronounced, that 'the congregation of hypocrites should be desolate, and that fire should consume the tabernacles of belchery; more flagrant, more full of abomination than the acts of the apostate sons of Samuel, and yielding in point of wickedness to the deeds of none but that of Judas Iscariot himself!'

"Thus, finding the most bitter enemies in those whose calling and whose professed hatred of vice taught us to look for the warmest of friends, we have now no reliance but in the wisdom and the justice of your Majesty; and, most firmly relying on these, and on that



love for your faithful people which has been conspicuous in every act of your Majesty's reign, we humbly implore your Majesty so to exert your Royal powers as to insure the speedy passing of that bill which we deem the only means of restoring safety, peace, and harmony to this now suffering and troubled kingdom, and which blessing we shall the more highly prize as being the work of a Sovereign endeared to us by every tie that can bind to a gracious King a loyal, dutiful, and grateful people."

After this, Lord KING pledged himself most nobly to the *schedules*, and all the essential parts of the bill. The two county Members, after a good deal of *wriggling*, pledged themselves too; and, on that condition, I did not divide the meeting: I *withdrew* my amendment; but I held up my hand *against the address*, which expressed *confidence in the Ministers*.

While we were thus engaged at Epsom, the King was *proroguing the Parliament*, which he did by the following speech.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

1. "I am at length enabled to put an end to a Session of unexampled duration and labour, in which matters of the deepest interest have been brought under your consideration.

2. "I have felt sincere satisfaction in confirming, by my Royal Assent, bills for the amendment of the Game Laws, and for the reduction of taxes, which pressed heavily on the industry of my people; and I have observed with no less pleasure the commencement of important improvements in the law of bankruptcy, from which the most beneficial effects may be expected.

3. "I continue to receive the most gratifying proofs of the friendly disposition of Foreign Powers.

4. "The Conference assembled in London has at length terminated its difficult and laborious discussions by an arrangement unanimously agreed upon by the Plenipotentiaries of the Five Powers, for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, on terms by which the interests of both, together with the future security of other countries, have been carefully provided for.

5. "A Treaty founded on this arrangement has been presented to the Dutch and Belgian Plenipotentiaries, and I trust that its acceptance by their respective Courts, which I anxiously

expect, will avert the dangers by which the peace of Europe was threatened whilst this question remained unsettled,

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

6. "I thank you for the provision made for the future dignity and comfort of my Royal Consort, in the event of her surviving me, and for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the present year. You may be assured of my anxious care to have them administered with the strictest attention to a well-considered economy.

7. "The state of Europe has produced the necessity of an increased expenditure in the various establishments of the public service, which it will be my earnest desire to reduce wherever it can be done with safety to the interests of the country. In the mean time I have the satisfaction of reflecting that these demands have been provided for without any material addition to the public burdens.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

8. "In the interval of repose which may now be afforded you, I am sure it is unnecessary for me to recommend to you the most careful attention to the preservation of tranquillity in your respective counties.

9. "The anxiety which has been so generally manifested by my people for the accomplishment of a Constitutional Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, will, I trust be regulated by a due sense of the necessity of order and moderation in their proceedings. To the consideration of this important question, the attention of Parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing Session; and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement, by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full enjoyment of their respective rights, which, in combination with those of the other orders of the State, are essential to the support of our free Constitution."

When his Majesty had concluded the above Speech, the Lord Chancellor, from behind the Throne, declared, by his Majesty's command, that the Parliament would be prorogued till Tuesday, the 22d of November next, and it was prorogued accordingly.

The Prorogation is now for only one month, but as the words "for the despatch of business"

are not mentioned, another short Prorogation of fourteen days may be expected.

The attendance from the House of Commons was very numerous.

Look at paragraph 9, and then say *how much* of the "*whole bill*" they intend to propose! If RYDER's self had drawn up the speech, it could not have been in other words. But, before I proceed further let me insert the remarks of THE BALLOT on this part of the speech.

"The dissolution having taken place on the 22d of April, his Majesty once more addressed the assembled Parliament on the opening of the late session, on the 21st of June. What was said in this speech on the subject of reform?

"I have availed myself of the earliest opportunity of resorting to your advice and assistance after the dissolution of the late Parliament. Having had recourse to that measure for the purpose of ascertaining the *sense of my people* on the expediency of a reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that important question to your earliest and most attentive consideration."

"Thus did WILLIAM THE FOURTH again express his anxiety that the subject of parliamentary reform should receive the serious and attentive consideration of both Houses of Parliament. The '*sense of the people*' had been ascertained. The Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, and was carried in that House by a triumphant and overwhelming majority of the representatives of the people. It was then taken to the '*upper*' assembly,—to the House of Hereditaries and Bishops, where it was *rejected*, on the second reading, by a majority of forty-one. Dissatisfied with this result, his MAJESTY has prorogued the Parliament to the 22d of November, in order, as Ministers allege, to afford them *some relaxation* from their arduous duties, and to give them '*time for preparing a new bill equally as efficient as the last*'. Now, reformers, disappointed countrymen, mark you with deep-rooted attention, with solemn deliberation, the terms of the *Dissolution*-speech in June, as contrasted with the *Prorogation*-speech delivered on Thursday last. Attend to the language of

these speeches, and if *you be afterwards deceived by the professions of Ministers*, there is *no punishment too great for you*—no slavery too abject.

*Dissolution Speech, under the present Ministry, delivered June 21st.*

"I have been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the *sense of my people* on the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances may appear to require, which, founded upon the acknowledged principles of the constitution, may tend at once to uphold the *just rights and prerogatives of the crown*, and to give security to the LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE."

*Prorogation Speech, under the present Ministry, delivered October 20th.*

"To the consideration of this important question (Reform) the attention of Parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing session; and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to MY PEOPLE the full enjoyment of those rights which, in combination with those of the other ORDERS OF THE STATE, are essential to the support of our free constitution."

"What! '*Other orders of the State*'! Are Ministers so beaten by the Lords that they no longer look upon the Peers as forming a portion of the '*subjects*' of the King? But it would be infamous to quibble about phrases when the cause of freedom stands in such jeopardy; and as we would scorn to endeavour to deceive the public, so should we despise ourselves for concealing what we believe to be the truth, which is simply this—that the bill—THE PEOPLE'S BILL—is abandoned by the advisers of the crown. If a great change had not taken place in their minds upon the subject, why, we ask, should the speech just delivered contain the fearful phrase—"*In combination with the other orders of the State?*" However, our suspicion rests not on this isolated fact, strong and indisputable as it is,—for, have we not Earl GREY's more than unsatisfactory language to the deputies? Have we not a lengthened prorogation? Have we not an acknowledgment that a new bill, '*equally efficient*', is to be introduced? Are we not told by Ministers

that the hundred and ninety-nine are to be 'conciliated?' And, worse than all, are not Ministers perfectly silent upon the extent of the alterations which they intend to make in the *old bill*, as also upon the chief of the provisions which they may intend to introduce into their '*new bill*?' If the intended '*new bill*,' be as '*efficient*,' or, in other words, as beneficial for the *people* as the last, how can it be 'more acceptable to the *Lords*?' But it is a mockery of the understanding, and an insult to reason, to argue upon such a grossly absurd proposition. What then is to be done? We shall address you in the very words which Earl Grey himself addressed to the House of Peers in November last, when the Duke of WELLINGTON was Minister.—'You see the danger around you, the storm is yet but in the horizon. Begin, then, at once to strengthen your houses, to secure your windows, and to make fast your doors.' Such was the advice of our present noble Premier, when another noble Premier declared that the people of England should *not* have reform—should not freely elect those who were to make laws for them, and to tax them. Seeing how your late petitions have been answered by the Peers, *petition that House no more* until you are in the full enjoyment of your rights.—Debase not yourselves by soliciting your rights from men who hold you in the bondage of slaves. Assemble, however, deliberate and consult amongst yourselves, and as Parliament is appointed to meet on Tuesday the 22d of November, do you—the people of England—agree to meet on Monday, the 28th of November. Let the *whole* of the people of England assemble on ONE DAY—on *that day*—and address his Majesty, KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH, for a restoration of rights. Consecrate *one day* to the cause of national freedom. Nothing can be more easy of accomplishment—nothing more grand in the display—nothing more triumphant in the result. We earnestly entreat the reformers in every part of Great Britain and Ireland to take this measure into their immediate consideration, and to take such steps in their respective localities as may lead to the ex-

ecution of this simple yet magnificent design. If you cannot repose confidence in *your own* intentions and exertions, how can you have the folly to place reliance in the avowed intentions of men in office, upon whom a reform in the representative system of the country can confer no advantages? It is *you* who are to be benefitted—*you*, the tax-paying MILLIONS, and not the tithe-receiving and tax-devouring locusts."

In every word of this I agree. The prorogation is only till the 22nd of November; but the Parliament is then *not to meet for business*. There is to be *another*; and, if the people be lulled, another and another! All but *down-right fools* see this. I wound up the week with the three following letters:—

To the Editor of THE BALLOT.

SIR,—I should have inserted the following letter in the *Register*, if it had not reached me too late. Pray put it into *The Ballot*; for, it is of great importance that the whole of the circumstances connected with this affair should be made public as soon as possible.—MR. MASSARY told us at Epsom, yesterday, that the prorogation of Parliament would be to the *middle of January*; and the King's Speech tells pretty plainly, that we are *never again* to see *poor Schedules A and B*!—I am yours, &c.,

WM. COBBETT.

Holt-court, Oct. 21, 1831.

"To MR. COBBETT.

SIR,—You are right; the account of the deputation to Earl Grey, on Wednesday, the 12th, should have been made public the next morning, and had the business been in my hands, it should have been thus made public.

"The facts are these. Mr. Potter, of Marybonne, was in the Chair at the Crown-and-Anchor Tavern, and a friend of his officiated as secretary. The meeting appointed Mr. Carpus and Mr. Potter, to conduct the conference with Earl Grey, and the draughts of the memorial and the resolutions remained in the hands of Mr. Potter's friend. I fully expected to see them inserted in the newspapers next morning, but not seeing them, I wrote to Mr. Potter for

them, telling him I wished to have copies, that I might procure their insertion in the *Morning Chronicle*. In the evening, several gentlemen who had been on the deputation, met, but as neither Mr. Potter nor his friend attended, one of the deputation went to Crawford-street, saw Mr. Potter, and requested the papers, but he received for answer, that Mr. Potter, with two others of the deputation, intended calling on me, at my house, at eleven o'clock the next morning, the 14th. I therefore caused the whole of the seventeen to be summoned for that hour, but neither Mr. Potter nor any of the persons he alluded to came. In the afternoon, I received the memorial and the resolutions, and as no more time was to be lost, I gave them to Mr. Black, and read to him my account of the proceedings from the draught of a letter I wrote on the 13th, to a gentleman in the North, and this was the ground of his publication; it was necessarily brief, and not so well and correctly worded as it ought to have been.—Your obedient servant,

"FRANCIS PLACE.

"Charing-cross, Oct. 20, 1831."

TO MR. WAKLEY.

SIR,—Nothing can prevent, finally, and in a year or so, a "*radical* reform of the Parliament" (Charles Fox's own appellation) and consequent *cheap Government*; but there will be monstrous attempts to dupe the people along, and to keep it from them. My decided opinion is, that schedules A and B will be so altered in the new bill, as to leave a nice little sprinkling of boroughmongering; and I know that it is intended to take away the *ten-pound suffrage* in the great towns. Mind, I say that I know that *this* is intended; and thus goes all that made the bill worth anything. It will fail; but it is intended. *Political Unions* are useful, until *THE THING* gets hold of their leaders! Let the people beware of this danger: it is a very great one. Better not send "*deputies*" to talk with *THE THING*, unless you first prove their hearts to be cased with something to keep flattery

out, or unless you be quite sure that there is no *vanity* within.—Yours, &c.,

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt-court, Oct. 22, 1831.

To the Editor of the *MORNING CHRONICLE*.

Bolt-court, Oct. 21, 1831.

SIR,—As there are so many persons who in one form or another complain of, or censure, through your columns, my efforts to convince the people that the Ministers will not keep their pledges with regard to the Reform Bill, and that the "*confidence*" placed in them, as to this matter, is ill-founded, I hope it is not too much if I beg room for these very few words more upon the subject. We have now done with dispute as to the past, and are come to mere *matter of opinion* as to what the Ministers will now do; and I will not deal in vague expressions: I say, that if nothing *extraneous*, more than what we now behold, happen, until the new bill be brought in, *that bill will not contain schedules A and B*. Here is something specific. This is my opinion: you seem to hold an opposite opinion: time will soon decide between us; and, therefore, to time let us refer the decision.

I am your most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

As a sort of answer to this last letter, the editor of the *Chronicle*, in the same paper, has these words:—"Of the intentions of Ministers, we have already said, we entertain no doubt; but we cannot see our way as to the mode in which effect can be given to their intentions. We believe that a bill with Schedules A and B will be PRESENTED by Ministers, but beyond *this we know nothing*." Ah! "it was just here that poor Philomel gave up *the ghost*!" Presented! Aye, I'll bet my life that these schedules will be *presented* by them; and, further, that they will boldly insist, that A and B shall still stand at the head of the schedules; but, as to their contents, it will be our old baby-story:—A, apple; B, bit it, C out it, D divided it, and E eat it. It will still be "*Schedule A*," but that is all that it will have in common with the Schedule A of the bill.

Yet, how are these men to stop short ! How are they ever again to look the nation, or to look one another, in the face ! "I have," says Lady Macbeth ;

"I have given suck, and know How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me : I would, while it was smiling in my face, Have pluck'd my nipple from its boneless gums, And dash'd the brains out, had I but sworn As you have done to this !"

Poor Lord John will shudder at the thought of being pushed in this way ; and will, like a *repentant reformer*, yield to the voice of the 199 ; and so keep his place, and never more repeat his rash pledges. He will not, like the patriarch, require an angel from heaven to step in to save the devoted rotten boroughs from the fury of his patriotism. I wonder whether HE will bing in the *new bill* !

*Dayshot, Tuesday Morning, Oct. 23, 1831.*

On my way to Winchester, the *Morning Chronicle* overtook me here, last night, containing *grand news* indeed ! but rather *wanting confirmation*. However, I must, before I come to that and to the very close connexion that it appears to have with my own operations of last week, proceed with my history of the *Reform Bill*, and of the effects which the rejection of it has had upon the nation. Most of the great towns in the North have met and expressed their indignation against the *rejecting Peers*, and especially against the *Bishops*, the latter of whom the people have, in several places, burnt in effigy, and the proper persons of some of the former they have *roughly handled*. At BIRMINGHAM, at which place, and pretty close round it, there are a million of people assembled, and which spot is *precisely in the middle of England*, as well breadthways as lengthways, there was, on the 20th of October, a meeting of the people, for the purpose of addressing the King on the rejection of the bill, at which meeting the resolutions which I am about to insert were agreed to.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

BIRMINGHAM.—At a very numerous and highly respectable public meeting of the inhabitant householders of Birmingham and its

neighbourhood, held at Dee's Royal Hotel, and by adjournment, at Mr. Heardsworth's Repository, on Thursday, the 20th day of October, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of addressing his Majesty "to express their deep regret and bitter disappointment at the rejection of the Reform Bill in the upper House of Parliament," to declare their unabated confidence in his Majesty's enlightened patriotism, and in the zeal, wisdom and firmness of his confidential advisers, and to express their earnest hope that all constitutional measures will be employed for the speedy accomplishment of an object so essential to the peace and welfare of the country.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. That this meeting views with disappointment, indignation, and alarm, the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, who, in this exercise of legislative functions, held by them in trust for the people, have endangered all the institutions of the State, and the whole fabric of society.

2. That relying upon the *public acts, pledges and declarations of his Majesty's Ministers*, this meeting reposes a firm confidence in their integrity, and trusts that they will speedily adopt such measures as may allay the present distracted and anxious state of the public mind, and remove those elements of political, commercial and financial derangement which must otherwise, ere long, prove fatal to the best interests of society.

3. That no measure of Parliamentary reform, in which the great principles of *disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and right of voting*, are confined within more restricted limits than those recognized by the late Reform Bills, will satisfy the just claims and expectations of the people, or restore the true principles of the British Constitution.

4. That this meeting, placing entire confidence in the wisdom, patriotism, and firmness of his Majesty, is satisfied that he will *exercise the prerogatives* with which he is invested by the Constitution, in such manner as shall most effectually promote the success of a measure essential to the peace and happiness of his people.

5. That in the opinion of this meeting the systematic opposition of nearly the whole Corporation of Lords Spiritual to the Constitutional rights of the people—of those who voted against the bill and those who absented themselves—their rooted attachment to corrupt and corrupting institutions, and political disregard of the first principles of that Holy religion of which they claim to be pre-eminent—the ministers—have *justly deprived them of the national respect and confidence* ; and will ultimately be the means of *depriving them of their legislative functions*.

An address to the King, consonant with these resolutions, was, of course,

agreed to. The main topics of interest here are, the *confidence expressed in the Ministers*; and the *sentiments relative to the Bishops*. The former is guarded very much by coupling it with a reference to the *pledges* given by the Ministers; and, in fact, founding the confidence upon the supposition, that those pledges will be *adhered to*. It is, in fact, a *conditional* confidence; but it is quite confidence enough! The meeting was not, however, content to leave the King to suppose that they were content with a bill "*quite as efficient*:" they say, "No measure in which the great principles of *disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and right of voting*," do not remain the same, will satisfy them. This is very material; and it is worthy of the imitation of every other meeting. However, as to *confidence in the Ministers*, Mr. PARKES, in his speech, seems to have cautioned his townsmen *against being deceived*. These were his words, and they are well worthy of attention:—"He would not," he said, "be a party to delusion; he would not longer conceal his real fears that the country and the Reform Bill laboured under almost insurmountable difficulties. The House of Lords consisted of 421 peers, and 199 voted against the second reading of the bill; 158 voted in favour; 64 peers did not vote at all; of the latter number 20 might be absentees, insane, and minors. Therefore, there were 40, certainly, disaffected to the bill, who did not vote. Now it was notorious that, of the minority, many peers voted for the second reading who were inimical to the principle of the bill, and who would have opposed its details in Committee. Thus, in fact, only about one-fourth of the peerage was sincerely in our favour. Deny this gloomy fact who may, deceive the people in hiding it who might, he (Mr. Parkes) would not be a party to the delusion. How was such a critical situation to be overcome? Would intrigue, corruption, fear, conviction—would any other causes or motives operate in the short interregnum of the prorogation, to reduce this formidable majority of

"their opponents? Would they not be emboldened by their impunity? Would they not again combine and intrigue when Parliament again assembled? Would not the bill be again thrown out, or more probably be smothered or torn in pieces, and rendered useless in Committee? (Cheers.) He again repeated that he would not delude the people. There were but two modes of carrying this measure—by constitutional means, or by means not strictly constitutional; in other words, he told them it could only be carried by more peers or fewer. (Loud cheers.) He repeated, that he conscientiously believed that they would do the like again, unless their numbers were increased. If new peers were not made, he solemnly warned the House of Lords that it was *'the last time of asking'*. He solemnly warned the Government, if it had not the energy to make the change in the representation required by the people

This is *sense*. It is evident that there is no other way of carrying the bill. There must be a change made in the persons who are to vote; or it is impossible to carry the same bill; and, we clearly see, that this gentleman is suspicious, that no such change will be made; and well he may; for if it be intended now, why was not the change made on the 10th or 12th of October, and all this turmoil prevented? I ask, why the change was not made then? And if I be told, that the Ministers' hearts were good, but that they wanted the power; that they found at Windsor people too strong for them; what reason is there to suppose that they possess the power now? Mr. PARKES was, therefore, very right in cautioning the people against being deluded into confidence in the Ministers, until they know that they not only can, but will, make a new creation of Peers. And the people know that Lord GREY told the parochial deputies that there would be no new creation of Peers. There is no getting out of this; and it is delusion to talk of confiding in men for the doing of a thing, when they tell you that they will not

make use of the *only means* by which that thing can be done.

The 5th resolution (relating to the *Bishops*) is the *echo* that fills the country. They cannot now stand as they are. One thing, at any rate, the bill would have done; it would have put an end to a greater mass of *drunkenness, lying, fraud, bribery, corruption, and false-swearing*, than ever existed before in the whole world; and these men voted against, and actually prevented, the adoption of this measure! That is enough: we need go no further with regard to their conduct. They had nothing to do with the *policy* of the measure: it was the mass of *sin* that the bill would have, and *must* have, put an end to, that they ought to have had in their eye. They might think, and think rightly, that the bill would take away a large part of their worldly wealth; make them live in modest mansions instead of palaces; make them drive a gig instead of a coach and six; but what was that to men who had vowed at the altar, that they *believed themselves called by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the care of souls*, and who had also vowed to cast *aside all love of worldly treasure*? In short, their case is now desperate: the conduct of the clergy in the case of *MORRIS CLARKE AND THE DUKE OF YORK*, and in the case of poor *QUEEN CAROLINA*; these were two heavy blows; but this last blow is the finisher. They will never recover this blow which they have given to themselves. The *REFORM BILL* would, to a certainty, have, in a short time, reduced them to something like moderate incomes; but *now* there will be no ceremony with them. Here was a proposition to put an end to a mass of wickedness such as the world never saw before; and here were 44 Bishops, the whole of whom all but *two*, either voted against it or abstained from voting for it; and if there ever were a case in which to apply the maxim, that *"he who is not for us is against us,"* this is that case. In short, we are all satisfied, that the loss of this bill, and all the turmoil which now exists, all the injury to business, all the breaches of the peace, all the fearful combinations, all the

dangers to property and to life, which now alarm the country; that all these are to be *ascribed wholly to the bishops*, to those who have vowed upon the altar that they will be ever watchful to promote godliness and peace! Therefore, for them, now, to expect forbearance on the part of a people driven to half madness by their sufferings and by their despair, would be presumption equal to any other part of their conduct and characteristics. Expect, or expect not, however, no forbearance will they receive; so that to that they may make up their minds.

*Basingstoke, Tuesday morn, 25th October.*

I now come to the *grand news* in the *Chronicle*, which I mentioned in my article of this morning; and here it is, taken from the *Chronicle* of yesterday, (Monday, 24th October.) "It is with the greatest satisfaction that we now state, on the best authority, that there is no foundation for the belief in the postponement of the meeting of Parliament to January. It will meet, at the very latest, on the 1st of December; and the bill will then be brought in. If the Ministers were to make any change, it would be to make it more *democratical*. But they will bring in *their bill*." Indeed! Mind, this is the whole of the paragraph, which paragraph is placed in the most conspicuous part of the paper, and in that sort of type which is used when the editor is desirous that the writing should attract particular and *great attention*; when he is desirous that it should be read by every-body; and that it should *produce effect* on the mind of every reader: and *effect* this paragraph will produce! Here is a change *all of a sudden*! I will not refer to the report of the *Parochial Deputies* of the conversation of Lord GAZZ with them on the night of the 19th of October; I will not refer to Mr. MANSFIELD's statement at the Surrey Meeting, that the prorogation would be till the *middle of January*; but I will refer to the speech of Lord GAZZ himself, made in the House of Lords, on Monday, the 17th instant, and the report of which was inserted in the last *Register*, p. 204.

Nay, I will not refer to it, but I will insert it here; for it is proper that we should have the words constantly before us, for some time to come. It is *his* explanation of what took place between him and the PAROCIAL DEPUTIES; and here it is:—"I said nothing of any period of adjournment. I said nothing of a prorogation of Parliament to the end of January" (*till after Christmas was the statement*)—"I said nothing of time—I reserved to myself the power to exercise my discretion on the advice. I should give on that subject, and I think I have a right to claim from the public, for my colleagues and myself, whether that time form a long or a short one, whether it prove of the usual length or less—that we have taken that course which we think most conducive to the accomplishment of that object which we, as well as the public, most anxiously desire. With respect to the Reform measure itself, I said there could be no question that *some alterations were necessary*—that it would be our duty to consider what those alterations were to be; but I repeated what I had said before, that I never would be a party to the recommendation of any measure not *founded on the same principles* as that which had been rejected, and *as effectual for the accomplishment of the objects which it was declared to have in view*. (Hear, hear.) These were the expressions I used, except that when the Deputies intimated in strong terms their fears for the continuance of the public tranquillity, I told them the Government expected that they and every one should use their utmost efforts to repress disturbance and enforce obedience to the laws; and that I trusted their exertions would be effectual, and that the Government would not be driven to the painful necessity of using the powers with which they were entrusted to preserve the tranquillity by force. These were the sentiments I uttered, and I trust, as I said before, that whatever may be the length of the prorogation, the people

"will do us the justice to believe we have adopted the course most conducive to the public welfare, and in our judgment most likely to promote the object we have before us."

Well, now! Here we have his own confession that he told the DEPUTIES that the prorogation would be till "AFTER Christmas"; here we have his own confession, that he told them, that there was "no question" that "SOME ALTERATIONS in the bill would be necessary." But now the editor of the *Chronicle* tells us, that he has "*the best authority*" for asserting that, at the latest, the Parliament will meet again on the *first of December*! Here is a change. "Oh! infirm of purpose!" The first of December is not till after Christmas; and, observe, it is only eight days after the 22d of November, to which day the Parliament stands prorogued; and the ministerial paper, the *Courier*, told us, on the evening of the prorogation, that after the 22d of November, there would be a further prorogation of *fourteen days at the least*! Again, who will believe that Mr. MASSARY did not go to the Surrey meeting, not only authorized, but requested, to prepare the country for a long prorogation? Who will believe that? I ask the reader whether he can believe that Mr. MASSARY would have named the *middle of January*, if he had not been requested to do it, and requested, too, by the Ministers themselves. What, then, can have been the cause of this sudden change?

But there is something still more important in the news thus communicated to us by Dr. BLACK; namely, that we are again to have "THE BILL!" That is to say, the *same bill*, and none of your "*quite as efficient*." Very different is this from what the Doctor (as we have seen above) said on *Saturday*; for then, he "*believed*, that the ministers had "*good intentions*, and that they would "*present a bill with schedules A and B in it*, but that *beyond that he would say nothing*." Now, then, as to the *authenticity* of the Doctor's grand news. The Doctor is an honest fellow and a sincere reformer, and his diploma is,



perhaps, the only one that has been worthily bestowed, in this country, since George the Third got upon the throne. Therefore, if he deceive us, he is assuredly deceived himself. Nor is he a man to trust to a mere rumour, or to any goose-gabble coming to him at third or fourth hand. I believe that he has received his information from an authentic source, and that, on Sunday night last, the intentions of the ministers were such as he describes them to have been. What may be their intentions next Sunday night, he must be a bold prophet that will venture to say.

But, upon the supposition that the Doctor's news is correct, what can have been the cause of this sudden change? That is a grave question, and more interesting than it is grave. I have no doubt but my incessant goodings, during the last week, beginning with the announcement at Guildhall, have had some effect. The Surrey-meeting, which the Ministers know I might have divided on the question of confidence in them, must have made them see the gulph that was opening before them. Nothing is more certain, than that the country has been ruined in its trade and agriculture, that hundreds of thousands of families have been ruined, *only because I had pointed out the way to prevent that ruin*; only, in fact, for the purpose of falsifying my predictions; and, most assuredly, the Whigs are not less disposed than the Tories were to indulge in this amiable and high-minded propensity, for doing which I had now afforded them so fine and fair an opportunity, they overlooking, most likely, the circumstance, that the predictions were, in this case, made with the most earnest prayer that they might be falsified. However, it is rather too much to suppose, that they would make this sudden and all important tack merely for the purpose of making me out a false prophet.

Oh, no! There was something more than this: they saw that the cry of confidence in them was slackening; they saw that it would soon be dropped altogether; they saw that all was becoming suspicion as to their sincerity; they

saw, in short, that they must push on, or that the people would soon begin to believe, that the whole affair had, from first to last, been a juggle to deceive them, to dupe them along, and to cheat them out of reform altogether. And what were the people to believe other than this, after the volunteer offer of the Lord Chancellor to "*reconsider*" the Bill, and particularly that part of it which related to the *ten-pound suffrage in great towns*? After this, what were the people to believe? Now, however, we are told, that, if any changes be introduced into the Bill, it will be for the purpose of making it *more democratical* than it was before! What a change is here! For my part I can hardly believe my eyes.

I shall here stop for the present, with regard to the *history* of the affair. Something new may reach me before night. But, I cannot dismiss this subject even now, without warning the Ministers how they attempt to touch, except for the purpose of extending, the suffrage of the working people, who have all as clear a right to votes as the 10l. renters have; and who all not only ought to have votes, but that their having votes would be an alteration beneficial in the end to the aristocracy themselves. There is something so unjust and so insolent in calling upon a man to pay taxes and to serve in the militia, and, at the same time to tell him that he has no stake in the country, and, therefore, ought to have no vote, that one's blood boils at the very thought of it. What, then, having been ready, for the sake of pence, to give way here for the present, must be our indignation at perceiving that there is a project for cutting off four-fifths of even the ten-pound voters! For my part, if I had to choose between schedules A and B and the ten-pound voters, if I must give up one or the other, I should not hesitate a moment in giving up the former, though Lord Brougham is so very ready to reconsider the bill as to the latter! However, this is a subject that demands a more elaborate discussion; and that discussion it shall have from me next week. In

the meanwhile, let the Ministers remember that they were repeatedly told by some of the best-informed and some of the most opulent men from Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, that they would rather have no reform at all, than see the *suffrage fixed higher than at ten pounds!* Indeed, no election, not even with the ballot, could be carried on with a higher suffrage. The electors must be *cased in iron*, and their houses made *bomb-proof*. The suffrage is too high as it is. To be a man, *living by his labour*, is quite title enough: but, when the people had consented to *try the ten-pound suffrage*, to attempt to chouse them out of even that, would be an act of perfidy meriting reprobation not to be adequately expressed. However, it will not be: the attempt would throw all into confusion; and it would be protested against by the *opulent* men, in the great towns in particular, who, for the sake of their own safety, would vehemently protest against such an alteration in the bill.

### CITY-COCK.

THIS brazen, vain, and double-dealing fellow seems, at last, to have brought himself completely down. The impudence of this fellow, to talk about "*sacrifices*," beats all, except that of ONE OTHER, who also talks about his *sacrifices*, who, when he commenced the trade "*patriot*," did not, in the whole world, possess the worth of a bunch of cat's-meat.

*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

SIR,—Although I have taken no part whatever in the contest for the Mayoralty, and have kept out of town the greater part of the time, to avoid, if possible, all communication upon the subject, my privacy and my non-interference have not, however, protected me from continued misrepresentation; and the most unfounded statements and insinuations have been made, in my absence, upon the hustings. How well those persons who are calling themselves friends of reform are thereby serving the cause, and how well they are aiding it by maligning the man who, however feeble his powers, has devoted forty years of his life in its support, at an immense sacrifice to himself and his family, I will leave

to others to determine. I confess I cannot see how the cause of reform can be promoted by such conduct; and by dividing its friends, abusing those who had been its unvarying advocates under all circumstances, in all dangers, through good report and through evil report, and, when they have no other adversary to contend against, to conjure one up, and fall foul of each other. Among these are many mistaken individuals; and although the motives of some are sufficiently known, I should be sorry to impute to all the like motives. For myself, I can say, I did not embark in the cause in a *smooth sea*, or with a "*summer's gale*." I have had torrents, nearly overwhelming, to contend against; while some of those intrepid champions who now assail me, could not face the storm. I cannot, however, be dismayed by them: if I have contended with giants, I am not to be scared by a pigmy. There are matters which ought, and which soon may be publicly developed; but I shall here pass them over, and trouble you with a simple statement, which will serve to show how unfounded their representations have been. Previous to Michaelmas day last, and when no such thought or expectation had crossed my mind, I was applied to, and informed that it was intended to *put up my name in nomination with the Lord Mayor*, but it was first wished that it might be ascertained whether I would, if elected, take or decline the office. My answer at once was, that I would in no way interfere or lend myself to any party—that I would make *no declaration* or enter into any compromise; but would endeavour, under any circumstances, to maintain my own character and consistency. I made precisely the same declaration to other applications. This, it was intimated, was not satisfactory, and that they probably might put up Alderman Thorp, although they would prefer me. I acted upon this occasion as Alderman Combe had done before me, where, in a private letter to me, he concludes in these words:—"Every one must be satisfied that my name is made use of by the parties for their own purpose, and with a total disregard to me." It was through a particular friend of mine that the first application was made, and I made to him a similar observation. A poll has, it seems, been demanded for me; but I did not know until to-day, by the papers of yesterday, by whom. Their names are new to me, and I do not know that I have ever seen them, nor have I had, during the election, any communication with Sir Peter Laurie or any of his friends. Among those who have unjustly taken a freedom with my name is Mr. Stevens, of Bishopsgate. This person is reported to have said, in allusion to me, that "for his part he should not be able to walk through the streets of London if he were in the situation of the worthy Alderman." How this Mr. Stevens has dared to show his face to the *livery* of London is a matter of amazement to all who recollect his conduct towards me at the election for Chamberlain, and the ex-

position I then made of his *unprincipled* conduct. I thought I had demolished him, but it appears that I had only scotched the snake—not killed him: he is himself again. This very Mr. Stevens had on divers occasions drawn up, moved, seconded, or supported, *more than twenty votes of thanks to me for my public conduct*, in some of which it had been declared “that I was entitled to the lasting gratitude of my fellow-citizens.” This gentleman evinced his “lasting gratitude” by turning round upon me, at the only moment that had ever occurred where he could have shown it, and supported Sir James Shaw, against whom I had formerly moved a vote of censure, which had his support; and after this conduct he presumes to talk of *consistency* and public principle! Had this been all—had his conduct ended here, I should have passed him over in silence, but he must thrust himself forward upon the hustings to calumniate me in my absence, which he would not have dared to have done in my presence. Let him, however, be aware how he meddles with *my reputation*—let him look after his own, if it be worth looking after.

Sir, I feel most deeply how much the cause of reform has been injured by such a meddler; and all the efforts of his life, past and to come, can never atone for the injury he has done; and in vindicating my own conduct from foul aspersions, I feel that I am performing more of a public duty than an act of justice to myself. Public character is public property; I hope I shall preserve mine; but no one shall, with impunity, attempt to rob me of it.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
R. WALTHAM.

Reigate, October 16.

#### MR. STEVENS'S ANSWER.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—In noticing the remarks made upon my conduct by Mr. Alderman Waltham, anger becomes entirely absorbed in a feeling which for me to name would only tend further to excite the irritability of a man whom I have for many years respected for his political consistency, and whom on all occasions I have supported as long as he remained consistent. At the present election, when the Court of Aldermen had, by a majority of three, placed themselves in hostility to the wishes of the Livery, I confidently calculated on the zealous support of Alderman Waltham; is it astonishing, then, that I should feel disappointed, together with thousands of my brother Liverymen, that the man whose reputation was built upon his *upholding their rights* should, by his conduct, place himself in a situation to *violate their rights* and his own reputation at the shrine of personal vanity? I felt all this, and knowing the value of consistency of conduct, I did on the hustings conclude, “that for my own part, viewing the

matter as I did, I should be unable to walk through the streets of London, if I had, by my conduct, placed myself in such a situation as the worthy Alderman.” This was my feeling, and I had a right to state it. What the worthy Alderman’s feelings may be I do not pretend to know; and be it remembered, that these remarks were uttered at the conclusion of an explanation, called for by the ambiguity with which Alderman Waltham alluded to the deputation which waited upon him at Reigate, and of which I was one.

The worthy Alderman states, “This very Mr. Stevens had on divers occasions drawn up, moved, seconded, or supported, more than twenty votes of thanks to me for my public conduct, in some of which it had been declared that I was entitled to the *lasting gratitude* of my fellow-citizens.”

To this he might have added, I had contributed to the purchase of a piece of plate, presented to the worthy Alderman on his retiring from public life; that I also enrolled my name at all times as a subscriber to defray the expenses of Alderman Waltham’s elections for Member of Parliament for the city of London, and spent days and weeks on those occasions in promoting his interests. All this I did because I thought the worthy Alderman entitled to the lasting gratitude of his fellow-citizens so long as he continued to *advocate those rights, and no longer*.

In return, he has upon many occasions expressed his gratitude to me for those exertions; and so far, I confess, I think the account may be balanced—but *gratitude* appears to have a different definition in the mind of the worthy Alderman—nothing but pecuniary emolument or solid pudding seems to haunt his imagination; and because I did not support him for the office of Chamberlain of the City, which he declares to be the only moment in which I could have shown my gratitude, I am to be honoured with his abuse. I felt it my duty to vote for the man I thought best qualified to fill the vacant office. Sir James Shaw, in my estimation, was a fitter man than Robert Waltham; and I voted accordingly. I will never allow my political bias to influence me on such an occasion. In allusion to this event, the vituperation of Alderman Waltham knows no bounds. I am a “*make scotched but not killed*”—I am “*unprincipled and inconsistent*”—a meddler, who can never atone for the injury he has done.” I feel for the disappointed hopes of such a man, but in my conscience I could not vote for him as Chamberlain of the City of London. Mr. Alderman Waltham wonders how “*I dare thrust myself forward*.” My answer is, that I have done my duty conscientiously, and the Livery appreciate that conduct; and that when the worthy Alderman thinks it savours of daring to oppose him, or expose his inconsistencies, he forms the most preposterous opinion of his own importance. He certainly was not present when I presumed to mention his name, nor was I when Mr. Alderman

Waithman took the liberty to interfere with my right of voting on the election of Chamberlain. In both cases, I presume, it was unintentional, as I cannot calculate that Alderman Waithman had any fear of facing William Stevens; and I am sure that any dread of expressing my opinion in the presence of Alderman Waithman, is too ridiculous to require any comment. Calumny I abhor. What I stated on the hustings was true—and I am ready to prove every word I uttered. I will conclude in his own words—“Let him, however, be aware how he meddles with my reputation—let him look after his own, if it be worth looking after.”

I remain, yours very respectfully,  
W. STEVENS.

Bishopgate Within, Oct. 17, 1831.

### LAKENHEATH PETITION.

To the Right hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, the humble petition of the several persons whose names are hereto subscribed, being respectively owners and occupiers of land situate within the parish of Lakenheath, in the county of Suffolk,

SHewETH,

THAT the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral church of Ely are in right of their said Church, and by virtue of a grant from the Crown, possessed of the appropriate Rectory of Lakenheath aforesaid, which formerly belonged to the Prior and Convent of Ely, and the said Dean and Chapter are also the patrons of the Vicarage of Lakenheath, and are likewise in the possession of a very extensive Manor, and a very large landed estate in the said parish, which also belonged to the said Monastery at the time of its dissolution.

THAT there is within the said parish a considerable tract of land called Lakenheath Fen, containing 5000 acres, or thereabouts, which was also part of the possessions of the said monastery, and the same is now vested in your petitioners and divers other persons; and the said Dean and Chapter in particular are the possessors of about six hundred acres thereof.

THAT from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, no tithes have ever been paid for the said Fen in any one single instance, nor did either the Rector or the Vicar of the said parish ever set up any claim to such tithes until the year 1806, when the Lessee of the said Dean and Chapter instituted a suit in Chancery, and obtained a decree against some of the occupiers, but the defendants appealed from the said decree, and the same has never been carried into execution; and that whilst the said Chancery suit was still pending, a second Chancery suit was brought by another Lessee of the said Dean and Chapter, but such second suit was

abandoned after it had been depending for several years.

THAT in or about the year 1820, the Vicar of the said parish, caused a suit in Chancery and five several actions at Law to be commenced for the recovery of tithes of hay arising within the said Fen, and four of the said actions were set down for trial before Mr. Baron Graham and a Special Jury, in the year 1821; but a verdict having been found in the first action in favour of the occupiers, the Vicar declined to proceed to a trial of the three remaining actions, but in the following year, 1822, he caused two of such actions to be tried before Lord Chief Baron Richards, and recovered a verdict in each action; the said verdicts were, however, afterwards set aside by the Court of King's Bench, and a new trial directed to be had in one of such actions, in order to determine the right; and a new trial was accordingly had before Mr. Baron Garrow, in the year 1823, and a verdict was returned for the Vicar, but such verdict was also set aside and a third trial of the said action directed by the Court of King's Bench, and such third trial took place before Mr. Justice Gaselee, in 1825, when the jury returned a verdict in favour of the defendant the occupier, and such verdict has never been disturbed.

THAT after seventeen years of incessant and harassing litigation, during which nearly 5000*l.* were expended by the owners of the Fens lands in defending the said suits, and more especially after the said verdicts in their favour, your petitioners hoped that no further suits would be brought for tithes of the said Fen; and so confidently was such hope entertained by the defendants in the said suits, that they remitted and gave up to the said Vicar, the whole of their taxed costs in the said actions; amounting to several hundred pounds, besides the costs in the said chancery suit.

THAT your petitioners have nevertheless been credibly informed, that the said Dean and Chapter have lately made a concurrent lease of the said rectory, to Mr. Hugh Robert Evans, of Ely, their solicitor and confidential agent, and the steward of their manor, with an express covenant or condition, that he shall proceed at law or in equity for the recovery of the tithes of the said Fen; and the said Mr. Evans threatens and intends to sue for such tithes, after the determination of the present lease, which will expire at Michaelmas next.

THAT your petitioners are advised and are fully persuaded that the said Fen is lawfully exempt from the payment of tithes, and they have every reason to expect that the said intended suit will be successfully defended; but your petitioners have learned from long experience, that whatever may be the result of such suit, it will be attended with a most enormous expense and infinite vexation and inconvenience; and they therefore feel it to be their duty to complain to your right honourable House,

of the state of the existing law, which enables a rector who has never been in the possession of the tithes of the land in question to put your petitioners to the expense and hazard of proving that their exemption has subsisted ever since the time of legal memory, whenever he may think that a favourable opportunity presents itself of making that experiment.

That the hardship of the case of your petitioners is very materially aggravated by the circumstance that the said Dean and Chapter themselves claim and enjoy an absolute exemption from tithes in respect of all their lands in the said parish, and that such exemption rests upon the very same legal foundation as that of which they threaten to deprive your petitioners; and it is notorious that by reason of such exemption the farmers and tenants of the said Dean and Chapter have never paid any tithes to the Vicar of the said parish from time immemorial; and, moreover, when copyhold lands lying within the said Fen have been sold, the said Dean and Chapter, in setting the arbitrary fines which are payable to them as Lords of the Manor upon such alienations, have valued the said lands as tithe free, and have compelled the purchasers to pay their fines according to such valuation.

That your petitioners further beg leave to represent to your right honourable House, that if the said Dean and Chapter should succeed in establishing their claim to the tithes of the said Fen, your petitioners will not only be liable to very heavy costs, but they will be stripped of property which has been purchased for a valuable consideration, which has been transmitted from father to son for several generations, and which has been made the subject of wills, family settlements, and various incumbrances, contracts, and legal engagements; and that, moreover, a considerable sum of money will be annually carried out of the said parish, which is already exhausted by taxes and poor-rates as to be incapable of finding money sufficient for the due employment of the labouring poor, and that by such means the poor's rate will be increased, and the parish still further impoverished, merely for the purpose of increasing the wealth of a very rich ecclesiastical body, who bear no part of the heavy drainage taxes imposed upon the said fen; who keep no hospitality in the said parish; who do not in any respect minister to the spiritual wants of the said parish; and who, as your petitioners have good reason to believe, will not apply the said tithes to those religious and charitable purposes to which tithes are properly applicable, but will convert the same wholly to their private use and benefit; and in support of that assertion, your petitioners conceive it to be their duty to state to your right honourable House, that the said Dean and Chapter, besides the profits of their large landed estate in the said parish, are now in the possession of other tithes arising on the highland parts of the said parish to a considerable amount; and that another portion of

such tithes belongs to the vicar, who resides upon another benefice of which he is incumbent; and that the spiritual duties of the said parish of Lakenheath, which contains a population of more than a thousand persons, are performed by a curate, who has a family of ten children, and receives only a scanty stipend of 75*l.* per annum.

That the exemption from tithes which is enjoyed by your petitioners, is founded on prescription; and that the particular grievances complained of by your petitioners in respect of the law of the subject, are occasioned by the protracted period of the time of legal memory, and by the maxim, *nullum tempus occurrit ecclesie*, whereby your petitioners are compelled to show the existence of their exemption from the first year of King Richard the First, which is nearly six hundred and fifty years from the present time, and are also compelled to prove that their land belonged to one of the greater religious houses, and were held by such house from time immemorial until the dissolution thereof, free from the payment of tithes. And your petitioners humbly submit that the power of making so strict and grievous an inquisition into the rights which anciently belonged to the estates of your petitioners, and of making them account for their titles from so remote a period, which is every day rendered more difficult by the lapse of time, is contrary to every rule of equal justice, and ought no longer to be permitted to continue a part of the law of the land.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that an Act of Parliament may be passed for the purpose of barring the claims of the church against laymen in all cases in which the party suing is unable to prove actual possession and enjoyment of the subject in demand, within sixty years next before the commencement of the suit, or within such other moderate and reasonable period as may be thought a more suitable time of limitation.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

## HAMPSHIRE COUNTY MEETING.

Winchester, 25th Oct., 1831.

This meeting had been prepared by a combination of parties: first, some of the parsons, and some of the bitterest of the old Tories, as will appear by the names to the requisition, as published by the Sheriff, which names were as follows. But I must mention the other parties first. There were the Whigs, including the two new county Members, and Mr. Ferriess; there were the Barings, and the set belonging to them;

and then there was a knot of reformers, consisting of Mr. Henry Marsh and some others, who consent to be talked over by all the others, particularly by the Barings. The names of the requisitionists, as published by Sir Harry Tichborne, the High Sheriff, will show that this statement of mine is correct :—

J. Macdonald, M. P.  
C. S. Lefevre, M. P.  
G. P. Jervoise  
Charles Mill  
Thomas Baring, M. P.  
Richard Bineon  
A. Pargett  
John Bonham Carter, M. P.  
A. Atherley, M. P.  
H. B. Wither  
W. E. Nightingale  
R. Etwall, jun., M. P.  
E. Poulter, Clerk  
R. Carleton  
Charles Richards, Clerk  
Thomas Garner, Clerk  
W. H. Newbolt, D. D.  
James Weld  
George Atherley  
C. D. Isdell, Clerk  
J. Giffard  
William Grant  
James White  
Francis Ellis, Clerk  
John Ewer, Clerk  
L. B. Wither, Clerk  
John Duthy  
W. H. T. Hawley  
W. Iremonger  
W. Portal  
John Poutol  
Thomas Butler  
R. G. Richards, Clerk  
John Barker, Clerk  
J. O. Zillwood, Clerk.  
R. N. Lee  
James John Hugonin  
C. J. Hector  
Edward Carter  
P. Williams, Clerk  
William Higgins  
Henry Marsh

Here are Iremonger and Bigg Wither among the desperate old Tories. Here are the Carters, the Portals, amongst the old sap-headed Whigs. Here is Tom Baring, and Zillwood the Parson, lately chaplain to Governor Beckett, at the Castle of Winchester, that used to be called the Jail, and, in order to have a spice of the little knot of reformers, here is Mr. Henry Marsh placed in what they deemed his proper situation, the bottom of the list, the other gentlemen

of that party being left to *advertise themselves*.

When I read this requisition, which was forwarded to me in London, I saw clearly what sort of an Address it was intended to send up to his Majesty. It was manifest enough that Iremonger and Bigg Wither had no more wish to have reform in England than they had to have the devil at Wherwell and at Manydown. It was also manifest that the nine parsons by whom the requisition was signed, had much about the same degree of affection for the cause. Here, however, I must except Mr. Poulter and Mr. Newbolt, who, I verily believe, would have no objection to a reform to a very considerable extent. The Whigs by no means want it; but they must appear to want it in order to further their political views, and in order to get at *more or less of the public money*, which is always the end which they have in view. The Barings wish for reform no more than Iremonger and Bigg Wither; rather less perhaps; and if they were to see the devil, horns, tail and all, at Stratton and the Grange, he would not frighten them more, or so much, as my being returned Member for Manchester. As to the small detachment of genteel and jesting reformers, with Mr. Marsh at their head, and Mr. Hector at their tail, I know them very well, and with the exception of Hector, I believe them to be perfectly sincere in their wishes for reform: but know them not to be proof against the *blandishments of those who are called "great men."*

Therefore, the moment I saw the requisition I foresaw that we should have come from Hampshire an address *full of confidence* in the Ministers; full of *resignation* to the superior wisdom of his Majesty, his Ministers, and both Houses of Parliament; full of passive obedience and non-resistance; and, in short, an address which would have made the ministerial hack papers exclaim:—"There, look at that sensible county! No division there; all is left, where it ought to be left, to those who must know better than the people can know." Thus this county would have done all that it possibly could do.

to encourage the Ministers to abandon the bill; and this county could have done much in that way, seeing that it is so rich in church possessions, that it has a bishop who voted against the bill, and two *parson-peers*, Lords GUILDFORD and WALSINGHAM, each of whom has the livings of *four parishes* in the county, and each of whom voted against the bill. In short, an unanimous vote of confidence and resignation in *Hampshire* would have been as heavy a blow as the cause of reform could have received.

The moment, therefore, that I received the requisition, though in the height of my corn-harvest, and pulled twenty ways at once in London, I resolved to go down, and I sent before me, in print, some copies of the following handbill:—  
 “HAMPSHIRE MEN,—If you have not a mind to be for ever humbugged slaves, meet me at the county meeting at Winchester, on Wednesday the 26th of this month.—WM. CORBETT.”  
 The next day I received a letter from Mr. Budd, of Burghclere, telling me that he intended to be at Winchester at the county meeting, and sending me in his letter the copy of a resolution, the substance of which is expressed in the last paragraph of the address, which he moved at the meeting, and which will be found here below.

This hand-bill, which was circulated pretty widely, gave the “*Holy Alliance*” some intimation of what they had to expect. It disconcerted them exceedingly: and, of all the parsons that had signed the requisition, no one made his appearance but Mr. Poulter. The Iremongers, the Bonham Carters, the Biggs Withers, the Barings, did not show their noses. I was told that Iremonger and Wither were there, and that Tom Baring and the Lord of the Treasury and Bingham, the two heroes of Marwell, were at the meeting; but their names were never pronounced in my hearing, and certainly none of them, not even old Tom, the successor of Alfred, made their appearance as orators, though Thomas used to make a considerable figure in this way. Mr. Budd, who met me last night at Winchester, agreeably to his appointment, moved

the address which was seconded by me. I have neither time nor inclination to give any thing in the way of report of the speeches; and I shall, therefore, when I have inserted the address, give a sketch of the proceedings as far as relates to what was *done*, and how the thing terminated. In the morning, before the meeting took place, we had had an interview with Mr. Marsh, and had given him our address to read, he giving us at the same time a copy, for the purpose of our reading it, of the address which he intended to move; so that all the parties were duly apprized of what we intended to do, and we were apprized of what they intended to do, the other parties having, as we understood, had communication with them, or were about to have communication with them, which afterwards appeared to be the case, seeing that neither the Tories nor the Whigs had any thing prepared for the meeting, and that certain resolutions which were proposed by Mr. Jervoise served as the foundation of the address which the amalgamation-party had finally presented to the meeting by the Deputy Sheriff, in the most irregular and queer way, which I shall have to describe by-and-by. There was one thing in which the Holy Alliance were deceived, or rather in which they *deceived themselves*. Mr. Marsh (God knows for what reason), in his conversation in the morning, took it for granted that he was to move an *address*, and that our address was to come in the shape of an *amendment*; and as he took this to be a matter of course, it would not have been good manners in us to say any thing in opposition to an opinion so positively entertained. But Mr. Budd could see nothing either physical or moral to hinder him from being the *beginner* of the business, while all of us who surrounded him saw, in his age, in his experience, in his great knowledge, in his high character, in the spotless and zealous and public-spirited conduct of his whole life, every reason in the world for his taking the lead on an occasion of so much importance, so interesting to the kingdom in general, and in-

volving so deeply the character of this county, with which he has been connected all his life, and in which he has been a greater friend of the farmers and the labourers than any man, be he who he may, that ever set his foot in the county. As soon therefore as the High Sheriff had opened the business by having the requisition read by his Under Sheriff, and by exhorting the meeting to preserve a peaceable, orderly and candid conduct, Mr. Budd, who stood close at the back of the High Sheriff, stepped forward, made his bow to the meeting, began to speak, and, to the apparent great consternation of the Holy Alliance, was, as was just and proper, permitted to proceed, though Mr. Jervoise, who stood a little behind Mr. Budd, had got his paper out and was evidently disappointed at not being suffered to be the beginner. The High Sheriff, too, who had, doubtless, received a previous intimation of Mr. Jervoise's intention, seemed to look round for him; but it was too late. It was not the first county meeting by many a score that Mr. Budd had been at. Our leader was the fittest man in the world for the occasion. On he went, made a short and very pithy speech, and concluded with reading his address, which he did in a very audible voice and to the great apparent satisfaction of the meeting.

### THE ADDRESS

#### TO THE

#### KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Address of the people of the County of Hants, in County-meeting assembled, this 26th day of October, 1831.

May it please your Majesty,

We, the people of Hampshire, being thoroughly convinced that your Majesty's royal office and powers exist for our good, and that your Majesty has constantly exerted those powers with the most anxious solicitude for our welfare, deeply lament, that, instead of confining ourselves upon this occasion to an expression of our gratitude towards your Majesty, a due regard for the welfare of our country and our children, as well as for the sta-

bility of your Majesty's throne, compel us to complain, that another branch of the Legislature has dashed from our lips, the cup of renovation, of peace, of prosperity and happiness tendered to us by the paternal and gracious hand of your Majesty.

Having, for many long years, seen our undoubted right of choosing our representatives daringly usurped; having been bereft of all that protection for our property which been provided for by the laws of our fathers; having seen the usurpers of our rights take to themselves, or squander on their kindred or creatures, the incomes from our estates and the fruit of our toil; having seen them mortgage to loan-mongers and Jews, every inch of our country, every house, every tree, the sweat of our brow and even that of the child in the cradle; having endured from their merciless hands, burden heaped on burden, stripe following stripe, the last always still heavier than the former; having seen them, by their cruel exactions, take from the farmer the means of paying the labourer wages sufficient to supply him with food fit for man; having seen them, at last, reduce our once free and happy country to a state of poverty, misery, and crime, in which the world could recognize of England nothing but the name, and that name, instead of being our glory, having become our shame; thus brought, by this band of usurpers, to choose between the basest bondage and deadly civil strife; and, seeing your Majesty nobly step forward to rescue us from this sad alternative, to restore us to our rights, to redress our wrongs, to raise us from our degradation; what has been our indignation at seeing a hundred and ninety-nine persons, enriched and made great only by taxes extorted from ourselves, scornfully reject all our claims and supplications, and treat as nothing worth even the royal, the gracious and earnest recommendation of your Majesty! But, if language would fail us in endeavouring to give vent to our thoughts relative to this whole band, where shall we find words to express our feelings with regard to



the conduct of those mitred enemies of our rights and our happiness, who, rolling in wealth, and lodged in princely palaces by means drawn from our property and labour, and thus exalted as the immaculate guardians of piety and virtue, have, by this their vote, stamped the seal of their approval on scenes of drunkenness, fraud, corruption, subornation and perjury, more flagrant, more shameless, more teeming with abominations than were those, on the actors in which God, by the mouth of Job, pronounced that the "congregation of hypocrites should be desolate, and that fire should consume the tabernacles of bribery;" more flagrant, more full of abominations than the acts of the apostate sons of Samuel, equal in turpitude and cruelty to the despoilers and destroyers of Naboth, and yielding in point of wickedness to the deed of none but Judas Iscariot himself!

Thus, finding the most bitter enemies in those whose calling and whose professed hatred of vice taught us to look for the warmest of friends, we have now no reliance but in the wisdom and the justice of your Majesty; and most firmly relying on these, and on that love for your faithful people which has been conspicuous in every act of your Majesty's reign, we humbly implore your Majesty to exert your royal powers, by issuing, in accordance with ancient usage, your Writs for a new House of Commons, agreeably with the provisions of the bill, which has now been rejected by the Peers, and thereby insure the only means of restoring safety, peace, and harmony, to this now suffering and troubled kingdom, and which blessing we shall the more highly prize as being the work of a sovereign endeared to us by every tie that can bind to a gracious King; a loyal, dutiful, and grateful people.

I seconded this address, in a speech, in which of course I urged the adoption of it, and some account of which will, I suppose, be given in the newspapers. Then came Mr. Jervoise, with his resolutions, which he very modestly propos-

ed, merely observing, that he was a man known to the county, and rather hinting that he was not as this "*publican is.*" After him came Mr. Marsh, not proposing or supporting any thing, as far as I could learn; but saying a great deal about the bishops, and particularly about "*Mr. Cobbett,*" to whom he would perist in ascribing the address that had been moved, and saying not a word about Mr. Budd, any more than if there had not been such a man in the world; though he well knew, that the *jet* of the address; that is to say, the suggestion at the close of it, which was a matter of so much importance, was altogether the work of Mr. Budd, who was, as far as any recommendation to his Majesty went, the real author of the address. After Mr. Marsh, who had appeared to be less *jocond* than formerly, came a Mr. SPENCE, from Portsmouth, who appeared to speak as the supporter of Mr. Jervoise's resolutions, and who, as Mr. Marsh had done before him, urged the necessity of expressing confidence in Ministers. This was, in truth, but a dismal day for Mr. MARSH, who has long been the *wir, ex-officio*, of the county, for whose well-connected jests the audience always, heretofore, had their laugh ready on the nail; but who, to-day, had the mortification to call forth, first, marks of *listlessness*, next, a smart sprinkling of "*no, noes!*" and of "*oh, ours!*" and, at last, *that ominous sound*, which, to the ears of an orator, is what that of the death-watch is to those of the fond mother whose darling is breathing its last; *that heart-sinking sound*, "*question! question!*" began to salute his ears; and, breaking out *here and there*, seemed to be the harbinger of a dreadful peal that was brewing to windward. It was a *sober* affair that we had in hand *now*; jesting was not in request; and it was impossible for people to see the *reason*, or even the *common sense*, of a long speech filled with attempts to divert them on the subject of the conduct of the Bishops, while the speech-maker protested against saying a word about them in the address, which the speech was intended to cause to be

adopted. Besides, there were many persons present, who (in his after-dinner speech at the last county meeting) had, as I had, heard him, who was the chairman at the dinner, most solemnly, and with uplifted hands, declare, that "if THE BILL were rejected, he would never again pay any Assessed Taxes if he could get any one to join him in the resistance!" There were many persons present, who recollected that VOW, and who now saw in Mr. MARR a second JEPHTHAH all but in fidelity to his vow; for our Hampshire JEPHTHAH seemed evidently enough to have adopted the opinion of the poet:—

"To make the vow was rash, to keep it sin."

People recollected this vow, and their sincerity could not fail to be somewhat shocked, at seeing this bold Jephthah, NOW, when the bill has been rejected, the foremost and the loudest in condemning every sentiment pointing, though in the most indirect manner, towards sturdy behaviour on the part of the people. Next came a Mr. TWYNHAM, an attorney, who seemed wholly to have overlooked that he had any thing to oppose but the speech of "Mr. COBBETT," whose name was continually on his lips from one end of his speech to the other, and to whom he imputed the strange wish for the Reform Bill not to pass, lest, I suppose, the said "Mr. COBBETT" should be Member for Manchester. This gentleman was received with very great impatience, and with marks of those other feelings which on such occasions generally accompany a want of the great quality of Job. But it was when Sir JAMES MACDONALD came, that the meeting stood in need of all the forbearance of the patient patriarch. His speech, as Lord Thurlow said of sessions-lawyers, was "hot and heavy;" long and loud; all effort and no effect, other than that of realizing the paradox of rousing people to inattention. The people, who recollected that they had so lately elected him their Member, averted their eyes, assumed a melancholy countenance; drew down their eye-lids, or turned up the whites of their eyes; every one seeming

to sigh out to himself, "God bless me! is that our Member?" while the county girls, a very pretty group of whom was standing under the window out of which I was looking, looked as innocently inquisitive in the face of each other, or those of the young fellows that had them by the arm, as if they had been all saying at once, "What, in the name of wonder, can this man be talking about!" While I, who am a great admirer of patience, was saying to a gentleman that stood by me, that those who accused Englishmen of a want of patience were the vilest slanderers upon earth. A gentleman from the body of the meeting called out to Sir James: "Will you abandon the Ministers if they do not bring in again the same bill?" This disconcerted him: he jostled; he wriggled; he twisted; and soon came to the end of a speech, in which he, too, had not forgotten that same "Mr. COBBETT;" and in which, if he were not actually pleading for a place, all that I can say is, that if he had had a fee for pleading for a place, he could not have pleaded better.

Now, however, we drew to a close. Mr. BUDD was, according to all the rules upon such occasions, entitled to a reply to the arguments (if there had been any) which had been urged against his address; and I, upon every principle recognized amongst men, was entitled, and so the High Sheriff determined, to a reply to the personalities incessantly poured forth against me. His determination, however just as it was, and fairly as it was made, was now of no avail. The groups of attorneys, stewards, bailiffs, servants, and others, judiciously distributed for the purpose, and with whom the Grand Jury Chamber, from which we spoke, was most effectually packed, kept up a noise so loud and so incessant that to obtain a hearing amidst it was as useless as it is to attempt to still the roarings of the wind in the midst of a hurricane. The baseness, the incomparable baseness of spending hours in uttering personalities against a man, with a previous determination that that man shall not be allowed to reply to the personalities; such base-

ness can exist in no breast in which there does not exist at the same time a consciousness that the personalities are false; and from this charge I exempt not a man of those who uttered personalities against me; for they were, every one of them, most boisterous in preventing any reply from me being heard. However, this is of no consequence at all when compared with the *division* which now took place.

In such confusion were the minds of the Holy Alliance; in such a complete state of botheration had our proceedings and their own anxious vanity put them into, that they really knew not what they were about. The Under Sheriff came forward, not with anything called an *amendment*; not with anything in the shape of an amendment; but with an *address*, which that Gentleman told me he got from Mr. Marsh; an address that had never been *seconded* or even *moved*. However, the thing was done; the scheme for making this great county the mouth-piece of *confidence* in Ministers; of passive obedience and non-resistance: this scheme was defeated. I knew that there would be a great division at any rate, and a great division there was: for, it was so near a thing that the High Sheriff made the meeting divide twice before he would determine which had the majority. The second time, addressing himself to me he said, "I think there are rather most hats on that side:" to which I answered, and really for the purpose of not giving him any plague with the Alliance, "Yes, Sir, I think there are," and so he decided.

And now let Sir JAMES MACDONALD, as picked orator of the alliance, go to the sincere Whigs and put forward his plea for a good thumping place, upon the ground that he was mainly instrumental in preventing this great and fine county from passing a sulky and silent censure on the Ministers: it was, as the gamblers say, "*all but*:" it was the turn of a feather; and even that turn was obtained in consequence of the noise and confusion that prevailed, and that prevented a thousand or more of the country people, unused as they are

to such scenes, from knowing what was going on. At any rate, I hope Sir James will have the honesty to tell my Lord Grey, that ONE-HALF of the county of Hants tacitly expressed their want of confidence in him; a decision greatly to the honour of the county, and for which the county is indebted, next after the virtue of its people, to the manly determination of Mr. Budd to be heard first; for if the Holy Alliance had begun, the agents of noise would not have suffered one word to be heard from Mr. Budd or from me: the same, the unmeaning, the talentless, the servile, the toad-eating address would have passed as the unanimous voice of the county, which would have sunk it to a level with the basest rotten borough in the kingdom.

WM. COBBETT.

Winchester, 27th October, 1831.

JEPHTHAH, in his speech at the meeting, said that I, in disapproving of an expression of *confidence* in the *Ministers*, was opposing my opinion to that of *every other man in the country*. If JEPHTHAH and his allies would have let me be heard in the reply to their personalities, I should have read to them the following extract from the *Chronicle* of Tuesday:—"At the Reform Meeting at Hull, on Monday week, an amended address was carried by a large majority, in which it is stated, That we have heard, with the deepest indignation which it is possible for a betrayed people to feel, that your Majesty's Prime Minister has declared his determination not to reform the Upper House of Parliament, nor to attempt the restoration of the representative system in the House of Commons, until January next." Here, then, is what was said on the subject by the very finest town in the King's dominions, and inhabited by as orderly, as sensible, as intelligent, as frank, as public-spirited people as ever breathed. I applaud their quick-sightedness, and their honest decision. The *Chronicle* talks of "*a mob*." Never was there a town with so few persons in it to whom that name can, with justice, be applied. Hull is a

town of people above want, and below luxury. It is little infested with those vermin who riot on the vitals of the country; and hence this just decision. I showed JEPHTHAH MARSH this paragraph in the morning, before he went to the meeting; and, therefore, in addition to the foul play, we must place the merit of this *wilful falsehood*, on the part of this vow-maker, who uttered the falsehood with the *foreknowledge* that it would not be exposed to those who had heard it. Nothing will he, however, gain by that *in the end*; and, it is *the end* to which men always ought to look.

## NORTH AMERICANS

AND

## ENGLISH BOURGHOUMONGERS.

*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle*

*(Continued from col. 190, No. 3.)*

It is monstrous, to be sure; but, Sir, modify your resentment; look at the pages that I have pointed out in the *Register* of the 19th of June last; and pray recollect, that *self-preservation is the first law of nature*. Look at England, Sir; consider what she is, if relieved from the night-mare that presses her to the earth. Then look at the United States; survey them well; look at their geographical position; see more than one-half the country cursed for ever with the dangers arising from Negro slavery; look at the country cut asunder cross-ways, from the sea to the Alleghany mountains, each inhabited by a people whose very interests make them more than half the enemy of the other; look at the division length-ways of the Western from the Atlantic states, and see the former, much more the enemy of the latter, than Spain can ever be of France; and that, too, from insuperable natural causes; look at the rich Western states, reduced again to a savage state, or to unconditional submission, by any power that can block up the mouths of the Mississippi. Look, then, at this little tight and truss country, teeming with means of all sorts; and think of those means,

when no longer wasted by a band of boroughmongers. If you think of these things, your anger against the American politicians will be mitigated.

As often as I have talked with those American politicians, I have always frankly told them, that one cause of my rage against the boroughmongers was, that they crippled my country, and enabled theirs to make a saucy navy, that dared already to talk of taking from England the dominion of the seas. These politicians used to ask me *what I would do* to prevent the increase of their navy and the humbling of England; and when *I told them*, they used to exclaim, "And would you do that, now!" I answered, "Yes: it is my duty to wish that my country should still be the mistress of the seas; and if I had the power, it would be my duty to give effect to that wish." "But," would you do us *so much mischief*?" I used to answer, "I would do you no mischief; you are happier without this navy than you are with one: I like you exceedingly: I wish you always to be happy; but, my duty to my own country would forbid me to suffer you to indulge in ambitious views injurious to her greatness. Whatever you can do against the boroughmongers I applaud: I wish you always to beat them and disgrace them; but whenever the people of England shall obtain their rights, your race of ambition is at an end." It was not with a few scores nor with a few hundreds that I had conversations of this sort in America. These gentlemen used to exclaim, "What, you talk thus, who have been stripped to beggary, and driven to seek refuge here, by this country of yours!" "No," used I to say, "not by my country, but by its oppressors, whose treatment of me demands greater exertions on my part for the restoration of my country." On this ground it was that, during the ten years and a half, first and last, that I was in that country, I never became what is called "a citizen," and never would inscribe my name with a view to that end, though many inconveniences attended my not doing it. I

could have secured the copy-rights of ten or twelve books in the United States, which have been re-printed there without any leave of mine, and which go thence to the West and East Indies, which copy-rights I could not secure because I did not take up my citizenship, which would have cost me half-a-crown. But, if I had once contracted this engagement with the United States, I should not have thought myself free to do that with regard to them which I would now do if I had the power, and which will assuredly be done, if horroughmongering be destroyed.

It is not necessary, Sir, for me to trouble you with a particular description of the line of policy which England ought to pursue with regard to the United States; nor is it necessary for me to show you how easily she would be able to do it, if relieved from her intolerable burdens; much less is it necessary for me to show that the destruction of borroughmongering will relieve her from those burdens; it is only necessary that I convince you that the American politicians believe that the Reform Bill, if passed, will put an end to their hope of being the rivals of England upon the seas, and also put an end to that saucy security which they now enjoy in consequence of the feebleness of England, and which feebleness they know well to arise from the burdens which press her people to the ground. A little while before my last return from America, an English friend of mine was asked by one of the Ministers at Washington *what I was going back to England for?* He answered, to try to get Parliamentary Reform. "Poh!" said the Minister, "he'll never succeed." "I hope he will," said the Englishman. "Do you," said the Minister, "why you are a citizen of the United States; you have your fortune and family here; *this is your country now, and you ought to wish for the good and safety of it.*" "So I do," said he, "but I may wish well to England too." "Yet," said the other, "but not wish for the Government to be taken out of the hands of the borroughmongers; for, if it be, we must

*"draw in our horns pretty quickly."*

Now, this is only one conversation of the sort out of many; and the thing is so obvious, that there needs no fact of this sort to cause it to be believed. I have received whole files of American newspapers of the date of this present year, and they all teem with *ridicule or abuse of the Reform Bill* of Lord Grey; and all clearly indicate a wish that it may be defeated. This reviewer's observation that all the institutions of England stand on the same footing as the voting at *Old Sarum*, puts me in mind of a very clever politician at New York, who, when I had been railing against the rotten boroughs, and Old Sarum in particular, got up from his chair, came across the room to me, and, giving me a tap upon the shoulder, whispered in my ear, "Don't abuse Old Sarum, Cobbett, it is *our best friend.*" Thus they all think, and thus they have always thought since I have known any thing. Pray mark, Sir, with what joy the Americans receive the news of revolutions in France, in Belgium, in Poland! What dinners, what boastings, what processions, what carrying of flags there are then in their great cities! Compare these with the *glum silence*, succeeded by *dark doubts*, and these succeeded by *abuse and ridicule*, with which they received the news of Lord John Russell's Bill! Ah! but the renovation of France, of Belgium, or of Poland, tended to give no strength which might be dangerous to the United States. It is England only, of the freedom and the strength of which they are afraid. They rejoiced with exceeding great joy at the *emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland*. They had their dinners and their toasting without end, with Wellington's statue stuck upon their tables, and decorated with laurels and with garlands. Ay, but that they looked upon, though erroneously, as a *triumph over England*.

Is not this enough for my Lord Fal-mouth? Does he want more to show him the great weight which his quotation ought to have in preventing the bill from being passed? If he do, let him reflect on the great *immediate loss*,

besides the distant danger, that this Reform Bill will cause to the United States. The drain of *specie* and of most *valuable persons* from England to the United States has been for several years past at the rate of a million of pounds a year, or more, and at about the rate of five thousand persons. People have gone who have carried letters of introduction from *myself*, carrying out with them more than *two hundred thousand pounds in gold*. Let the bill pass, and not another man of property will ever go. Amongst all the people that are enemies of reform the land-jobbers of America are the very greatest, the boroughmongers not excepted. The oppressions arising from a want of reform are a perennial spring of profit to these crafty knaves. They would like, rather better, anarchy, confusion and revolution, stirred up by degrees, and giving people time to get away to America; and, finally, to tear England to pieces, and make her feeble for half a century, while they were swaggering about over the world, "*purchasing*" half Mexico and all Cuba, as they "*purchased Louisiana*." This is what they would like best; but Old Sarum suits them very well; and being a prudent people, they are for *letting well enough alone*; and hence the *profound* publication which Lord Falmouth has had the profound sagacity to quote in opposition to the bill.

If I had not already trespassed too long on your time, I would beg permission to add a remark or two on what Lords Falmouth and Caernarvon said about me, during this debate. That however is a matter of too little consequence to induce me to lengthen that which is already too long.

I remain, Sir,  
Your most obedient, and  
most humble Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

### CATHOLICS IN PARLIAMENT.

THE following has been addressed to the editor of the *Star*, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, upon the conduct of the

Catholics in both houses, relative to the Reform Bill.—

"*Alton Tower, Oct. 11.*"

"Sir,—I beg leave, through the medium of your spirited and patriotic paper (if you will allow me to do so), to bring it to the recollection of the public, that out of 19 Catholics who sit in the House of Commons, only one voted against reform, and he sits as the representative of a close borough, and therefore cannot be considered as a free agent. And out of the nine Catholic Peers in the House of Lords, we have again but one solitary vote against the bill, and that from a nobleman who has hitherto ever signalised himself as the friend of the people, and as the advocate of the poor. While the country has, therefore, cause to rejoice in the admission of Catholics to their legislative rights, surely that false and absurd notion, that as Catholics we are the enemies of freedom, and the sticklers for arbitrary power, will now be exploded for ever. —Look, sir, at the reformation now carrying on in the Papal states, where the Sovereign, though both Prince and Pontiff, has the wisdom and magnanimity to yield to the just demands of his people, exhibiting an honourable contrast to the folly and bigotry of our Protestant hierarchy, who, by their betrayal of the country upon the present occasion, have proved themselves unworthy of the possession of political privileges. But I will not waste your time in decanting upon these facts; it is sufficient that I have drawn your attention to them, confident that they will be duly appreciated by every honest Englishman, all of whom will, I trust, at this eventful crisis unite in the rallying cry of "*The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill*;" for it is the bill alone that can do justice to the people—that can destroy the oligarchical character of our government; and, while it scares away the revolutionist, and blights the hopes of the anarchist, can establish the institutions of the country upon a safe and solid foundation. I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"SHREWSBURY."

The two Catholic Tories alluded to in the above letter are, Lord Arundel, and Sir Thomas Constable.

### THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND THE PARISH OF SAINT ANNE, WESTMINSTER.

The following is a copy of a hand-bill distributed yesterday in the above Parish:—

#### "ST. ANNE, WESTMINSTER.

"The Parishioners are respectfully informed, that the Rev. Dr. Macleod, the Rector, has received a letter from the Lord Bishop of London, stating, that his Lordship is un-

avoidably prevented from preaching in this Church in the Morning of Sunday next.

"JOSEPH SHARPE, } Churchwardens.  
"THOMAS HOPKINS, }

Oct. 21, 1831."

Unavoidably prevented! There is, however, more here than meets the ear. The right rev. Father in God had heard from some tax-gatherer or other personage of the sort, that it was the intention of the congregation to leave the church in a body, to mark the detestation in which the Bishops are held the moment he entered the pulpit. The following communication (the author of which is known to us) states that 1100 parishioners had come to this resolution:—

"SIR,—The public have had notice of the intention of the Bishop of London to have reopened our parish church (which has been undergoing repairs) on Sunday next, Oct. 23, 1831, but his Lordship has thought proper to decline his intended service, as he states himself, in a letter to Mr. Macleod, the rector, to be "unavoidably prevented;" at least such is the excuse in some bills at this moment distributing in the parish. The fact is, the spirit for reform is so rooted in the heart of every honest man, who is therefore anxious to show the contempt in which he holds the enemies to our just rights—the Reform Bill—that it was the determination of the major part, or, indeed, I may say, the whole of the inhabitants of this and other parishes, to have attended the church on Sunday next not to hear his Lordship, but on his reaching the pulpit to have instantly quitted the church. I myself know of 1100 persons who had made up their minds to have received his Lordship with that contempt with which he and his colleagues have treated the honest demands of the inhabitants of every parish in the kingdom.

"A PARISHIONER."

TO ALL THE  
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,  
SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,  
BUT PARTICULARLY TO  
THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE,  
ON THE  
AFFAIR OF THE  
BARINGS AND THE DEACLES.

"Never esteem men merely on account of their riches or their station. Respect goodness, find it where you may. Honour talent wherever you find it unassociated with vice; but honour it most when accompanied with exertion, and especially when exerted in the cause of truth and justice; and, above all things, hold it in honour when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence against the attacks of powerful men."—CORRETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR, Letter XXIII.

Kensington, 1st. Oct. 1831.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

IF the affair of the BARINGS and Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, involving the alleged conduct of other persons, and particularly that of the magistrate, Long, of Preshaw; if this affair affected only the parties; if it were merely a wrong alleged to have been done by some persons to some other persons, all private parties, then it would not be of that great importance which it now is. If a powerful man, in his private capacity, had done some wrong to a poor neighbour, it would be a subject worthy of the attention, and fit to call forth the resentment, of all the people of the neighbourhood. But, here the evil could not be extensive: here would be a bad man doing a bad act; but not an act likely to operate to the injury of the whole community. Not so in a case where magistrates and men acting under public authority commit acts of oppression; for in this case, the example may endanger the whole of the community; the cause of the oppressed party is the cause of every man and woman making part of that community; for the oppression which has been thus exercised on one party to-day, may be exercised on another to-morrow, and the magisterial office, instead of being a terror to evil-doers, and a reward to those who do well, may become the general scourge of the innocent, and a terror to those only who are unable to resist the strong arm of power.

It is in this light that I take up this matter, and with all this solemnity lay it before you. I do not take upon me to pronounce whether the allegations against the BARINGS and LONG be true or false; but I know that they have been made; that they have been made in the most solemn manner; that the parties making them have pledged themselves to prove them to be true; that they have prayed the House of Commons to suffer them to produce proof of that truth; and that the House of Commons, upon the motion of the Ministers themselves, have resolved not to let them produce that proof, while they call the accused parties their honourable friends, and declare, upon the honour of gentle-

men, that they believed them to be innocent. Many of you will remember that, on the 11th of May 1809, Mr. MADDOX made a motion for leave to produce proof at the bar of the House of Commons that PERCEVAL and CASTLEREAGH had sold a seat in that House to a Mr. QUINTEN DICK. A great majority of the House declared that they believed the parties innocent of all blame; but that same great majority voted that they would not hear the evidence produced. Those who are of my age, or above thirty years, can recollect the unanimous indignation which that vote excited throughout the country; and there is no man who is at all acquainted with these things who does not well know that that refusal to hear the proof offered by Mr. MADDOX, was a blow which that House has never recovered.

It is my desire, and it shall be my endeavour, to lay the whole of this matter before you with perfect fairness and impartiality; and before I enter upon it, it seems to me necessary that I should satisfy you that I have not, in this case, any personal motive whatsoever, arising out of any reason that I have to have any particular liking or disliking for either of the parties. I think this necessary, because I have been informed that the BARINGS have given it out that I have some personal grudge against them; and I believe that they have thus given it out, because I see it stated in the *Morning Chronicle*, in a paragraph purporting to be a report of a speech of ALEXANDER BARING, that "a powerful writer" (meaning me) "had stated that he would ruin the BARINGS." Now, I once received a very short and civil letter from Sir THOMAS BARING, which I immediately answered in a most satisfactory manner and with equal civility, touching a mortgage of which he became the manager, in consequence of his having become the executor of the mortgagee. With this exception I never wrote to a man of the name of BARING, nor received a letter from a man of that name; I never, to my knowledge, saw a man of the name of BARING; much less did I ever speak to one, in the

whole course of my life; except that I have seen Sir THOMAS BARING twice at public meetings at Winchester. I never had any transaction with a BARING, either directly or indirectly, in the course of my life.

What reason, then, can I have for doing any thing against the BARINGS, other than some public reason? When LOVELL and COOK were up at Kensington on the day before MY and SIR THOMAS DENMAN's trial; and, when they were about to give me an account of the transactions which formed the subject of the affidavits which they made, and which will be found inserted in the published account of the trial, I said, to LOVELL in particular, "Now, Lovell, mind, I hate the Barings; and, therefore, do not you say any-thing that you may think will please me: 'tis not necessary that I should tell you why I hate them; but it is right for me thus to put you upon your guard; and, as you work for the BARINGS, and apparently find them good masters to you, tell them what I say if you please." I have never disguised my dislike to them; and have never desired that any-thing that I said about them should not experience any abatement that this well-known dislike might entitle it to.

But, my friends, though I did not think it necessary to tell LOVELL the reason why I hated the BARINGS, I will tell you; and then let it go, if you like, in abatement of any-thing that you shall find bear against them in this paper which I am now about to write. I have always, since I had understanding of these matters, hated public loan-makers; because I know full well that their works have been the ruin of my country; that these works have caused misery indescribable to the people of this kingdom; that at this moment, these works cause more than one half of the tax upon malt, upon hops, upon sugar, upon all that we consume; because I know, in short, that they have made this England, the working people of which were once the best fed and best clad in the world, the seat of a race of miserable ragged beings with half a



belly full of victuals. My friends, to show you that this is no new opinion of mine, and to show you also that the greatest and most virtuous statesman that this country has known for two hundred years entertained a similar hatred towards loan-makers, I will here insert part of a speech of the great Lord CHATHAM, made in the House of Lords on the 22nd of November, 1770, that is to say, sixty-one years ago; and to show you how long this hatred has existed in my bosom, I will take this part of the speech from my own *Register*, in which I inserted it as a motto on the 25th of January, 1806, long before the BARINGS became conspicuous in a hundredth part of the degree that they have now become conspicuous; and long before their loan-making transactions had even been a subject of observation with me. Now, then, take the words of this famous English statesman:—

"There is a set of men, my Lords, in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless; upon that part of the community which stands most in need of, and that best deserves, the care and protection of the legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change Alley, or the lufy Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My Lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the Treasury but at a distance: it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I could never have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the '*Monied Interest*;' I mean that blood-sucker, that muck-worm, that calls itself the '*friend of government*;' that pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any administration; advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under this description I include the whole race of commissioners, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny, that, even with these creatures, some management may be necessary; and I hope, my Lords, that nothing I have said will be understood to extend to the honest industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and has given repeated proofs, that he prefers law and liberty to

"gold. Much less would I be thought to reflect upon the fair merchant, whose liberal commerce is the prime source of national wealth. I esteem his occupation, and respect his character."—*Speech of the great Earl of CHATHAM in the House of Lords, on the 22d of November, 1770.*

These were the opinions of the last really wise and upright statesman that England has had. He detested these money-lenders, whether walking on foot or drawn by six horses; he called their immense profits, "*plunder*;" he charged them with living in riot and luxury upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless, who stood in most need of, and best deserved, the care and protection of the Parliament. He expressed his detestation of this description of men; of all these contractors and jobbers and remitters, whom he contradistinguished from the fair merchant and honest and industrious tradesman, whose occupation he esteemed and whose character he respected. Now, I have never expressed detestation of the BARINGS; I have never spoken of them in terms a hundredth part so harsh as this great nobleman spoke of the whole race. If these were his sentiments then, how would he have expressed himself now? Have I not, then, a right to have my opinions and my feelings with regard to this race of men as well as he or anybody else? This family, the very beginner of which has not had his name known to the public more than about thirty-four years, and who was a mere merchant's clerk, or something of that sort, about forty-six years ago; the very father of all this race would not now, if he were alive, be able to claim a standing in society for more than thirty-five or thirty-six years, at the utmost; and this family, who have *twenty-eight thousand acres of land* in one spot in Hampshire, have, in England, if I am rightly informed, upwards of a *hundred and twenty thousand acres of land*, besides houses countless in number; besides mills; besides church livings. In short, they possess half a dozen lords' estates; and though I accuse them of nothing unlawful in getting all this; though I impute to them nothing that is called cheating or robbing or swindling, or any thing unlawful, I am sorry that they have it, and I hate and abhor the system of Government under which they could have acquired it, without any talent beyond that of mere ordinary tradesmen; without having performed any one thing meriting public gratitude or applause; without any one of them having done any thing to benefit or reflect honour upon the country or its institutions. If I be asked what is it to me how many estates they have, and how many noblemen and gentlemen they have supplanted, I say, it is something to me, and a good deal too. I have a right, to feel concerned for the good and the honour of the country. I know that there can be no good and happy community, aye, and no real freedom, unless the people be governed by that natural magistracy which grows out of long-

settled proprietorship of land; I know that there can be no willing obedience; that there can be no just distribution of property and of power, unless a very great part of the submission to the laws arise from the habitual and the traditional respect of the people towards the immediate magistracy. I know that, when this natural magistracy is destroyed, there must come coercion, and that force must command an unwilling obedience; I know that this system of upstarts has a direct tendency totally to destroy the good laws and customs of England, and that it has, in a great measure, destroyed them.

Here would be quite enough to justify the antipathy which I entertain towards this whole race of men, of which the BARINGS have, by their own act and deed, and, in the indulgence of their own vanity, arrogantly placed themselves at the head; for Sir THOMAS BARING, in setting forth his pedigree, tells us that his arms are "*azure, a fesse, or, in chief, a bear's head proper, muzzled and ringed, or.*" I like the "*bear's head*" monstrously, and particularly I like to see it "*muzzled and ringed.*" It does not seem that the bear's paws are *hand-cuffed*. What pity that the whole band, the banker and all, did not go to Marwell equipped like the *Baring-Arms*! We should not then have had all this fuss! In this pedigree, Sir THOMAS tells us that his father was "enabled, by his affluence, to *assist the minister*" (just as Lord CHATHAM said!) "in the various loans required, and that he soon became the leading member of the *monied interest*, and even the *prosperity of England*," "at certain periods, may be said to have *revolved around him*, as its *primum mobile*." I take this from the "*BARONETAGE OF ENGLAND*," published by Debrett in 1819; and any-thing, at once, so stupid, so insolent, and so grovellingly vulgar, I never not only took from any book, but never read in any dirty newspaper, even that of Jacob and Johnson, in the whole course of my life. Why, if there were nothing but this to make me hate them, this would be quite sufficient. The *prosperity of England* revolved round him! The *prosperity of England* revolve round a fellow that had been a mere city go-between of old Lord SHELBOURNE, and had not been known to the community for more than five-and-twenty years! A pretty thing England must have become! England is my country, at any rate, and I have certainly a right to resent this upstart, beggar-like insult.

If, indeed, any of the family had ever performed any service to the country, real or pretended, it would be another matter. If one had seen a great parcel of estates in the hands of Lord NELSON and his heir, instances of that kind happen so rarely, that the precedent is not dangerous; and besides, the country has something to *show for the cost*; the deeds are so ennobling that they silence all political reasoning about the matter. But, what do we behold here? In one single spot a great slice of a county; three Lords supplanted

upon one spot by these loan-mongers; and just on the skirts of their domain, there sticks the descendant of Lord RODNEY, who really revived the character of England at a time when it was at a very low ebb, cooped up in a little bit of ground, not much more than enough to be a cabbage-garden for the BARINGS; and there is that poor CRANLEY ONSLOW too, descended from one of the greatest and most upright lawyers, and most learned and best men that ever lived, and owing to whom has been ennobled CRANLEY, a little village in Surrey, the name of which the Speaker ONSLOW chose for his title of Baron. I have been called a Jacobin and leveller: this is your true levelling, stripping Lords of their estates, by the means of taxation, and giving them to those who have thriven upon that taxation. And if it be asked what harm this does, again I say, it destroys the natural magistracy of the country; it takes away the salutary influence of habitual and traditional respect, and it demands coercion in its stead; and coercion casts aside the sheriff's wand and the constable's staff, and brings the standing bayonet and the *gendarmerie*.

These are the grounds, fully and frankly stated, of my hatred of the BARINGS; but what hatred, what preconceived hatred, did it require to bring me forth in the cause of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE? Now, reader, look at the motto which I have placed at the head of this paper. The words of that motto were addressed to one son, and were, of course, addressed also to all the rest of my children, and to the hundreds and thousands (and I may say hundreds of thousands) of young people; for the Grammar, as its title expresses, was "*intended for the use of schools, and of young persons in general*;" but more especially for "*the use of soldiers, sailors, apprentices, and plough-boys.*" What other motive do I want than the precept inculcated in that motto? The motto was written in Long Island thirteen years ago: I could know nothing then about the small handcuffs: I could have no such thing in my eye. The precept had been the rule of my conduct all my lifetime; and what have I done other than act upon it now? Here are Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, in my opinion innocent; proved to be innocent in a court of justice; a jury have pronounced them innocent; and I find them attacked by "*powerful men.*" I find in them people wholly unable to defend themselves against such power. I find them attacked in the newspapers, under the names of men of great wealth and power; I find them, after their acquittal in a court of justice, branded by the newspapers, under the names of FRANCIS BARING and SERGEANT WILDE, as having been guilty of felony; I examine all the newspapers, and find them all to agree in the infamous libel; I see the villainous libellers, Jacob and Johnson, spread the calumnies all over the country, and even to the very door of Mr. DEACLE; I see these printers refuse to publish a letter from Mr. Deacle, defending himself

against these calumnies: in short, I see them innocent and defenceless, and attacked by men who have power in their hands; and then it is, and not till then, that I take up their cause. Is not, therefore, my conduct straight and consistent? What am I doing but acting upon the precept which I have constantly and sedulously taught, and as constantly made the rule of my conduct? And what is to become of defenceless innocence, if talent will not step forward in its defence when attacked by powerful men?

Here, then, I cast aside all these imputations about private malice and denunciations of ruin: let the BARINGS howl, or rather, growl, like the animal whose head they take for their crest: let them talk about motives as long as they please; and let me, my friends, now go into the merits of this case in as plain a manner as I can consistently with the necessary brevity. On the 23rd of November last, the rioting and machine-breaking took place in the parishes round about Marwell, where Mr. DEACLE lived on a farm which he rented of Mrs. LONG. The rioters, or rather, the working people who were demanding a rise of wages, went to Mr. DEACLE's, broke his thrashing-machine, pressed his men to join them, and made him give them two pounds in money. From his house they went to that of his neighbour SMITH, another farmer, whither Mr. DEACLE followed them, in order to prevent them from doing acts of violence to his neighbours. Being in Mr. SMITH's house along with other farmers who had joined them, they, in Mr. SMITH's parlour, drew up a paper, to be signed by landowners and land-occupiers, the former promising to reduce rents and tithes, and the latter to give the men twelve shillings a week. This paper was shown to the men in order to quiet them; and, at the desire of the whole, it was carried round by Farmer BOYES to the several farmers and gentlemen's houses that the people went to. Mr. DEACLE went as far as Mrs. LONG's, and, when the paper had been signed there he went away. By fifty credible witnesses, it can be proved that this was the conduct of Mr. DEACLE, on the 23rd of November, and that this was all that he had had to do with the matter. As to Mrs. DEACLE, she was out taking a ride, and she rode, out of curiosity, to see what the mob were doing. One charge against her was, that she sat upon a horse looking at them and smiling. I know of no law, either from the pen of ELLENBOROUGH, LANSDOWN, or PERL, to forbid smiling. Such was the conduct of these two parties, doing no one thing that was either unlawful or unneighbourly during the whole of the day, being greatly injured in their property, but humanely submitting to the injury, from reflecting on the starving state of the labourers.

Notwithstanding this inoffensive conduct, the next day warrants were issued against them and for apprehending them, upon depositions that have never yet been produced, and three constables, with a coal-cart and

handcuffs, small handcuffs as well as great, were sent from the jail of Winchester to bring them to that jail. Two magistrates, FRANCIS T. BARING, son of THOMAS, and BINGHAM BARING, son of ALEXANDER, accompanied by ROBERT WRIGHT, a parson, Captain NEVILLE of Easton, one SEAGRIM, an attorney, and Mr. DEANE, a banker of Winchester, went off on horseback to assist in the capture: and in the bringing to jail of these two innocent persons, I assert them to be innocent, because the lady has never been brought to any trial at all, and because Mr. DEACLE was indicted for the pretended offence, and acquitted, without producing any evidence of his own; acquitted at once, in consequence of the evidence given by his accusers' witnesses; all which you will please to bear in mind; and of course you will bear in mind always, that these are two persons who have been falsely accused, and who have been proved to be innocent of the alleged crimes with which they were charged.

Quite bad enough, quite oppression enough, if we were to stop here; but we have now to see the manner of the arrest; the manner in which innocent persons were seized and treated; and here I proceed to state facts which the parties accused affect to deny the truth of. The facts which I have before stated relative to the perfect innocence of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE of all crime whatsoever in this case, are facts which neither the BARINGS nor any-body else pretend to deny. But the facts I am now about to state are facts for which I do not vouch, but which rest on the evidence given by LEWINGTON, SWITZER, and Mr. DEACLE's servant-girl, at the last summer assizes, upon a trial on an action brought by Mr. DEACLE against five of the afore-mentioned parties for the violence committed by those parties at the time of the seizure as aforesaid. LEWINGTON, who was the chief of the constables, says that he went to Mr. DEACLE's house with the persons before-mentioned. That he went into the house with the two BARINGS, and with WRIGHT, the parson; that BINGHAM BARING told him to handcuff Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE; that he, LEWINGTON, hesitated, but that he finally handcuffed them, one to the other; that Mrs. DEACLE wished to put on her bonnet and shawl, but that BINGHAM BARING said he could not wait; that BINGHAM BARING pulled out a pistol, and put it to the head of a man who had Mr. DEACLE's gun, and told him to give it up; that Mrs. DEACLE was put up into a cart; that the road was very rough; that BINGHAM BARING ordered him (LEWINGTON) to trot, which made the cart shake very much; that BINGHAM BARING struck Mr. DEACLE a back-handed blow with a stick, while Mr. DEACLE was handcuffed in the cart. The evidences of SWITZER corroborated this, and the servant-girl swore that BINGHAM BARING took Mrs. DEACLE under his arm, round the waist, and carried her, her legs dangling one way and her head another.

Now, observe, I was not in Court when this

evidence was given; but such is the evidence, according to the report published in all the newspapers. The jury gave a verdict of *fifty pounds* against BINGHAM BARING, and nothing against any of the rest. Such was the evidence in the Court given upon the oaths of these witnesses; there was much more, but this was the substance of it. Now, we go to the petition of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, which they presented in consequence of the atrocious slanders put forth against them by the newspapers, under the title of the report of speeches in Parliament. They say that BINGHAM BARING seized Mr. DEACLE by the collar, that he then held one of his arms, that FRANCIS BARING held another, and that the parson held him by the skirts, while LEWINGTON, by the positive order of BINGHAM BARING, put the hand-cuff upon one of the hands of Mr. DEACLE; that Mrs. DEACLE was sitting in another part of the room; that FRANCIS BARING went and hauled her up to have her hand put in the other part of the same hand-cuff, so as to have them fastened together; that after this, in pulling her along to get them out of the house, Mrs. DEACLE's hand came out of the hand-cuff, and that it was FRANCIS BARING, and not BINGHAM, that dragged her and carried her across the yard to the cart, into which NEVILL, captain in the navy, got, in order to pull her up. There is this difference between the evidence in Court and this statement in the petition; that the servant-girl ascribed the carrying and the dragging to BINGHAM, and not to FRANCIS BARING; but the girl had never seen either of them before, and did not know one from the other. It is not denied that the cart was made to trot in a very rough road; it is not denied that the constable, SWITZER, pledged himself to be answerable for Mrs. DEACLE, if they would let her ride her horse; and that they refused this. When the cart arrived at Winchester Hill, there was the jailer, BECKETT, in a post-chaise, and into that chaise they were put along with this common jailer, who took them to the jail, where they were treated as felonious malefactors.

Now, observe, as far as relates to this statement of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, the statement at present rests upon their word only. We cannot say the same, by any means, with regard to the evidence in Court, for that evidence was given upon oath before a judge and jury, and the jury found a verdict against BINGHAM BARING at any rate; and we are to observe also, that the constables were persons in the employ of these magistrates; that they depended upon them, in some measure, for their bread, and that their evidence had always been thought very good, when given against persons that were prosecuted.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1831.

### INSOLVENTS.

GILHAM, C., Romford, wine-merchant.  
WELDON, T., Mitcheldean, Gloucestershire, linen-draper.

### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

NEIGHBOUR, T. & T., King-street, West Smithfield, wine-merchants.

### BANKRUPTS.

APPLEING, S., jun., Spital-square, silk-manufacturer.  
BURR, R. & C., Bentinck-street, Manchester-square, upholsters.  
DAWSON, R. V., Chiswell-street, veterinary surgeon.  
DUNELL, R., St. John-street, Smithfield, dealer in hay.  
FIRTH, J., Manchester, cotton-spinner.  
HARRIS, J., Plymouth, painter.  
HOPE, D. & C., Manchester, silk-manufacturers.  
JACKSON, R. P., Liverpool, sail-maker.  
JOHNSON, T. & J. J., Lant-street, Southwark, carpenters.  
D'OLIVEIRA, J. A. G. & F. G., Old Jewry, merchants.  
PRENTICE, W., High-street, Southwark, ironmonger.  
LEWIS, F. R., Kent-terrace, Regent's-park, victualler.  
RICKARDS, G. H., Cowley-road, Brixton, wine-merchant.  
SHEPPARD, J., Lechlade, Gloucestershire, baker.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1831.

### INSOLVENTS.

DAVIS, J., Worcester, glover.  
NEWMAN, G., Pancras-la., Cheapside, agent.

### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

CLARK, J., Jewry-street, Aldgate, and Tottenham, wine-merchant.

### BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, G. E., Leman-st., Goodman's-fields, painter.  
BLAXLAND, W., W. Rinder, and T. Kay, Leeds, Yorkshire, cloth-merchants.  
BOWER, R., Liverpool, dealer in smalt.  
HARRISON, J., Liverpool, merchant.  
LAKE, J., South Molton-street, Bond-street, tailor.  
MORGAN, T. jun., Walk, Carmarthenshire, maltster.  
MUSGROVE, R., Bristol, woollen-draper.  
PORTER, R., W., and R., Carlisle, iron-founders.

STABLES, J., Horsforth and Leeds, money scrivener.

WALLEY, G., Tunstall, Staffordshire, vic-tualler.

WRAGGE, F., Preston, Lancashire, stationer.

WHITEHOUSE, W. W., Worcester, skinner.

### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ANDERSON, J. and Co., Glasgow, merchants.

BALLANTINE, J. and Co., Glasgow distillers.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCTOBER 24.—Our supplies have been, since this day se'night, of English wheat, barley, malt, beans and peas, as well as Scotch and Irish flour, good: of English flour, and foreign linseed great: of foreign wheat and barley, as also seeds with above exception, and oats, from all quarters limited. Foreign flour or rye, from any quarter, none.

This day's market was rather numerously attended by buyers, chiefly of London and its vicinity, amongst whom were a considerable number of agents, who were said to be commissioned to make extensive purchases, particularly of wheat, at given reduced prices; but as the sellers were firm as possible to their last week's position, and these consequently not submitted to, the trade was, throughout, very dull. With very fine red and white wheat, rye, malt and peas at last Monday's quotations: with the intermediate kinds of wheat, as also oats, barley, and beans at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Rape and linseeds were held for an advance. In other seeds but little doing at their former currency. Flour was expected to fall before the close of the market, from 3s. to 5s. per sack:—we have not however altered its last week's quotations.

Wheat .....	51s. to 62s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	24s. to 32s.
— fine .....	32s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	34s. to 36s.
— Boilers .....	33s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	34s. to 40s.
Beans, Old .....	35s. to 38s.
— Tick .....	37s. to 46s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	26s. to 31s.
— Poland .....	25s. to 32s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.

— Sides, new, —s. to —s.

Pork, India, new .. 126s. 6d. to —s. 0d.

Pork, Mess, new .. 60s. 0d. to 65s. per barrel

Butter, Belfast, ... 100s. to —s. per cwt.

Carlow .... 102s. to 104s.

Cork ..... 102s. to —s.

Limerick .. 102s. to —s.

Waterford.. 100s. to —s.

— Dublin .. —s. to —s.

Cheese, Cheshire.... 60s. to 60s.

— Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 63s.

— Gloucester, Single.. 48s. to 54s.

— Edam ..... 46s. to 50s.

— Gouda ..... 44s. to 48s.

Hams, Irish..... 42s. to 54s.

### SMITHFIELD—October 17.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great, but not so great as was that of this day se'night: of sheep, calves, and porkers, tolerably good: and the whole of fair average quality. The trade was throughout dull. With beef, mutton, and veal, at a depression of full 2d. per stone: with pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 3,115; sheep and lambs, 20,340; calves, 152; pigs, 200.

### MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 23.

The arrivals this week are fair. The prices much the same as on Monday.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.						
Cons. Ann. }	82	82½	81½	82½	82½	82½

THE ENGLISHMAN, SUNDAY NEWS-PAPER, PRICE SEVENPENCE.—A Saturday Afternoon Edition of THE ENGLISHMAN, admirably adapted for the Country, will in future be published at No. 170, Strand. The publication will take place every Saturday Afternoon, at Four o'clock, in time for the Post, by which it may be received on Sundays 200 miles from London. As a Family Newspaper, THE ENGLISHMAN stands unrivalled; not a line, or an advertisement, of an immoral tendency, is allowed under any circumstances, to stain its pages. THE ENGLISHMAN is a twenty-folio column broad, the same size and price as THE POSTER. The paper upon which it is printed is of an excellent sort, and the type almost new. Indeed, for variety, quantity, and quality, it is the most perfect. In speaking of Sunday Newspapers, it is proverbial to say, THE ENGLISHMAN is almost a library in itself.

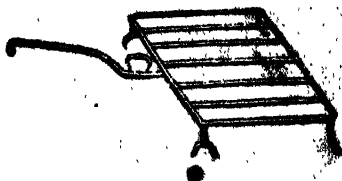
Printed by William Gabbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, 411, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 74.—No. 6.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE

## WORKING PEOPLE.

*On the Scheme for withholding the Ten-Pound Suffrage in Great Towns.*

Winchester, 27th October, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

YOU, who do all the bodily labour, who make to come all the food, all the drink, all the clothing, all the houses, all the horses and carriages; you, without whose help those who do not work would be starved to death, or would die with cold; you, who are at once the only source of the country's wealth, and the only means of its security; to you I now address myself, on the subject of the REFORM BILL, and especially on that part of it which relates to the TEN-POUND VOTERS. Since the Bill was rejected by the Peers, or rather by the Bishops, the disputes on the subject, have chiefly turned on the intention of the ministers with regard to the *next bill*: first, with regard to the *time* of proposing it; next, with regard to the *means* of carrying it; but with me, the main consideration has been, the *provisions* of the *next bill*. The ministers confess, that it is *not to be the same bill*; but they say that it shall be one "*quite as efficient*," though they do not take special care not to let us know what *that* is to be! I, therefore, do not expect of them, and I am persuaded that no persons who have been accustomed to have confidence in them, will find that they have been the sport of those who have, in a very crafty manner, been urging them to adopt addresses containing such expressions, at the moment when the

ministers themselves say, that there are to be "*alterations*" in that bill (by which bill they said they would *stand or fall*), and when they will not tell us *what those alterations are to be*!

The slang of the day is, that it is to be a bill "*quite as efficient*" as the last. But here is a phrase, here are three words, about the meaning of which, as applied here, whole volumes may be written, and with a fair show of sound argument on both sides. They say, however, that there are to be "*alterations*;" and as they will not tell us *what those are to be*, we have in the first place, a right to presume that they will make the Bill *less* *advantageous* with the *rights and wishes* of the people. This we have, at the very least, a clear right to presume; and, then, we are at perfect liberty to guess at the intended *alterations*, and to offer, before-hand, our objections to them. This is what I am now about to do with regard to one of what I believe to be the intended *alterations*, namely, the raising of the *sum of rent*, required as a qualification for voting, in large towns. I believe that there will be *many alterations* in the bill, every one tending to abridge the benefits which the people would have derived from the late bill; but I shall at present confine myself to *this one alteration*; the nature and tendency of which I ought, however, clearly to explain before I proceed to show how unjust, how insolent, how foolish, and how dreadfully mischievous, such an alteration would be.

The bill, which the bishops have caused to be rejected, provides, that in cities and towns, which are in future to send Members to Parliament, every man who pays a rent of ten pounds a year shall have a vote; and as the rents in great towns are high, this would give votes to *great numbers of persons*; and would, of course, give to the *working people* more than in the choosing of Members of Parliament; and this I believe to be the main thing, or one of

main things, that it is now intended to *alter*, so as to make the yearly rent in great towns *higher than ten pounds*; and thereby to cause the voters to be four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, *less in number*; and by that means give the working people *no share at all* in the choosing of those who are to make the laws affecting their liberties and lives! The pretence for doing this is, that it is *not fair* to give a vote to a ten-pound renter in a *great town* when you give no more than a vote to a ten-pound renter in a *small town*, where rents are *not half so high*, and where no *working man* pays a rent of ten pounds. "Not fair!" Why, then, to make it fair, give votes to *five-pound* renters in *small towns*! That is the way to make it fair, unless you have the impudence and the folly to declare openly that you mean, by hook or by crook, to **EXCLUDE THE WORKING PEOPLE ALTOGETHER**, and even every *parent, relation, or friend* of the working people! Declare this openly at once, and then the working people will know how they stand, and what they ought to do; but do not attempt to deceive them with false pretences about "*fair play*!" The bill that has been rejected, effectually shuts all the working class out of the voting in *counties and in small towns*. In the choosing of *seven Members out of eight*, they would have *no share at all*, even according to the *rejected bill*, which was sufficiently bad in that respect; but if the alteration that I am speaking of be made, it will shut them out altogether, and they will enjoy no more of political rights than the slaves in Virginia or Jamaica enjoy.

But do I believe, can I believe, that such a monstrous scheme is on foot, and that such an alteration is intended? I can believe it: I do believe it; and it is because I do believe it that I condemn, in any one and in every one, all expression of *confidence in the Ministers*. But why do I believe it? That is well asked; and I will frankly answer. In the *first place*, the ten-pound suffrage was the most weighty objection, the thing most bitterly *complained of*, by all the *Lords who opposed the bill*:

SECONDLY, this part of the bill was *not defended* by any of the Ministers: and, THIRDLY, the LORD CHANCELLOR, who spoke at nearly the close of the debate, clearly, to the best of my comprehension, expressed *himself ready to make alterations in this part of the bill*; and, of course, those alterations were to have been such as to *remove the ground of the objections* of the opposing Lords; that is to say, such as to *raise the standard* of the suffrage in all the great towns. This is a matter of vast importance: it is a vital matter: it is the *all in all* of the bill, because it is here, and *here only*, that it holds out anything like *hope to the millions*: and, therefore, let us have, here, the *very words* of the Lord Chancellor.

At the beginning of his speech (8th October), he said, "I have listened with profound attention to the debate, of which this, I believe, will be the last night, and which has already occupied five days, and having heard a vast variety of objections, having weighed the arguments on both sides, and *careless whether I give offence in any quarter*, I must say, that I am so far moved by some points urged as to *be ready to reconsider some matters upon which I had deemed that my mind was sufficiently made up*." After an hour or two of very unmeaning stuff, he came to this: "In London and the great towns, in the Tower Hamlets, in Lambeth, and the like, ten pounds is a *low qualification*; but in other places it is not. **TWENTY POUNDS** was **ORIGINALLY DESTINED** for the qualification; but, upon inquiry into the circumstances, of the small towns, we were *induced to abandon it*. But if noble Lords, speaking upon the question in general, choose to object to this qualification that it is uniform, and say that it ought to be different at *divers places*—lower in the smaller towns, and higher in the larger—I will not say that I agree with them; I will not say what was originally *my opinion*; I will not tell the *reasons* that *now* recommend the bill, as it stands, to my support; but I will say that whoever holds that doctrine will

"find me ready to secure for him the most ample, the most scrutinising, the most candid discussion of the subject in the committee: I speak as an individual; candour compels me to say thus much. But I, at the same time, say that it is *emphatically* a subject for the committee."

Now, mark; I, in commenting on these passages, said, that they showed *two things*; first, that Brougham meant, by his declared *carelessness about whom he might offend*, to indicate his readiness to abandon Lord Grey; and, next, that Brougham was ready to give up the ten-pound suffrage. Mark, I say! Mark, that he has most stoutly and vehemently disclaimed all intention to quit Lord Grey; but he has not said a word, nor has Lord Grey said a word, in the way of disclaiming the intention to give up the ten-pound suffrage! Pray mark that! Observe, besides, that twenty pounds was, at first, intended. Ay, my friends, and it was, at first, intended not to disfranchise any one rotten borough; but merely to take one Member from each of the very rottenest of them, open the voting to the hundreds around them all, make them all still more rotten than they are, and to give Members to a few great towns with a twenty-pound suffrage! That, I say, was their first bill. If that be not true, let the *COUNCIL* deny it, and tell us how the first bill differed, substantially, from what I have here described.

Such are my reasons for believing that the intention of the Ministers is to take the ten-pound suffrage from the great towns, and thus to take out from all share in the power of choosing Members of Parliament every one of those working millions, about a quarter of a million of whom the leaders at Birmingham are causing to shout for confidence in these very Ministers; and which shout, and the like shouts for confidence in them, will, if any thing can, enable these Ministers to carry their intention into effect!

Let us now look at the *injustice*, the *insolence*, and the *folly* of the thing intended. For the people, for the work-

ing people, to have consented to give a trial to the rejected bill, was showing unparalleled forbearance, was making an enormous sacrifice of clear right for the sake of peace; no right, not even that of enjoying life and limb, being clearer than the right of every man of sane mind, and unstained by indelible crime, to have a voice in the choosing of those who are to make the laws affecting his liberty and life. Let me, however, upon this occasion, throw down the gauntlet to our foes; let me prove the right; and, when I have done that, let those who have the audacity to call the ten-pound suffrage "a boon" which they have a right to withhold, again call upon the nation for "confidence." This right is the great and important matter; and therefore, my friends, lend me your patient attention, while I go to the very foundation of it, and show that it is built upon the rock of reason and justice; that it is founded in the law of nature itself; that it belongs to man as completely as does his right to eat or to breathe. Attend patiently, my friends, while I prove this; and, when I have done that, let us, if we be able, express suitable scorn at those who are bawling for "confidence" in men, who will not tell us that they do not intend to withhold the pitiful portion of this right which the ten-pound suffrage would restore to you.

Time was when all the inhabitants of this island laid claim to all things in it, without the words owner or property being known. God had given to all the people all the land and all the trees, and every thing else, just as he has given the burrows and the grass to the rabbits, and the bushes and the berries to the birds; and each man had the good things of this world in a greater or less degree in proportion to his skill, his strength, and his valour. This is what is called living under the LAW OF NATURE; that is to say, the law of self-preservation and self-enjoyment, without any restraint imposed by a regard for the good of our neighbours.

In process of time, no matter from what cause, men made amongst themselves a compact, or an agreement, to



divide the land and its products in such manner that each should have a share to his own exclusive use, and that each man should be protected in the exclusive enjoyment of his share by the *united power of the rest*; and, in order to insure the due and certain application of this united power, the whole of the people agreed to be bound by regulations, called *Laws*. Thus arose civil society; thus arose *property*; thus arose the words *mine and thine*. One man became possessed of more good things than another, because he was more industrious, more skilful, or more frugal: so that LABOUR, of one sort or another, was the FOUNDATION of all property.

In what manner civil societies proceeded in providing for the making of laws, and for the enforcing of them; the various ways in which they took measures to protect the weak against the strong; how they have gone to work to secure wealth against the attacks of poverty; these are subjects that it would require volumes to detail: but these truths are written on the heart of man; namely, that all men are, by nature, *equal*; that civil society can never have arisen from any motive other than that of the *benefit of the whole*; that, whenever civil society makes the greater part of the people *worse off* than they were under the Law of Nature, the civil compact is, in conscience, dissolved, and all the rights of nature return; that, in civil society, the *rights and the duties go hand in hand*, and that when the former are taken away, the latter cease to exist.

Now, then, in order to act well our part, as citizens, or members of the community, we ought clearly to understand *what our rights are*; for, on our enjoyment of these depend our duties, rights going before duties, as value received goes before payment. I know well, that just the contrary of this is taught by those who fatten on our toil; for they tell us, that our *first duty* is to *obey the laws*; and it is not many years ago that HORSLEY, Bishop of Rochester, told us, that the *people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them*.

The truth is, however, that the citizen's *first duty* is to maintain his rights, as it is the purchaser's first duty to receive the thing for which he has contracted.

Our rights in society are numerous; the right of enjoying life and property; the right of exerting our physical and mental powers in an innocent manner; but the great right of all, and without which there is, in fact, *no right*, is, the right of *taking a part in the making of the laws by which we are governed*. This right is founded in that law of Nature spoken of above; it springs out of the very principle of civil society; for what *compact*, what *agreement*, what *common consent*, can possibly be imagined by which men would give up all the rights of nature, all the free enjoyment of their bodies and their minds, in order to subject themselves to rules and laws, *in the making of which they should have nothing to say*, and which should be enforced upon them *without their assent*? The great right, therefore, of every man, the right of rights, the right of having a share in the making of the laws, to which the good of the whole makes it his duty to submit.

With regard to the means of enabling every man to enjoy this share, they have been different in different countries, and, in the same countries, at different times. Generally it has been, and in great communities it must be, by the choosing of a few to speak and act *in behalf of the many*: and, as there will hardly ever be *perfect unanimity* amongst men assembled for any purpose whatever, where fact and argument are to decide the question, the decision is left to the *majority*, the compact being that the decision of the majority shall be that of the whole. *Minors* are excluded from this right; because the law considers them as infants, because it makes the parent answerable for civil damages committed by them, and because of their legal incapacity to make any compact. *Women* are excluded because husbands are answerable in law for their wives, as to their civil damages, and because the very nature of the sex makes the exercise of this right incompatible with the

harmony and happiness of society. Men stained with *indelible crimes* are excluded, because they have forfeited their right by violating the laws to which their assent has been given. *Insane persons* are excluded, because they are dead in the eye of the law, because the law demands no duty at their hands, because they cannot violate the law, because the law cannot affect them; and, therefore, they ought to have no hand in making it.

But, with these exceptions, where is the ground whereon to maintain that any man ought to be deprived of this right, which he derives directly from the law of Nature, and which springs, as I said before, out of the same source with civil society itself? Am I told, that property ought to confer this right? Property sprang from labour, and not labour from property; so that if there were to be a distinction here, it ought to give the preference to labour. All men are equal by nature; nobody denies that they all ought to be *equal in the eye of the law*: but how are they to be thus equal, if the law begin by suffering some to enjoy this right and refusing the enjoyment to others? It is the duty of every man to defend his country against an enemy, a duty imposed by the law of nature as well as by that of civil society, and without the recognition of this duty, there could exist no independent nation and no civil society. Yet, how are you to maintain that this is the duty of every man, if you deny to some men the enjoyment of a share in making the laws? Upon what principle are you to contend for *equality* here, while you deny its existence as to the right of sharing in the making of the laws? The poor man has a body and a soul as well as the rich man; like the latter, he has parents, wife and children; a bullet or a sword is as deadly to him as to the rich man; there are hearts to ache and tears to flow for him as well as for the squire or the lord or the shopmonger; yet, notwithstanding this equality, he is to risk all, and, if he escape, he is still to be denied an equality of rights! If, in such a state of things, the artisan or labourer, when called out to fight in

defence of his country, were to answer:

"Why should I risk my life? I have no possession but my labour; no enemy will take that from me; you, the rich, possess all the land and all its products; you make what laws you please without my participation or assent: you punish me at your pleasure; you say that my want of property excludes me from the right of having a share in the making of the laws; you say that the property that I have in my labour is *nothing worth*; on what ground, then, do you call on me to risk my life?" If, in such a case, such questions were put, the answer is very difficult to be imagined.

In cases of *civil commotion* the matter comes still more home to us. On what ground is the rich man to call the artisan from his shop or the labourer from the field to join the sheriff's posse or militia, if he refuse to the labourer and artisan the right of sharing in the making of the laws? Why are they to risk their lives here? To *uphold the laws*, and to protect property? What! *laws*, is the making of, or assenting to, which, they have been allowed to have no share? Property, of which they are said to possess none? What! compel men to come forth and risk their lives for the *protection of property*; and then, in the same breath, tell them, that they are not allowed to share in the making of the laws, because, and **ONLY BECAUSE, they have no property!** Not because they have committed any crime; not because they are idle or profligate; not because they are vicious in any way; but solely because they have *no property*; and yet at the same time compel them to come forth and *risk their lives* for the *protection of property!*

But, the *paupers!* Ought they to share in the making of the laws? And why not? What is a *pauper*; what is one of the men to whom this degrading appellation is applied? A *very poor man*; a man who is, from some cause or other, unable to supply himself with food and raiment without aid from the parish rates. And is that circumstance alone to deprive him of his right, a right

of which he stands more in need than any other man? Perhaps he has, for many years of his life, contributed directly to those rates; and ten thousand to one he has, by his labour, contributed to them indirectly. The aid which, under such circumstances, he receives, is his right; he receives it not as an alms: he is no mendicant; he begs not; he comes to receive that which the law of the country awards him in lieu of the larger portion assigned him by the law of nature.

Is it, then, consistent with justice, with humanity, with reason, to deprive a man of the most precious of his political rights, because, and only because, he has been, in a pecuniary way, singularly unfortunate? The Scripture says, "Despise not the poor because he is poor;" that is to say, despise him not on account of his poverty. Why then deprive him of his right; why put him out of the pale of the law on account of his poverty? There are some men, to be sure, who are reduced to poverty by their vices, by idleness, by gaming, by drinking, by squandering; but the far greater part by bodily ailments, by misfortunes, to the effects of which all men may, without any fault, and even without any folly, be exposed: and is there a man on earth so cruelly unjust as to wish to add to the sufferings of such persons by stripping them of their political rights? How many thousands of industrious and virtuous men have, within these few years, been brought down from a state of competence to that of pauperism! And is it just to strip such men of their rights, merely because they are thus brought down? When I was at Ely, in the spring of last year, there were, in that neighbourhood, three paupers cracking stones on the roads, who had all three been, not only rate-payers, but owners of the poor, within seven years of the day when I was there. Is there any man so barbarous as to say, that these men ought, merely on account of their misfortune, to be deprived of their political rights? Their right to receive relief is as perfect as any right of property; and would you, merely because they claim

this right, strip them of another right? To say no more of the injustice and the cruelty, is there reason, is there common sense, in this? What! if a farmer or tradesman, be, by flood or by fire, so totally ruined as to be compelled, surrounded by his family, to resort to the parish-book, would you break the last heart-string of such a man by making him feel the degrading loss of his political rights?

Here, here is the point, on which we are to take our stand. There are always men enough to plead the cause of the rich; enough and enough to echo the woes of the fallen great; but, be it our part to show compassion for, and maintain the rights of, those who labour. Poverty is not a crime, and, though it sometimes arises from faults, it is not, even in that case, to be visited by punishment beyond that which it brings with itself. Remember, that poverty is decreed by the very nature of man. The Scripture says, that "the poor shall never cease from out of the land;" that is to say, that there shall always be some very poor people. This is inevitable from the very nature of things. It is necessary to the existence of mankind, that a very large portion of every people should live by manual labour; and, as such labour is pain, more or less, and as no living creature likes pain, it must be, that the far greater part of labouring people will endure only just as much of this pain as is absolutely necessary to the supply of their daily wants. Experience says that this has always been, and reason and nature tell us that this must always be. Therefore, when ailments, when losses, when untoward circumstances of any sort, stop or diminish the daily supply, want comes; and every just government will provide, from the general stock, the means to satisfy this want.

Nor is the deepest poverty without its useful effects in society. To the practice of the virtues of abstinence, sobriety, care, frugality, industry, and even honesty and amiable manners and acquirement of talent, the two great motives are, to get upwards in riches or fame, and to avoid going downwards

to poverty, the last of which is the most powerful of the two. It is, therefore, not with contempt, but with compassion that we should look on those whose state is one of the decrees of nature, from whose sad example we profit, and to whom, in return, we ought to make compensation, by every indulgent and kind act in our power, and particularly by a defence of their rights. To those who labour, we, who labour not with our hands, owe all that we eat, drink, and wear; all that shades us by day and that shelters us by night; all the means of enjoying health and pleasure; and therefore, if we possess talent for the task, we are ungrateful or cowardly, or both, if we omit any effort within our power to prevent them from being slaves; and, disguise the matter, how we may, a slave, a real slave, every man is, who has no share in making the laws which he is compelled to obey.

What is a slave? For, let us not be amused by a name; but look well into the matter. A slave is, in the first place, a man who has no property; and property means something that he has, and that nobody can take from him without his leave, or consent. Whatever man, no matter what he may call himself or any-body else may call him, can have his money or his goods taken from him by force, by virtue of an order, or ordinance, or law, which he has had no hand in making, and to which he has not given his assent, has no property, and is merely a depositary of the goods of his master. A slave has no property in his labour; and any man who is compelled to give up the fruit of his labour to another, at the arbitrary will of that other, has no property in his labour, and is, therefore, a slave, whether the fruit of his labour be taken from him directly or indirectly. If it be said that he gives up the fruit of his labour by his own will, and that it is not forced from him. I answer, to be sure he may avoid eating and drinking and may go naked; but then he must die; and on this condition, and this condition only, can he refuse to give up the fruit of his labour. Die, wretch, or surrender as much of your

"income, or the fruit of your labour, as your masters choose to take." This is, in fact, the language of the rulers to every man who is refused to have a share in the making of the laws, to which he is forced to submit.

But some one may say, slaves are private property, and may be bought and sold, out and out, like cattle. And what is it to the slave, whether he be the property of one or of many; or, what matters it to him, whether he pass from master to master by a sale for an indefinite term, or be let to hire by the year, month, or week? It is, in no case, the flesh and blood and bones that are sold, but the labour; and if you actually sell the labour of man, is not that man a slave, though you sell it for only a short time at once? And, as to the principle, so ostentatiously displayed in the case of the black slave-trade, that "man ought not to have a property in man," it is even an advantage to the slave to be private property, because the owner has then a clear and powerful interest in the preservation of his life, health, and strength, and will, therefore, furnish him amply with the food and raiment necessary for this end. Every one knows that public property is never so well taken care of as private property; and this, too, on the maxim, that "that which is every-body's business is no-body's business." Every one knows that a rented farm is not so well kept in heart as a farm in the hands of the owner. And, as to punishment and restraints, what difference is there, whether these be inflicted and imposed by a private owner, or his overseer, or by the agents and overseers of a body of proprietors? In short, if you can cause a man to be imprisoned or whipped if he do not work enough to please you; if you can sell him by auction for a time limited; if you can forcibly separate him from his wife to prevent their having children; if you can shut him up in his dwelling-place when you please, and for as long a time as you please; if you can force him to draw a cart or wagon like a beast of draught; if you can, when the humour seizes you, and at the suggestions of your mere fears, or

whim, cause him to be shut up in a dungeon during your pleasure; if you can, at your pleasure, do these things to him, is it not to be insolently hypocritical to affect to call him a *free man*? But, after all, these may all be wanting, and yet the man be a *slave*, if he be allowed to have *no property*; and, as I have shown, *no property* he can have, not even in that *labour* which is not only property, but the *basis* of all other property, unless he have a *share in making the laws* to which he is compelled to submit.

It is said, that he may have this share *virtually* though not in form and *name*; for that his *employers* may have such share, and they will, as a matter of course, *act for him*. This doctrine, pushed home, would make the *chief* of the nation the sole maker of the laws; for if the rich can thus *act* for the poor, why should not the King *act* for the rich? This matter is very completely explained by the practice in the *United States of America*. There the general rule is, that every *free man*, with the exception of men stained with crime and men insane, has a right to have a voice in choosing those who make the laws. The number of representatives sent to the Congress is, in each state, proportioned to the number of *free people*. But as there are *slaves* in some of the states, these states have a *certain portion of additional members on account of these slaves*! Thus the slaves are represented by their owners; and this is real, practical, open, and undisguised *virtual representation*! No doubt that white men may be represented in the same way, for the colour of the skin is nothing; but let them be called slaves, then, let it not be pretended that they are *free men*; let not the word *liberty* be polluted by being applied to their state; let it be openly and honestly avowed, as in *America*, that they are slaves; and then will come the question whether men ought to exist in such a state, or whether they ought to do everything in their power to rescue themselves from it.

If the right to have a share in making the laws were merely a feather, if it

were a fanciful thing; if it were only a speculative theory; if it were but an *abstract principle*; on any of these suppositions, it might be considered as of little importance. But it is none of these; it is a practical matter; the want of it not only is, but must of necessity be, felt by every man who lives under that want. If it were proposed to the shopkeepers in a town, that a rich man or two, living in the neighbourhood, should have power to send *whenever they pleased*, and take away as much as they pleased of the money of the shopkeepers, and apply it to what uses they pleased; what an outcry the shopkeepers would make! And yet, what would this be *more* than taxes imposed on those who have no voice in choosing the persons who impose them? Who lets another man put his hand into his purse when he pleases? Who that has the power to help himself, surrenders his goods or his money to the will of another? Has it not always been, and must it not always be true, that if your property be at the absolute disposal of others, your ruin is certain? And if this be, of necessity, the case amongst individuals and parts of the community, it must be the case with regard to the whole community.

And experience shows us that it always has been the case. The natural and inevitable consequences of a want of this right in the people have, in all countries, been *taxes* pressing the industrious and laborious to the earth; *severe laws* and *standing armies* to compel the people to submit to those taxes; wealth, luxury, and splendour, amongst those who make the laws and receive the taxes; poverty, misery, immorality, amongst those who bear the burdens; and at last, commotion, revolt, revenge, and rivers of blood. Such have always been, and such must always be, the consequences of a want of this right of all men to share in the making of the laws, a right, as I have before shown, derived immediately from the law of nature, springing up out of the same source with civil society, and cherished in the heart of man by reason and by experience.

Such is the *foundation* of this right, and such are the *general consequences* of a want of the enjoyment of it; of all which consequences, *the last only excepted*, we have already amply tasted in this country. If this right had been enjoyed in England, should we have seen the families of the aristocracy fed from the pension and sinecure flats; that is to say, on the fruit of the people's labour? Should we have seen men *transported for seven years* for what is called *poaching*; that is to say, for taking, or attempting to take, wild animals, and thereby *disturb the sports* of the rich? Should we have seen laws inflicting ruin, and, contingently, destruction of body, on the people, for turning barley into malt, or gathering hops from their hedges? Should we have seen old men, and even *women*, harnessed and made to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden? Should we have seen a law to *hang a man* for striking another *without doing him any bodily harm*? Should we have seen Lords GUILDFORD and WALSHINGHAM (both of whom voted against the Reform Bill) with *four church-livings each*, while those who do the duties of the parishes are little better off than labouring men? Should we have seen the Dean and Chapter of ELY taking away the great tithes of the parish of LEXENHEATH, a VICAR (who has *another living*) taking away the small tithes, while a curate, with *ten children*, has *seventy-five pounds* a year allowed him, and no house to live in; and who digs, like a common labourer, to raise potatoes as his almost only food? Should we have seen military and naval academies, for the purpose of educating the children of the rich, by means of taxes raised on the poor? Should we have seen the magistrates allow, for the maintenance of the hard-working man, not half so much as the subsistence of the lowest common soldier? Should we have seen that soldier receive and send his letters *postage-free*, while the working man is compelled to pay an enormous tax (besides the *cost of carriage*) on his letters? Should we have seen any of these things? Should we ever have

seen Pitt's and Sidmouth's and Castlereagh's dungeoning and gagging Bills? And would our miserable fellow-subjects in Ireland ever have seen laws to shut them up in their houses from sunset to sunrise on *pains of transportation*? Would they ever have seen any of the scores of horrid scenes of which that of NEWTONBARRY is *only one*? And, should we ever have been covered with the eternal disgrace of leaving them without poor-laws, while thousands upon thousands of them have died from starvation, after having eked out their existence by feeding on seaweed and other such things, while the ports of their fine country were crowded with ships and steam-boats, carrying away its beef, pork, flour, butter, sheep, hogs, and poultry? Should we ever have heard of a *surplus-population* and a *surplus-produce* at the same time? Should we ever have heard of taxes, raised for the purpose of getting the *working people* out of the country, while the lands are half cultivated; and (for I must stop somewhere) should we ever have seen, at the same time, enormous taxes raised in order to give premiums to the idlers to increase their numbers? No: none of these things should we ever have seen; nor any of these corn-laws, combination-laws, or laws about truck, or about STRUGGS BOURNE; for neither of these things would have found a place in the mind of man.

Well, then, if such be the foundation and nature of *this right*; if the consequences of a want of its enjoyment be such; and if, with the exceptions above-stated, it is clearly a right belonging to *every man*, what injustice to attempt to withhold it even from the small portion of working men to whom this REJECTED BILL would have yielded it! And what impudence, what insolence, to accord this right to a tax or tithe-eater, who is, only by taxes or tithes, enabled to live in a house of twenty pounds a year, while you withhold it from the man from whose labour come those taxes and those tithes! The bare thought of such insolence awakens indignation that sets utterance at defiance! Go, DENMAN; go to NOTTINGHAM again, and tell them

there that you belong to a ministry who think right to TAKE AWAY, directly, the suffrages of *out-lying voters*, and, in future, of all *burghesses and freemen*, and who have now found out, that a rent of ten pounds a year, in great towns, is *too low* to qualify a man to give a vote for a member to serve in Parliament! Go, DANMAN, go and tell them that! You need not, then, put forward your claims on them for your trouble in the prosecution of me and for your mighty and anxious labours in Hampshire and Wiltshire. You have only to tell them THAT! Ah! but will you not be preserved from this for six years to come! I verily believe, that even that will be attempted.

Let it! I would much rather it should, than that this withholding of the ten-pound suffrage should take place. *What did I support the Reform Bill for?* Not because it gave all that I thought it ought to give. It was expressly stated by the advocates of the bill, that the *ballot* and the *duration of Parliaments* were to become subjects of distinct and subsequent discussion. The *suffrage* was the great matter; and though it fell far short of justice to the *working people*, I saw that, by making the standard so low as ten pounds rent in the great towns, the *working people* would, in a few years, return from fifty to a hundred members, who would be likely to maintain their rights. I saw the injustice of shutting out the *agricultural labourers*, as the bill completely did; but then I knew, that it was impossible for a member to be faithful to the interests of the weaver and the ploughman, those of the hedger and the ploughman. I saw but a few members, comparatively, to be returned by the *working people*; but then I knew that those few would be REAL MEN; and this BARNES saw too, when he foreboded that the great towns would send "padding men, who would look into all the papers laid before the House." I saw these things; and on this ground, and no other, I supported the Reform Bill.

But if the ten-pound suffrage be to be raised, or, if it be to be so altered, by transferring it from rent to rate, or

in any manner to lessen the number of voters in the great towns, then I say, that the bill is an evil, clearly an evil, instead of a good; for then it will be a bill to *disfranchise the few working men who now have a vote, and not to enfranchise one single working man in the whole kingdom!* It will immediately disfranchise the *out-lying burghesses and freemen*, and also disfranchise the *scot-and-lot voters*; and it will, in a short time, disfranchise the *resident burghesses and freemen*; while to not one single *working man* in any part of the kingdom will it give a vote; and, with regard to political rights, all the *working millions* of this kingdom will be "virtually represented," that is to say, by their *masters*, precisely as the blacks in Virginia are by theirs!

And I am to express my "confidence," am I, in a Ministry who, I fear (and have given reasons for my fearing), entertain a design to do this act of insolent injustice! Of all men I shall be the most ready and the most happy to find, and to acknowledge, that my fears have been unfounded; and, in that case, I shall again be ready to give "the whole bill" a "fair trial;" and shall be the last man in England to cavil at the acts of Ministers, or to do any thing to annoy them, or make their course difficult. But, as things now stand; with announced "alterations" in the bill, with the nature of those alterations kept a secret from us; and with the speech of the Lord Chancellor before our eyes, it would not only be folly, but downright baseness, in me, and treachery to you, the *working people*, were I to refrain from expressing beforehand my opinions upon the subject.

If this foul deed should be attempted in a new bill, I shall lose not a moment in *parliament* against that bill myself; and I shall advise all others, and especially the *working people*, to do the same. I would find hard ground for hoping that the necessity will not arise: but, if the new bill contain any thing, no matter what, to lessen the number of voters in the great towns; then let the *working people* in those towns, and in the *small towns* and the *counties* also,



turn with scorn from the preachers up of *patience*! What was the ground on which I gave my support to the bill? I saw that it would immediately disfranchise all *non-resident* voters, and, in a short time, all the *working people who now have votes*; but I saw, on the other hand, that, by giving a vote to *ten-pound renters in the great towns*, it would insure the return of from fifty to a hundred members, by the free and uncorrupt voices of the *working people*; and I knew that those members would soon cause to be done those things which ought to be done. But if this provision of the bill be taken out, or damaged, am I *still* to approve of the bill? Am I to see *disfranchised* all the working men who *now* vote, and to see no working men *enfranchised* in their stead: am I to see, by a false and base pretence about "*uniformity*," the qualification in great towns so raised as to lessen that number of working voters which is, according to the bill, already too small; am I to see, in addition to the working country-people, those of the great towns premeditatedly stripped of their rights! am I to see the few oligarchs of the boroughs exchanged for a swarm of oligarchs, one of whom is to be found in every counting-house, and in every great homestead; am I to call that "*a reform*" which will be manifestly intended to disfranchise the whole of the working people, and to make them, for ages, the slaves of a grinding, an omnipresent, never-sleeping, *oligarchy of money*, with little finger heavier than the loins of the boroughmongers: suspecting this to be intended, am I to express my "*confidence*" in those by whom I think the intention to be entertained! Paralysed be my hand when I write, blistered and burnt up be my tongue when I pronounce, such "*confidence*," and, eternal shame be the lot of all those who (suspecting as I do) are calling on the people to express or repose such "*confidence*!"

My friends, be not deceived, be not cajoled, be prepared! The moment I arrive at the certainty that the Ministers intend to do this thing, I will give

you my advice as to *several steps that you ought to take*. In the meanwhile, I remain, your faithful Friend,  
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
CHOPSTICKS OF HAMPSHIRE,  
On the County Meeting at Winchester,  
held on the 26th of October, 1831.

Bell court, Oct 31, 1831

MY FRIENDS,

LORD GREY, our present Prime Minister, said, some years ago, that he would *stand by his Order*, meaning the *Order of Nobility*. I never saw any harm in that declaration, though it gave great offence to many, who, most likely, wanted to be nobles themselves. For my part, I do not want any such thing; nor do I wish to see the order of nobility pulled down. But, as I belong to *THE ORDER OF THE CHOPSTICKS*, which, by-the-by, is much more ancient than the Order of Nobility, LORD GREY will excuse me, if I express my resolution to *stand by my Order*; and that I will certainly do, as long as I have a mind to think and a hand to put my thoughts upon paper.

Along with this, I shall send down into Hampshire, and all over the kingdom, my *TWO-PENNY TALKER* for November. Read that with attention; it will fully explain to you the reason for my opposing, at the meeting, an Address which expressed *confidence* in the Ministers. Pray read it attentively; and then you will see how deeply you are all interested in the matter. But, the object of this present paper is to give you an account of the proceedings at the late *COUNTY-MEETING*; for, not a fiftieth part of you could be present at the meeting; and even those who were present could know little or nothing of the wheel-within-wheel that were put in motion to deceive them, and to give a false appearance to what was really intended. The present time is of great importance; on the measure, to be adopted within the next six months, may depend, whether you shall again live



happy lives, or, be treated, all your days, and your children after you all their days, as degraded paupers; and in determining the nature and tendency of those measures, much will and must depend on the part which you, yourselves shall act. Well did you act your part at the late county-meeting; you did a good, the effects of which you will feel very speedily; and, let this encourage you always, if possible, to attend upon such occasions. For, I pray you to observe, that neither I nor any other of your friends can do any good *without you at our backs*. Our facts and our arguments weigh not as a feather against the howlings and the revillings of crowds of tax-eaters and tithe-eaters, who are like so many wolves that are afraid of losing their prey. Therefore, always attend; and be alive and resolute in supporting your friends and keeping down your foes. I shall now proceed to give you an account of what took place at the last meeting.

This meeting had been prepared by a combination of parties: first, some of the parsons, and some of the bitterest of the old Tories, as will appear by the names to the requisition, as published by the Sheriff, which names were as follows. But I must mention the other parties first. There were the Whigs, including the two new county Members, and Mr. Jervoise; there were the Barings, and the set belonging to them; and then there was a knot of reformers, consisting of Mr. Henry Marsh and some others, who consent to be talked over by all the others, particularly by the Barings. The names of the requisitionists, as published by Sir Harry Tichborne, the High Sheriff, will show that this statement of mine is correct:

J. Macdonald, M. P.	R. Carleton
C. S. Lefevre, M. P.	Chas. Richards, Clerk
G. F. Jervoise	Thos. Garriar, Clerk
Charles Mill	W. R. Newbolt, D. D.
Thomas Baring, M. P.	James Weld
Richard Simeon	George Atherton
A. Paget	C. D. Judd, Clerk
John B. Carter, M. P.	J. G. Gage
A. Atherton, M. P.	William Grant
H. B. Wither	James White
W. E. Nightingale	Francis Ellis, Clerk
R. Etwell, Junr., M. P.	John Ewer, Clerk
E. Poulter, Clerk	L. B. Wither, Clerk

John Duthy	J. O. Zillwood, Clerk
W. H. T. Hawley	R. N. Lee
W. Iremonger	James John Hugonin
W. Portal	C. J. Hector
John Portal	Edward Carter
Thomas Butler	P. Williams, Clerk
R. G. Richards, Clerk	William Higgins
John Barker, Clerk	Henry Marsh

Here are Iremonger and Bigg Wither among the desperate old Tories. Here are the Carters, the Portals, amongst the old snp-headed Whigs. Here is Tom Baring, and Zillwood the Parson, lately chaplain to Governor Beckett, at the Castle of Winchester, that used to be called the Jail: and, in order to have a spice of the little knot of reformers, here is Mr. Henry Marsh placed in what they deemed his proper situation, the bottom of the list, the other gentlemen of that party being left to *advertise themselves*.

When I read this requisition, which was forwarded to me in London, I saw clearly what sort of an Address it was intended to send up to his Majesty. It was manifest enough that Iremonger and Bigg Wither had no more wish to have reform in England than they had to have the devil at Wherwell and at Manydown. It was also manifest that the nine parsons by whom the requisition was signed, had much about the same degree of affection for the cause. Here, however, I must except Mr. Poulter and Mr. Newbolt, who, I verily believe, would have no objection to a reform to a very considerable extent. The Whigs by no means want it; but they must appear to want it in order to further their political views, and in order to get at more or less of the public money, which is always the end which they have in view. The Barings wish for reform no more than Iremonger and Bigg Wither; rather less perhaps; and if they were to see the devil, horns, tail and all, at Stratton and the Grange, he would not frighten them more, or so much, as my being returned Member for Manchester. As to the small detachment of gentle and jettish reformers, with Mr. Marsh at their head and Mr. Hector at their tail, I know them very well, and with the exception of Hector, I believe them to be perfectly sincere in their

wishes for reform : but know them not to be proof against the *blandishments of those who are called "great men."*

Therefore, the moment I saw the requisition & foresaw that we should have come from Hampshire an address *full of confidence* in the Ministers ; full of *resignation* to the superior wisdom of his Majesty, his Ministers, and both Houses of Parliament ; full of passive obedience, and non-resistance ; and, in short, an address which would have made the ministerial hack papers exclaim :—"There, look at that sensible county ! No division there ; all is left, where it ought to be left, to those who must know better than the people can know." Thus this county would have done all that it possibly could do to encourage the Ministers to abandon the bill ; and this county could have done much in that way, seeing that it is so rich in church possessions, that it has a bishop who voted against the bill, and two *parson-peers*, Lords GUILFORD and WALSINGHAM, each of whom has the livings of *four parishes* in the county, and each of whom voted against the bill. In short, an unanimous vote of confidence and resignation in *Hampshire* would have been as heavy a blow as the cause of reform could have received.

The moment, therefore, that I received the requisition, though in the height of my corn-harvest, and pulled twenty ways at once in London, I resolved to go down, and I sent before me, in print, some copies of the following handbill :—"HAMPSHIRE MEN.—If you have not a mind to be for ever humbugged slaves, meet me at the county meeting at Winchester, on Wednesday the 20th of this month.—Wm. COBBETT." The next day I received a letter from Mr. Budd, of Burchclere, telling me that he intended to be at Winchester at the county meeting, and sending me in his letter the copy of a resolution, the substance of which is expressed in the last paragraph of the address, which he moved at the meeting, and which will be found here below.

This hand-bill, which was circulated pretty widely, gave the "*Holy Alliance*" some intimation of what they

had to expect. It disconcerted them exceedingly ; and, of all the parsons that had signed the requisition, no one made his appearance but Mr. Poulter. The Iremongers, the Bonham Carters, the Bigg Withers, the Barings, did not show their noses. I was told that Iremonger and Wither were there, and that Tom Baring and the Lord of the Treasury and Bingham, the two heroes of Marwell, were at the meeting ; but their names were never pronounced in my hearing, and certainly none of them, not even old Tom, the successor of Alfred, made their appearance as orators, though Thomas used to make a considerable figure in this way. Mr. Budd, who met me at the BAKER-mow at Winchester, agreeably to his appointment, moved the address which was seconded by me. In the morning, before the meeting took place, we had had an interview with Mr. Marsh, and had given him our address to read, he giving us at the same time a copy, for the purpose of our reading it, of the address which he intended to move ; so that all the parties were duly apprized of what we intended to do, and we were apprized of what they intended to do, the other parties having, as we understood, had communication with them, or were about to have communication with them, which afterwards appeared to be the case, seeing that neither the Tories nor the Whigs had any thing prepared for the meeting, and that certain resolutions, which were proposed by Mr. Jervoise, served as the foundation of the address which the Holy Alliance had finally presented to the meeting by the Deputy Sheriff in the most irregular and queer way, which I shall have to describe by-and-by. There was one thing in which the Holy Alliance were deceived, or rather in which they deceived themselves. Mr. Marsh (God knows for what reason), in his conversation in the morning, took it for granted that he was to move an address, and that our address was to come in the shape of an amendment ; and as he took this to be a matter of course, it would not have been good manners in

us to say any-thing in opposition to an opinion so positively entertained. But Mr. Budd could see nothing either physical or moral to hinder him from being the *beginner* of the business, while all of us who surrounded him saw, in his age, in his experience, in his great knowledge, in his high character, in the spotless and zealous and public-spirited conduct of his whole life, every reason in the world for his taking the lead on an occasion of so much importance, so interesting to the kingdom in general, and involving so deeply the character of this county, with which he has been connected all his life, and in which he has been a greater friend of the farmers and the labourers than any man, be he who he may, that ever set his foot in the county. As soon therefore as the High Sheriff had opened the business by having the requisition read by his Under Sheriff, and by exhorting the meeting to preserve a peaceable, orderly and candid conduct, Mr. Budd, who stood close at the back of the High Sheriff, stepped forward, made his bow to the meeting, began to speak, and, to the apparent great consternation of the Holy Alliance, was, as was just and proper, permitted to proceed, though Mr. Jervoise, who stood a little behind Mr. Budd, had got his paper out and was evidently disappointed at not being suffered to be the beginner. The High Sheriff, too, who had, doubtless, received a previous intimation of Mr. Jervoise's intention, seemed to look round for him; but it was too late. It was not the first county meeting by many a score that Mr. Budd had been at. Our leader was the fittest man in the world for the occasion. On he went, made a short and very pithy speech, and concluded with reading his address, which he did in a very audible voice and to the great apparent satisfaction of the meeting.

(For the Address, see last Register, p. 223.)

I seconded the address, in a speech, in which of course I urged the adoption of it; but the address speaks for itself, and wants no speech to explain it. Then came Mr. Jervoise, with his resolutions, which he very modestly propos-

ed, merely observing, that he was a man known to the county, and rather hinting that he was not as this "*publican* is." After him came Mr. Marsh, not proposing or supporting any-thing, as far as I could learn; but saying a great deal about the bishops, and particularly about "*Mr. Cobbett*," to whom he would persist in ascribing the address that had been moved, and saying not a word about Mr. Budd, any more than if there had not been such a man in the world, though he well knew, that the *jet* of the address; that is to say, the suggestion at the close of it, which was a matter of so much importance, was altogether the work of Mr. Budd, who was, as far as any recommendation to his Majesty went, the real author of the address.

After Mr. Marsh, who had appeared to be less *joyous* than formerly, came a Mr. SPENCE, a broker, or pawnbroker, from Portsmouth, who appeared to speak as the supporter of Mr. Jervoise's resolutions, and who, as Mr. Marsh had done before him, urged the necessity of expressing confidence in Ministers. This was, in truth, but a dismal day for Mr. MANSB, who has long been the *wir*, *ex-officio*, of the county, for whose well-contrived jests the audience always, heretofore, had their laugh ready on the nail; but who, to-day, had the mortification to call forth, first, marks of *ill-timeliness*, next, a smart sprinkling of "*no, noes!*" and of "*ou, ou!*" and, at last, *that ominous sound*, which, to the ears of an orator, is what that of the death-watch is to those of the fond mother whose darling is breathing its last; that heart-sinking sound, "*question! question!*" began to salute his ears; and, breaking out *here and there*, seemed to be the harbinger of a dreadful pest that was brewing to windward. It was a *sober* affair that we had in hand now; jesting was not in request; and it was impossible for people to see the reason, or even the common sense, of a long speech filled with attempts to divert them on the subject of the conduct of the Bishops, while the speech-maker protested against saying

a word about them in *the address*, which the speech was intended to cause to be adopted. Besides, there were many persons present, who (in his after-dinner speech at the former county meeting) had, as I had, heard him, who was the chairman at the dinner, most solemnly, and with uplifted hand, declare, that "if ~~the~~ *BILL were rejected, he would never again pay any Assessed Taxes if he could get any one to join him in the resistance!*" There were many persons present, who recollected that VOW, and who now saw in Mr. MARSH a second JEPHTHAH all but in *fidelity to his vow*; for our Hampshire JEPHTHAH seemed evidently enough to have adopted the opinion of the poet:—

"To make the vow w<sup>th</sup> a *dash*, to keep it *sin*,"

People recollected this vow, and their sincerity could not fail to be somewhat shocked, at seeing this bold Jephthah, NOW, when the bill had been rejected, the foremost and the loudest in condemning every sentiment pointing, though in the most indirect manner, towards sturdy behaviour on the part of the people. JEPHTHAH, in his speech at the meeting, said that I, in disapproving of an expression of confidence in the Ministers, was opposing my opinion to that of every other man in the country. If JEPHTHAH and his allies would have let me be heard in this reply to their personalities, I should have read to them the following extract from the CHRONICLE of Tuesday:—"At the Reform Meeting at Hull, on Monday week, an amended address was carried by a large majority, in which it is stated, 'That we have heard, with the deepest indignation which it is possible for a betrayed people to feel, that your Majesty's Prime Minister has declared his determination not to reform the Upper House of Parliament, nor to attempt the restoration of the representative system in the House of Commons, until January next.' Here, then, is what was said on the subject by the very finest town in the King's dominions, and in-

habited by as orderly, as sensible, as intelligent, as frank, as public-spirited people as ever breathed. I applaud their quick-sightedness, and their honest decision: The *Chronicle* talks of "*a mob*." Never was there a town with so few persons in it to whom that name can, with justice, be applied. Hull is a town of people above want, and below luxury. It is little infested with those vermin who riot on the vitals of the country; and hence this just decision. I showed JEPHTHAH MARSH this paragraph in the morning, before he went to the meeting; and, therefore, in addition to the foul play, we must place the merit of this wilful falsehood, on the part of this vow-maker, who uttered the falsehood with the foreknowledge that it would not be exposed to those who had heard it. Nothing will he, however, gain by that in the end; and it is the end to which men always ought to look.

Next came a Mr. TWYNHAM, an attorney, who seemed wholly to have overlooked that he had any thing to oppose but the speech of "Mr. CONNERT," whose name was continually on his lips from one end of his speech to the other, and to whom he imputed the strange wish for the *Reform Bill not to pass*, lest, I suppose, the said "Mr. CONNERT" should be Member for Manchester! This TWYNHAM is, it seems, an eager candidate for the patronage of the *loan-people*, in which, it is suspected, that he is the formidable rival of the "*Louise of Winton*." He, like Horace Twiss, is of "the true herd, and on the right scent," but comes into the chase too late: the high game will be all gone very quickly, and leave to such as he only the moles and the field-mice, and perhaps nothing but those much smaller vermin, which nestle in the hair of the canine race, and which these latter dispatch at a great rate; a circumstance of which "*the Louise*" seemed to be most sensitively aware; for the moment Twynham began to give tongue, "*the Louise*," who had, till then, been hiding behind the skirts of Tom Baring, crept away from the scene as fast as he could. To see this expectant

attorney, this aspirer after a/villity, barking and foaming at the window, in order to prove himself worthy of a post in the pack of attorneys that the loan-mongers have in their service; to see and hear him doing this at the window, while the loanmongers themselves were back out of sight, and as silent as mice in cheese, *was just the very sight for us to behold.* They, if they have any feeling, felt at that moment that there was, in this world, *something more valuable than money.*

This eager attorney' was received with very great impatience, and with marks of those *other feelings* which on such occasions generally accompany a want of the great quality of Job. But it was when Sir JAMES MACDONALL came, that the meeting stood in need of all the forbearance of the patient patriarch. His speech, as Lord Thurlow said of sessions-lawyers, was "*hot and heavy*," long and loud; all effort and no effect, other than that of realizing the paradox of rousing people to inattention. The people, who recollected that they had so lately elected him their Member, averted their eyes; assumed a melancholy countenance; drew down the lids, or turned up the whites of the organs of sight; every one seeming to sigh out to himself, "God bless me! is that our Member?" while the country girls, a very pretty group of whom was standing under the window but of which I was looking, looked as innocently inquisitive in the face of each other, or in those of the young fellows that had them by the arm, as if they had been all saying at once, "What, in the name of wonder, can this man be talking about!" and while I, who am a great admirer of patience, was saying to a gentleman that stood by me, that those who accused Englishmen of a want of patience were the vilest slanderers upon earth. A gentleman from the body of the meeting called out to Sir James: "Will you abandon the *Bill* if they do not bring in again the *Bill*?" "they do not bring in again the *Bill*?" "bill!" This disconcerted him: he jostled; he wriggled; he twisted; and soon came to the end of a speech, in which he, too, had not forgotten that

same "Mr. COBBETT;" and in which, if he were not actually pleading for a place, all that I can say is, that if he had had a fee for pleading for a place, he could not have pleaded better.

Now, however, we drew to a close. Mr. Budd was, according to all the rules upon such occasions, entitled to a reply to the arguments (if there had been any) which had been urged against his address; and I, upon every principle recognized amongst men, was entitled, and the High Sheriff determined, to a reply to the *personalities*, incessantly poured forth against me. His determination, however just as it was, and fairly as it was made, was now of no avail. The groups of attorneys, stewards, bailiffs, servants, and others, judiciously distributed for the purpose, and with whom the Grand Jury Chamber, from which we spoke, was most effectually packed, kept up a noise so loud and so incessant that to obtain a hearing amidst it was as useless as it is to attempt to still the roarings of the wind in the midst of a hurricane. The baseness, the incomparable baseness of spending hours in uttering personalities against a man, with a previous determination that that man shall not be allowed to reply to the personalities; such baseness can exist in no breast in which there does not exist at the same time a consciousness that the personalities are false; and from this charge I exempt not a man of those who uttered personalities against me; for they were, every one of them, most boisterous in preventing any reply from me being heard, in which work of meanness Jephthah Marsh was conspicuous. However, this is of no consequence at all when compared with the *division* which now took place.

In such confusion were the minds of the Holy Alliance; into such a complete state of boisterousness had our proceedings and their own anxious vanity put them, that they really knew not what they were about. The Under Sheriff came forward, not with anything called an amendment; not with anything in the shape of an amendment; but with an *address*, which that Gentle-

man told me he got from Mr. Marsh; an address that had never been *seconded* nor even *moved*; and, if it had not been for me, it would have been even *read* to the meeting! However, the thing was done; the scheme for making this great county the month-piece of *confidence* in Ministers; of passive obedience and non-resistance: this scheme was defeated. I knew that there would be a great division at any rate, and a great division there was: for, it was so near a thing that the High Sheriff ~~and~~ the meeting divide twice before he could determine which had the majority. The second time, addressing himself to me he said, "I think there are rather most hats on that side:" to which I answered, and really for the purpose of not giving him any plague with the Alliance, "Yes, Sir, I think there are," and so he decided. The plain truth is this: I saw more than a thousand Chopticks, who never held up their hats at all, not being able, from the noise, to discover what was going on, and being afraid of committing some error. The Holy Allies, in a rage of disappointment, and thinking that they should gain by a division *into sides*, called on the Sheriff to divide the meeting *to the right and left*! Then we should have had a *fight* to a certainty; for our side already began to clench and shake their fists: the Holy Allies would have been in the River Ichen in ten minutes. But Mr. Budd said I did not want to see soldiers come from the barracks, and still less to see *Baring's Yeomanry Cavalry* come out from the inn in the city, in which they, by accident of course, had been assembled *in order to go out to exercise*! The Sheriff seemed surprised, and well he might, at my allowing the other side to have the majority; and I was resolved that there should be no pretence for calling out the *military* in aid of the *civil* power. No, the thing was done well, my friends, and it will teach you how much depends on your exertions.

And now let Sir James Macintosh be picked orator of the alliance, and Jephthah Mather, as Jester *Ex-Officio*, go to the sincere Whigs and put forward

their plea for good thumping places, upon the ground that they were mainly instrumental in preventing this great and fine county from passing a saiky and silent censure on the Ministers: it was, as the gamesters say, "*all but*:" it was the turn of a feather. At any rate, I hope Sir James and his merry-andrew will have the honesty to tell my Lord Grey, that ONE-HALF of the county of Hants tacitly expressed their want of confidence in him; a decision greatly to the honour of the county, and for which the county is indebted, next after the virtue of its people, to the manly determination of Mr. Budd to be heard first; for if the Holy Alliance had begun, the agents of noise would not have suffered one word to be heard from Mr. Budd or from me: the tame, the unmeaning, the talentless, the servile, the toad-eating address would have passed as the unanimous voice of the county; which would have sunk it to a level with the basest rotten borough in the kingdom; even to a level with the rotten CALNE, which returned, under the patronage of Lansdown, this barking Scotchman to parliament.

It was curious to observe the great pains taken by all the factions of the "Holy Alliance" to cause the meeting to believe that Mr. Budd had nothing at all to do with the *Address* which he moved, and which I seconded. And this contemptuous demeanour towards Mr. Budd was particularly conspicuous in Jephthah Marsh and Reformer Hector, who really seemed, as I was told, to affect not to know *who he was*, or *whence he came*, though Jephthah might have recollected, that Mr. Budd not only knew him, but knew his father before him, and knew something, too, of his father's *leading paper-money*, and knew, moreover, even the *wife* of Jephthah, to whom Jephthah's father was *guardian*! Jephthah might, by these tokens, have recollected *who Mr. Budd was*, and *whence he came*. And, as to RABBITER HASTON, he might, one would think, have remembered, that, when he was the *runner of the post-horse* *team*, as his very worthy successor, MOSES LEVI, the Jew, has since been,

he applied, at Newbury, to this very *Mr. Budd* to save him and his informers from undergoing that *aquems ceremony* which is usually called *A DUCKING*! He might, to be sure, with a soul so wholly given up to *Reform*, have forgotten, that, for more than twenty years (ending only about *two years ago*), he was *manager of the rotten borough of Petersfield for Jolliffe*; and that, having, purely from an abhorrence of corruption and a pious anxiety to save Jolliffe's soul, tried (but in vain) to get the borough out of his late employer's hands, he became, at once, "*patriot*" and "*reformer*": Hector might, I allow, have forgotten *all this*; but the devil was in him, if he could have forgotten that *Mr. Budd*, whom, with tears in his eyes, he, not many years ago, implored to save him and his taxing informers from the *pump or the horse-pond*!

Such, my friends, were the men who poured out the lowest and basest personalities upon me, when I, observe, had uttered not even a personal allusion against any one, and who, when they had so done, made and caused to be made, a noise so great as to prevent me from being heard in reply. Observe, that *MACDONALD* lives at a little place called *BRAMSTON*, near *Portsmouth*; *HECTOR* lives at that town, where he is attorney and paper-money man, and was boroughmonger's agent till his tender conscience worked on him as is said above. *CARRER*, whom you saw so busy in the noise-making, and who is a Member for *Portsmouth*, lives very near *Petersfield*: and, I dare say, Hector knows very well why he is endeavouring to keep this Scotchman crammed down the throat of the county; and the county ought to take very good care to get the Scotchman out of its throat, when the Scotchman will take care that it shall not do for six years, at least, if he can help it. This fellow attempted to be facetious upon the conduct and talents of that "doughty champion of corruption, Sir *CHARLES WYNDHAM*," but he was putation to these two farmers who exclaimed, "You never said that to *'s face*!" "Well said, my back

said I, "that Scotchman will never cheat you." This *MACDONALD*, who had first the audacity to say, that I "*prostituted*" my talents, and then the supreme baseness to set on a crew to prevent me from being heard in reply, is the *very dullest* fellow that I ever heard of in all my life. In a crowd, you can hear distinctly only the close of every sentence. His speech is like a peal of that sort of ringing, in which all the bells change except the *big bell*, which comes, "*dong! dong!*" at the end of every change, the rest of the bells, you being at a distance, being heard indistinctly. My God, how weary I was! At last, when he began to attack me, the "*Off! off!*" and "*Question! question!*" came. And he, great fool-like, told the meeting, that if they thought he had betrayed his trust, he was "*ready to surrender it into their hands*;" to which he got no other answer than "*Give up your place too!*" This made him cease talking, and his visage assume an expression truly satanic.

After the decision as to the address, the small-beer orators, *LEFEVRE* and *MILMAY*, came forth to harangue, under pretence of moving thanks to the sheriff; but not a word was suffered to be uttered so as to be heard; and they were told that this was their punishment for not suffering my reply to be heard. But they had the privilege of hearing. "*Hoi! vai! vai!*" saluted the ears of *MILMAY*; and *JOSEPH WARR* of *Whitchurch* gave *LEFEVRE* as decent a lesson, as beat a dish of severe, well-pointed, and just reproach as ever insincerity and double-dealing received from a bold and intelligent man.

And now, my friends, *Chopsticks of Hampshire*, I conclude with exhorting you to be ready for our foes another time, and to be always ready to meet them; and be assured that life and health permitting, you will never fail to see in your ranks your brother *Chopstick* and faithful friend, *WM. COURTET*.

P. S. All you who have raised any of *Courtet's Coat*, be sure to hang it up in your rooms, or some place, till it be perfectly dry. I sell mine to a great

baker in London, who gives me 48s. for a Winchester quarter. I will tell you how to use it in puddings and bread another time. I have sent some of the flour to Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, at SUTTON SCORNEY, and told him to show it to as many as he can.

### COBBETT'S PROTEST

#### AGAINST CUTTING OFF THE VOTES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle,  
ON THE  
TEN-POUND SUFFRAGE IN GREAT  
TOWNS.*

SIR, *Kensington, 2nd November, 1831.*

I HAVE read in your paper of yesterday, and in the speech of my Lord RADNOR (made at the Wiltshire county meeting), published in your paper of the day before, some remarks relative to the *ten-pound suffrage in great towns*, which would seem to indicate, that it is the opinion of you and also of his Lordship, that the Ministers mean in their new bill to *raise the sum*, which is to be deemed a qualification for voting in those towns; to make that sum *more than ten pounds*: and as I am quite convinced that an attempt to do this would excite rage not to be expressed, in the working people of those towns, I will here, with your leave, show, not only the barefaced injustice, but the unbearable insolence, of such an attempt.

The passage in your paper to which I allude is in these words: "Let it be borne in mind, that a good, an economical government will benefit all honest men; and would it not, then, be fully to differ about extent of suffrage at the time when such an extent is about to be obtained as will, at all events, secure the blessing of good and impartial government? They are the enemies of the working classes, who advise them to reject all reform, because the most extensive is not to be granted." The words which the report in your paper of 31st October

ascribes to my Lord RADNOR are these: "Much had been said about the qualification for the suffrage, and it had objected, that allowing ten-pound householders to vote was carrying the suffrage a great deal too low. He thought, however, that it was not a bit too low. At the same time, he must admit, that if in certain large towns, it was found not to have that proportionate influence with the higher votes that it ought to have, it might be submitted to some alteration."

It is impossible not to gather from these passages that you and my Lord RADNOR believe that the Ministers intend to do this thing, which, I am sure, neither you nor his Lordship approve of, and which, besides its being an act of flagrant injustice, would be a scandalous breach of that compact, upon the faith of which the working millions most generously consented to forego a part, and a great part, of their clear and unquestionable rights; and, in many cases, to yield up that part of their rights which even the boroughmongers allowed them to enjoy.

I enclose you, Sir, a copy of the *Two-penny Trash for November*, a copy of which I have also sent to each of the Ministers. I believe that you will there find, "that every sane man, not stained by infelible crime, has a clear right to a vote in the choosing of those who are to make the laws to which he has to yield obedience. But I, in common with almost the whole of the working people, had declared myself willing to take *run BILLS*, that is to say, to take a *great deal less than our right*, and, for the sake of peace and harmony, "to give *that bill a fair trial*." And why did I hasten to make this declaration; and why did I labour so earnestly to reconcile the working people to it? Not because I thought it was just; not because I saw with approbation all the millions of hard-working Chopsicks, and all the working people in boroughs, completely shut out from all the rights of election; but because, and solely because, I saw that the *ten-pound suffrage in the great*



*towns* (as it stood in the bill) would enable the working people, in those towns, to send from fifty to a hundred Members into the Parliament; and because I said in those Members men who would maintain the rights of all the working people in every part of the kingdom; because I was very sure that the working people of Manchester, or Leeds, or Bolton, or Oldham, or of any other large town, would never choose a man who would not pledge himself not to stand with his arms folded while, for instance, those poor creatures in Ireland, from whose labour came their bacon and their butter were starving for want of food.

This, Sir, was the part of the compact which induced me to set my hand to it; but if this part of the bill is to be taken out of it, away goes the whole, for me; ay, Sir, and for all the working millions, who will, if any thing be done at all to lessen the number of voters in great towns, petition in a man against the new bill. Mark, Sir, I pray you, mark the fraud which would in case of such alteration; characterize the whole transaction. The bill by disfranchising immediately non-resident freemen and burgesses and livery-men, and also pot-wallopers and scot-and-lot-men, and by disfranchising resident freemen and burgesses and livery-men in future, the bill thus disfranchises all the working men who have votes now, while it enfranchises no working man except in the great towns; so that, if the aim of the suffrage be raised in the great towns, this famous Reform Bill will not suffer to vote one single working man in the whole kingdom!

But, do I not wish to get rid of the rotten boroughs, and will I not petition for schedules A and B? No! Plain and plain NO! Unless the rotten-borough suffrage remain. Tell me out of "boroughmongers" they suffer more few working men to vote at our rate. But a bill to raise the ten-pound in great towns would suffer not one of them to vote. I intend to go borough-monger up at London or even at Paris, whom the working people only hear of, they would have one in every counting-

house and in every big home-stand, and they would, in a short time, find themselves under the hurpy claws of an omniscient and ever-present oligarchy of money, with title finger heavier than the lions of the oligarchy of title and privilege.

Not to trouble you further, Sir, I venture to assure the Ministers, that if an attempt be made to raise the sum of qualification for voting in the great towns, if Lord BROUGHAM's "readiness to reconsider" this matter should lead to this result, the bill will be rejected with scorn by millions of men, and by no man amongst those millions with more indignant scorn than by

Your most obliged and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The Editor of the *Chronicle*, after having had the fairness to insert this letter in his paper of Thursday, gives the following explanation:—

Mr. COBBETT, in a letter, in this day's *Chronicle*, refers to some remarks in the *Chronicle* of Tuesday, and in a speech of Lord RAYMON, at the Wiltshire County Meeting, as seeming to indicate that "it is the opinion of us and also of his Lordship, that the Ministers mean, in their new bill, to raise the sum which is to be deemed a qualification for voting in great towns, to make that sum more than ten pounds." The passage in the *Chronicle* to which he alludes is, "Let it be borne in mind that a good and economical Government will benefit all honest men; and would it not then be folly to differ about extent of suffrage at a time when such an extent is to be obtained as will, at all events, secure the blessing of good and impartial government?" They are the enemies of the working classes, who advise them to reject all reform, because the most extensive is not to be obtained. We have only to observe that we firmly believe that Ministers do not intend to raise the sum which is to be the qualification for voting in great towns, and that, when we wrote the above passage, we equally believed

"that Ministers had no such intention. We were arguing with men who were dissatisfied with any reform short of universal suffrage; and the object at which we were aiming was the persuasion of those who were hostile to the Reform Bill, *because it stops short of universal suffrage*, that such an extension of the suffrage as should secure to the people the blessing of good and impartial government (meaning thereby *the suffrage in the late bill*), ought not to be rejected even by the partisans of universal suffrage. We wish to avoid raising questions as to the extent of suffrage which in itself might be most desirable, as the people have generally agreed to make concessions to each other, for the sake of obtaining what, without union, they could never obtain—*THE BILL*." This is all right. I never imputed to this Editor, and I should have been base indeed to impute to my Lord Radnor, a WISH to see the qualification raised in the new bill; but, I thought that their words indicated a belief in them, that the Ministers *meant to do it*; especially when I looked at the speech of Lord Brougham, who volunteered to express "his readiness to reconsider" that part of *THE BILL*, and when, at the end of three weeks, that intention having been so often imputed to him, *not a single word had come forth to remove the imputation*, I have never suspected Lord Grey of a wish to raise the sum of suffrage. But I know that he cannot stand alone, without, at once, making a personal appeal to the people. If it be not intended to raise the qualification, all may yet be well; but, the sooner the people know this, the better; for the suspicions excited by the Lord Chancellor's speech have done quite mischief enough already. This it is that is filling the working people with rage. Look at the now unhappy city of Bristol, for instance. The freemen, that is the right of voting taken away, and how were they to feel, when, from the Lord Chancellor's declaration, they had such strong ground for believing,

that the new suffrage would not give a vote to one single working man in the whole kingdom! How were they to feel! That declaration uncontradicted, how were they to feel!

## BRISTOL.

THE following account of the awful transactions, in this very finest city in the king's dominions, is, perhaps, as accurate as any that we shall get, for some time at least. To write upon the subject, I cannot at this moment trust my pen, full as my heart is of those feelings which, after having so recently seen that beautiful and opulent city, and so admired the demeanour of its inhabitants of all classes, especially that of its decent, orderly, and civil and laborious working people; full as my heart is of those feelings, which these recollections are calculated to inspire, I cannot, while I think of the heaps of dead bodies, and of the heart-broken parents, wives, and fatherless children, trust my pen to write on these transactions. I therefore insert the following account from the BRISTOL MANSUET, making, however, this remark; that I beg to be understood as *not adopting, not agreeing with*, any one single epithet, or any one single appellation, which is abusive of, or disparaging to, any part of the people of BRISTOL. Of the TRUE CAUSES, remote as well as immediate, of these transactions, we shall have time enough to speak hereafter.

Wm. COBBETT.

## RIOTS AT BRISTOL.

(From the Bristol Mercury of Tuesday.)

### ARRIVAL OF SIR CHARLES.

At half-past ten Sir Charles was perceived to approach, at a rapid rate, in a chariot drawn by four greys, and on stopping at Totterdown for the purpose of being handed into the Sheriff's carriage, he was instantly assailed by the most deafening yells, groans, and hisses. The constables were then, in considerable numbers, placed around the carriage, a gentleman on horseback riding close by the side of each door, and three or four hundred pressing and following. In this manner the cavalcade, which comprised also the usual number

of Mayor's and Sheriff's officers, mounted, with favours, proceeded slowly towards the city. Just as Sir Charles was passing over Hill's bridge, his carriage was assailed with four or five stones; but no movement took place with a view to apprehend the offenders, the whole force being anxious only for the protection of the Recorder's person. As the procession moved onward, the crowd continued to increase, and the expressions of disapprobation from the multitude became more and more deafening, and occasionally some stone or missile was hurled against the object of their displeasure. In Temple-street, the windows of the houses were crowded with spectators, and the lower orders of the females were particularly vociferous in the expression of their feelings, frequently charging the men with cowardice and a want of spirit. In the passing from the bridge to High-street, one of the constables, a respectable tradesman, received a dangerous contusion in the head; and in the latter street also some few stones were thrown.

On arrival at Guildhall, in Broad-street, it was with the greatest difficulty that Sir Charles could alight, from the pressure of the immense multitude; but, after the lapse of a few minutes, he was handed out in safety, and proceeded to take his station on the bench. The doors of the hall were thrown open to the populace, and, in a few minutes, the area was completely choked up. On the Recorder alighting, we thought he seemed somewhat agitated, which indeed was reasonably to be expected, but he appeared to be in the enjoyment of excellent health. On taking his seat, however, he resumed his composure, and smiled and nodded to several individuals whom he recognised in Court.

The usual form for opening the Commission then commenced, but the noise and confusion occasioned considerable interruption. Mr. Serjeant Ludlow, Town Clerk, then rose and said, that he believed there was not an individual present who had come there for the purpose of attending the commission of the King; that, with respect to reform—(Here the most astounding cries were raised by the people in favour of that measure, and in derision of the Recorder, mixed with yells and groans, during which Sir Charles, who stood behind the Town Clerk, pulled the corners of the gown, and from his pocket he drew a pocket-handkerchief, and said, "I am sorry to hear that the cause of the subject is so unpopular.") The Town Clerk then resumed, merely adding, that with respect to that question (Reform) he had nothing to do with the proceedings of the day.

The reading of the commission was then attempted to be proceeded with, but the confusion again became so great, that it was the order of Mr. Justice, the Sheriff, &c. quite impossible.

The Recorder then addressing one of the officers, said, if the individuals any person in Court making a disturbance, and would bring

him forward, he would immediately commit him.

The only effect of this notice was to raise, if possible, a louder clamour than that which it was intended to suppress. On this fresh effulgence of feeling partially subsiding, Sir Charles again repeated his instructions to the officer, who replied, by saying that the tumult arose chiefly from a few individuals, and suggested the propriety of some constables being sent into the body of the hall. Several of the specials then disposed themselves among the people, who then commenced a different species of annoyance by coughing, which at length they ended in a general burst of indignation.

In this manner the usual preliminaries were gone through, ending by the adjournment of the Court by Sir Charles till eight o'clock on Monday morning. The Recorder then withdrew from the bench, and the populace, after some further marks of their displeasure towards the learned Judge, gave three cheers for the King, and retired into the street.

Some considerable time then elapsed before the Recorder was taken up, for the purpose of being conveyed to the Mansion-house. During the interval, Broad-street, and, indeed, the whole line of the route, was occupied by a dense mass of the population. Beyond the more vocal expression of their feelings, however, there was nothing in their conduct, at this period, calculated to excite alarm. On Sir Charles's re-appearance, he was greeted with a repetition of the same favours that had before been so liberally bestowed upon him, which continued through the remainder of his progress, with the exception that, at the Commercial-rooms, in front of which building, a body of his admirers had placed themselves, he was greeted with three cheers. But there was no violence beyond hissing and groaning nothing else occurred, as far as we can learn, until his arrival at the Mansion-house, in Queen-square. There a few stones were thrown, and a lamp or a window of the carriage was broken, but the Recorder himself received no injury.

We have now arrived at what we conceive to be the most important part of our narrative, inasmuch as it is the opinion of every one with whom we have conversed, that the proceedings which directly followed the arrival of the Recorder and Corporation at the Mansion-house, were the most immediate cause of all the disorders and even to be deplored events which have subsequently transpired. A few minutes after his alighting, a mob was made up by the populace, by a party of special constables, for the purpose of searching the persons by whom the missiles had been thrown, and a number of these were dragged into the Mansion-house. Again, another mob took place, and another capture was made, and this was repeated several times; the confusion being very general, that persons were selected at random. The least show of opposition on the part of the populace,

who during these proceedings, were really guiltless of any new outrage, subjected them to the most brutal attacks of some of the persons who assumed to be special constables, many of whom, by impudently brandishing their staves, did much to excite the feelings of the people. We saw one man carried away from a quarter where an affray had just taken place, and were informed that he had been knocked down by a blow on his head, and afterwards unmercifully beaten. We have since learned that his skull was fractured, and that he is dead. The constables, it will never be forgotten, acted wholly without any system of organization. No magistrate made his appearance to regulate their proceedings, to direct their operations, or to remonstrate with the populace.

At this moment the number of persons collected in the square could not have been less than ten thousand; and a cry having been raised "To the Back," where pikes and fagots and firewood are usually kept, a large body proceeded thither, and having armed themselves with sticks, returned in a few minutes to the scene of action. It was then that, for the first time, we apprehended any serious collision; but the constables, rushing out in a body, in a moment infused terror into the people, and the sticks were soon stowed in every direction upon the ground. These were then gathered up in bundles and carried off. This was about half-past twelve o'clock. From that period till about four o'clock, the time was passed in occasional skirmishes between the constables and the populace, which generally ended in some one being taken into custody. During these proceedings it was visible that the people were becoming more and more exasperated. Now and then a pane of glass was smashed in, or a club hurled at the heads of the constables, and these attacks generally led to measures which heightened, rather than allayed, the popular feeling.

About four o'clock, when the shades of night were rapidly approaching, a considerable portion of the constabulary force was most undevotedly permitted to retire to their homes, for the purpose of refreshing themselves, with an understanding that they should return to relieve the remainder at six o'clock. From that moment the mob became more daring in their attacks on the Mansion-house, until at length the Mayor came forward to beg of them to desist, and to retire peacefully to their homes. The sentiments delivered by His Worship on the occasion were such as did honour to his heart, though it is to be regretted that he did not come forward at an earlier stage of the proceedings, before the minds of the people had been so highly wrought up. His Worship cautioned them of the possible consequences of continuing their refractory proceedings, and, in alluding to the military force to be in the immediate neighbourhood, said there should be for it to be brought out, that during his minority, such scenes took place as most probably would ensue, if it should be

compelled to read the Riot Act, and they should be called in to quell the disturbance. His Worship, we regret to state, during his address, was assailed with stones, and a very large one very narrowly missed striking him on the head. The Riot Act was then read, but without producing the least good effect upon the mob, who, perceiving the weakness of the force opposed to them, rushed upon the constables, disarmed them, and beat them severely. In this affray we have heard of some losing their lives, others having their limbs broken, and very many being severely injured. One constable, as a condition of release from their vengeance, was compelled to throw his own staff at the Mayor's windows; others were obliged to seek refuge in flight; and one was actually chased into the float, whence he was taken up by a boat-hook.

Nothing now remaining to curb the mob, the work of violence immediately commenced by a general and simultaneous attack on every part of the Mansion-house. In an instant the windows and sashes were smashed to atoms; the shutters were beaten to pieces; the doors forced, and every article of furniture on the ground or broken up. Tables, chairs, sideboards, mirrors, chimney-glasses—in fact, every thing that could be found was demolished. The iron palisades, together with the curb-stones in which they were set, were thrown down as if they had been mere reeds stuck in a mud bank, and furnished armour to a desperate villain with a formidable iron bar; young trees were torn up by the roots and converted into weapons of destruction; walls were thrown down to provide bricks with which to assail the upper windows; and straw and combustibles were procured with which to fire the whole premises. At this critical moment it was, as we have been informed, that Sir Charles effected his retreat (in disguise) through the adjoining premises; but it was not made known until twelve o'clock on the following day (Sunday) that he had left the city. For the present, however, the Mansion-house was saved from conflagration by the arrival of the troops.

We had supposed, judging from the conduct of the mob in the morning, that the appearance of two troops of horse would have been the signal for a general rout. We were, however, deceived. They had now acquired a considerable accession of force, and it was obvious that they had been joined by some of the most determined and desperate characters. Instead of dispersing, the thousands who were present, swarming like bees on the adjoining walls and elevations, cheered the troops with the greatest enthusiasm.

Under the protection of the military, the constables and specials again collected in considerable numbers, and several of the most daring of the mob were made prisoners. Still it was found impossible to clear the square or streets adjacent. The soldiers traced their horses backward and forward amidst the cheers of the mob, but not the slightest dis-

position was shown to disperse. The Colonel of the district, Colonel Brereton, exerted himself in the most humane and laudable manner. He harangued the multitude, begged and intreated them to repair to their homes, and cautioned them of the dreadful consequences which their conduct otherwise would infallibly draw upon them. He was everywhere received with the greatest cordiality, and with loud cheers. It is a subject of deep regret, that at an earlier period some such an able individual had not been found to attempt the conciliation of the people. We cannot but think that the good temper, firmness, and presence of mind which he displayed would have been fraught with the happiest results.

If any thing of a nature calculated to draw off the attention from the consideration of the present state of things could be tolerated, we might here descant at some length on the ludicrous appearance of the kitchen at the Mansion-house, as viewed through the broken windows, at the fire, the meats were turning upon the spit, and upon the ranges the different saucepans, kettles, &c. were boiling, unattended by a living soul. But the idea which at the moment so forcibly impressed us of the feelings of the men who, anticipating the disturbances of importance, sufficient to justify the calling in of the military, could under such circumstances, contemplate the luxuries of a banquet, forbids us to enlarge upon the subject. We turned from the scene with disgust.

In the manner already described, things proceeded in the square until twelve o'clock at night. About this time a party of the rioters, disappointed by the restraint which the troops imposed upon them, proceeded to the Council-house, where they commenced operations by smashing the windows. Means while orders were given to the cavalry to make a charge, and here the scene became one of the greatest confusion. The people, who ran in all directions, were pursued through the streets for a considerable distance by the soldiers, and several of them received severe cuts from the sabre. Many of the people took refuge in the various passages in White Street, from whence they assailed the troops with stones, particularly at the top of the Piazza, where one of the soldiers having been struck, he immediately turned round, and shot a man dead upon the spot. It has been accurately reported that he dismounted and followed him; but we have been assured, on good authority, that this was not the case. This was at half-past twelve, and the soldiers continuing to gallop about the streets, prevented the re-assembling of the mob during the night.

On Sunday morning the people began again to assemble at an early hour in Queen's Square, but every thing remaining quiet, and no real danger had subsided, the troops were withdrawn for some refreshment, but soon on duty for more than twenty-four hours. They had scarcely disappeared, when the mob

again commenced their outrages. Ascending now to the upper rooms of the Mansion-house, they proceeded to throw out the valuable furniture into the square. The drawers and other depositaries were ransacked, and wearing-apparel, bed and table linen, china, &c. were plundered, or wantonly destroyed.

But another, and a most dangerous exciting cause now began to develop itself. During the sacking of the Mansion-house, the wine-cellar was forced, and it is supposed that at least one-third of a stock of three hundred dozen of choice wines was carried off and wasted and drunk by the mob. It is needless to say that the result was fraught with the worst possible effects: they became madly infuriated, and regardless alike of what mischief they committed, or what risk they incurred. The scene at this moment was of the most depraved description; all ages, of both sexes, were to be seen greedily swallowing the intoxicating liquors, while upon the ground the bodies of scores were to be found dead with drunkenness. The streets, too, remote from the scene of action, from this time became noisy from the turbulence of wretches who were to be seen staggering about in all directions. The troops were then speedily replaced, but the infuriated mob began to act on the offensive, and sought to wreak their vengeance on them for the wounds they had inflicted on the preceding evening, and particularly to be avenged for the killing of the man on the top of the Piazza. They attacked them with a shower of stones and brick-bats, which the men were unable to resist, no magistrate being in attendance to take the responsibility of orders to that effect. The Aldermen, we have been assured, considering this the exclusive duty of the Mayor, refused to give the word; and the latter, it would appear, was overpowered by his feelings. In this state of things the commanding officer judged it prudent to withdraw the troops (the 1st Light Dragoons), and replace them with a body of the 3rd Dragoon Guards. On the retirement of the former, they were followed by a large portion of the mob who continued their assaults upon them along the quay and over the drawbridge. On arriving at St. Augustine's back, being provoked beyond further forbearance, they turned round and fired several shots at their assailants, and a further loss of life was the result. The mob, however, neither daunted, still continued to follow them, and in College-green some further fighting occurred. In this place a considerable number of persons had assembled, expecting Sir Charles, as usual, would attend divine service in the Mayor's chapel. Still the mob continued their assaults, hanging upon the soldiers' heels until they arrived at their quarters in the Horse's Head Yard, where they were again fired upon. The discharges, as the result must show were, however, but partial; the number of killed, as near as we could ascertain, being one, and wounded seven or eight. One poor fellow, who had

taken no part in the disturbances, was shot through the arm as he was standing upon the quay, on the opposite side.

Immediately after these occurrences, Colonel Brereton rode down to the square, followed by a considerable number of men and boys, who cheered him on his way thither. He assured them that there should be no more firing, that the 14th should be immediately sent out of the city, and again exhorted them to return to their homes.

This was about eleven o'clock, and it was truly awful to reflect on the scenes which were passing at the time when service was commencing in the churches in the neighbourhood.

In the square, with the exception of the scenes of drunkenness which were still going on, nothing particular transpired until the evening, with the exception that an individual mounted the statue of King William, and fixing a tri-coloured cap on a long pole, pronounced aloud, "The Cap of Liberty!" The soldiers were drawn up in front of the Mansion-house, and the mob seemed nowise disposed to molest them. After a while, however, they manifested a restlessness for action, and a party, by no means numerous, proceeded to the

#### BRIDEWELL.

for the purpose of rescuing the prisoners. On their arrival, they lost no time in procuring sledge-hammers from the nearest smith's shop, and immediately proceeded to beat in the doors. The keeper (Mr. Evans), we have been informed, had just sat down to dinner when he received the news of the unwelcome intruders. Having succeeded in opening the doors, they became apprehensive that the large folding gates which at night shut up the thoroughfare, would be enclosed upon them, and they directly set about removing them. This they accomplished with most astonishing facility, and disposed of them by throwing them over the bridge into the river; they then proceeded to liberate the prisoners, and having accomplished their end, they forthwith set the building on fire. During their operation not the slightest molestation was offered them. This happened about two o'clock. About the same time a stronger party, comprising, indeed, almost the whole body, proceeded to

#### THE NEW JAIL.

a strong-built, modern building, having been erected about ten years since at a cost of nearly 100,000*l*. When we first heard of this movement we regarded any attempt upon the prison as the wildest scheme that could have been imagined; but we lost no time in repairing to the spot. The scene which there presented itself will never be effaced from our memory. Along the New Quay, in front of the jail, a dense mass of rioters had assembled, and on the opposite bank of the river, and indeed, wherever the eye could range, the people were posted in thousands. The mob had already succeeded in forcing an entrance into

the yard and the Governor's house, and were busily employed in throwing every moveable article into the new river, and as the tide was fast ebbing, all was carried off by the stream. The caravan used for conveying the prisoners to the Guildhall was launched into the water entire, and thither also were consigned the Governor's books and the apparatus for constructing the drop. The rioters, we have heard, procured hammers from the adjoining ship-yard, and with them the massive locks on the iron doors of the different wings were smashed to atoms. The prisoners were now released, and the scenes which followed were beyond description. Many of them, both male and female, stripped off their prison clothes, and proceeded on their way almost in a state of nudity. As they passed along, the mob cheered them and followed after them with exultation. Many of them met their friends on the outside, and it is not easy to depict the extravagant joy with which they mutually embraced each other.

After the prisoners had been liberated, amounting altogether, exclusive of debtors, to more than one hundred, the next step taken was that of setting the prison on fire, and a black handkerchief having been tied to the weather-cock on the top of the porter's lodge, over the gateway, it seemed to be the signal for commencing operations. For immediately after dense clouds of smoke were seen to issue from every part of the building. The flames were seen first to break out from the treadmill, which burnt with fury until it was quite consumed. In about an hour, the Governor's house, over which was the chapel, was completely enveloped in flames, and the reflection on the heavens was grand and terrific. The wings, however, being built almost exclusively of stone and iron, with iron roofs, were but little injured by fire; though the rioters left behind them every mark of wanton outrage. During the proceedings, and while the prisoners were in course of liberation, a party of the 3d Guards, about twenty in number, arrived; but the mob appeared nothing intimidated; on the contrary, they cheered the troops, who acknowledged the compliment by taking off their caps, and almost immediately after turned round and departed. As soon as the work of destruction was here completed, the rioters divided themselves into parties, the one proceeding to the

#### TOLL-HOUSES.

at Francis's toll-house, another to the one at the wall, and another to the one at St. Philip's. These, in the present state of things, were considered minor affairs, and were speedily in flames. The tenants, we were informed, had liberty given them to remove their effects. While these were being destroyed, the fire at the prison raged with the greatest fury. They then set off, about seven o'clock, to the

#### GLOUCESTER COUNTY PRISON.

Lawford's gate, which in a short time was broken into, the prisoners all released, and



the building also fired. Here the flames were as appalling as at the New Jail. At the same time also a party proceeded to Bridewell, which had only partially been destroyed, and kindled up the wing occupied by the keeper; so that the three prisons were in flames at the same instant. There was now not even the appearance of a check to the licentiousness of the mob, nor indeed had there been since the firing of the soldiers in the morning; but they now seemed to revel in a consciousness of their security. Accordingly a mere handful of the miscreants proceeded to

#### THE BISHOP'S PALACE.

Capone Marsh, and having effected an entrance, immediately commenced the work of destruction. A few individuals, however, were hastily collected, and for a while succeeded in staying their diabolical designs. Orders were then sent for the military, who had been guarding

#### THE MANNION HOUSE.

to repair for the protection of the Bishop's residence. They had no arms, however, left for that purpose, than the mob who had all day meditated the total destruction of the Mannion-house, commenced operations; and in a very short period set it on fire, commencing in the kitchen under the banqueting-room. On the arrival of the troops at the Bishop's Palace, they found things there tolerably secure; but the flames which arose from the Mannion-house had plainly indicated that they had gone to the protection of the one place at the expense of the destruction of the other. They, however, turned back again, and, by the time of their return to the scene, the reflection on the opposite side of the room made it apparent that, by their endeavour to protect both places, each had been sacrificed to the fury of the incendiaries. When they arrived in the square, they found the whole of the back premises of the Mannion-house burning with fury, and the apartments in the front rooms occupied by wretches facilitating the destruction of the building. By firing the apartments simultaneously, the infuriated creatures, no less delighted with their successful career than with liquor, pressed forward to the windows and waved their hands, kerchiefs, cheating, at the same time, in imitation of the final accomplishments of their designs on the ill-fated building. We cannot most certainly forget that many of them paid the forfeit of their lives for their wanton temerity. From the results of the progress of the flames, it is supposed that some were cut off from a retreat, and that they then met with an untimely end. The most surprising circumstance was, that the flames, having reached the whole front, came down into the street with a tremendous rush.

By this time the fire at the Bishop's Palace raged throughout the whole of the building, which, in a short period, was reduced to

ashes. The Right Reverend the Bishop, who happened to have been in town during the last ten or twelve days, removed out of the city about the middle of the day; and we hear that the most valuable of his effects had also been removed, as a measure of precaution. He preached, we believe, at the cathedral in the morning.

But to return to the square: after the destruction of the Mannion-house, it was hoped that the fury of the mob would have been appeased; but, unfortunately, it was otherwise. The military, having no orders to act otherwise than as mere spectators, were, immediately after their arrival, withdrawn, and we believe joined the remainder of their comrades, altogether few in number, in protecting the Council-house, which it was expected would be the next public building attacked. It was at least hoped that the house adjoining the Mannion-house, if not protected from the flames, would be the last that would be permitted to be destroyed. But we blush for the honour of our city, while we record the fiend-like conduct which followed. The rioters conceived the plan of firing the adjoining houses; and by twelve at night, the whole mass, from the Mannion-house to the middle Avenue, including

#### THE CUSTOM-HOUSE,

and all the back building, in Little King-street, was one immense mass of fire. The Custom-house, as may readily be supposed, was a large building, and the expertness of the wretches in lighting it up here, it is certain proved the destruction of many who were ranging the upper apartments. Many of them were seen as they approached the windows to leap into the flames, and others, among whom was a female, threw themselves in desperation from the windows. The latter was carried to the infirmary, where she has since died. Again the hope was raised that the dreadful work would now cease; but it was in vain. A small band, chiefly boys, who seemed to go about their work as if they had been regularly trained to the bellicose employment, proceeded in nevertheless devouring element, preceding their operations by giving half an hour's notice to the inmates to retire. The windows were afterwards smashed in, the furniture thrown out and carried off, and the premises ignited with a rapidly truly astonishing. In this manner they swept away one whole side, and then proceeded to another, commencing with

#### THE EXCISE OFFICE

as the next. To follow up the account from this time, three o'clock in the morning, would only be a repetition of the results of which our town already sickens. Unrestrained as were the flames, they remained in the houses of the principal streets; and, as in this quarter of the city are many of the principal wine and spirit stores, the fury of the devouring element can scarcely be conceived.

Altogether there have been completely destroyed forty-two dwelling-houses and ware-

houses, exclusive of the Mansion-house, Excise-office, Custom-house, the four Toll-houses, the three Prisons, and the Bishop's Palace.

Not the least painful reflection is, that, after the destruction of the Custom-house, the remainder of the mischief was owing to the wanton fury of a truly insignificant number of wretches almost exclusively boys. We saw three urchins, apparently not more than ten or eleven years of age, who, when their retreat from the attic floor of one of the houses had been cut off, and while the flames were bursting out from beneath them, coolly clamber along a coping, projecting not more than three inches, and, entering an adjoining house, immediately set fire to a bedstead and furniture. From the time we have named, many of the older ones gave themselves up wholly to drinking and revelling in the scene around them. We feel certain that, if fifty men only could have been collected, more than one-half of the property could have been effectually protected. But the whole city seemed panic-struck, and but few cared except for their personal safety. On this night, at least, it may be truly said, that the city was given up to plunder. In the heart of the town, young fellows, in parties of four, five, or six, repaired to liquor-shops and public-houses, at the time intoxicated, knocked at the doors and demanded drink or blood. In some instances we know that they broke into premises, helped themselves, and insulted the owners. And yet military, brought for our especial protection, could not act for want of orders! Oh, shame! shame! Few as they were in numbers, had they been employed with becoming energy, we should not have to deplore the disgrace of our city.

Morning dawned on such a scene as had never before been witnessed in this place. The flames, it is true, were subsiding, but the appearance of Queen-square was appalling in the extreme. Numerous buildings were reduced to a heap of smoking ruins, and others were momentarily falling in; while around, in various parts, lay several of the rioters, in the last stage of senseless intoxication and with countenances more resembling fiends than men. Mention the rioters, who had been ordered out of town, were remanded; and the Magistrates, having re-assembled, came at length to a decision, called out the *poor constables*, and made an application to Mr. Herapath, through the medium of Mr. Under-Sheriff Hare, for the assistance of the Bristol General Union. Mr. Herapath, their Vice-President, called the members together by public notice, a notice which we understand he had already determined on; and in a short time a large body of them had collected together, previous to which Mr. Herapath was invited by the Magistracy, with an authority equal to that of the Under-Sheriff. We are sorry to have to record another piece of folly, wanton cruelty we would call it, if it had not, as we

believe, originated in the utter ignorance of the Magistrates of the state of the city. The shops had remained unopened, and the military were ordered to clear the streets; an order which was fulfilled to the letter by a party of the troops which had experienced some rough treatment, and had in consequence fired upon the people on the previous day. The sight of this useless piece of duty was peculiarly distressing; nothing was to be seen on every side but unoffending women and children, running and screaming in every direction, while several men, apparently on their way to work, were deliberately cut at, several seriously injured, and some killed. A poor fellow who attempted to take refuge in a house from which we were just emerging on business connected with the restoration of tranquillity was wounded at our side. Yet worse effects might have followed this ill-advised measure if the soldiers had not been shortly after withdrawn from their bloody work, and the streets principally manned with the inhabitants, armed with good strong staves, and having strips of white linen tied round the left arm; a regulation suggested by the Magistrates to distinguish them, supposing the interposition of the military should be again required. Several troops, however, of soldiers, together with the 11th Regiment of Foot, continued to arrive during the day; and in the course of the afternoon, intelligence having arrived that there was some disturbance in the neighbourhood of Lawrence-hill, a party galloped off, and secured four countrymen in the very act of robbing a house. With these exceptions, we are happy to state that no further collision with the military took place.

Towards the evening, the flames in several houses in the square broke out afresh, and part of the pavement in King-street was forced up by the heat arising from some brandy which was burning in the vaults beneath, but the engines being in readiness, no further injury occurred. An attack on the shipping having been anticipated, the ships' bells were rung, signal guns were fired, and every thing was prepared for an attack. The *Bar of Liverpool* was moored in the centre of the river, and mounted with guns, an attack on her in particular having been expected; but happily these anticipations were not realized. It being thought possible that the rioters commenced their attempts, they would, in all probability, endeavour to reduce the streets to total darkness by cutting off the gas-pipes, the magistrates issued a notice recommending the inhabitants to illuminate their houses, a recommendation which was pretty generally complied with. The churches, also, were lit up, and the *poor constables* of the several parishes were summoned to them, a constant guard being kept up, and relieved at stated intervals; the Members of the Union patrolled the streets during the whole of the night. These measures will be the undoubted means of restoring public tranquillity; already have



they effected much, for up to the hour of our publication, we have heard of no further outrage; and we cannot but regret that the want of common energy in the magistracy should have prevented the having recourse to the same measures early on the Sunday morning, since it is evident that the actual destruction of property might have been as easily prevented as the plagues have been saved which were only marked for destruction.

The total number of killed and wounded, as far as we have been able to ascertain, is as follows:—Four men and one woman, the latter in consequence of severe bruises received in one of the houses where she had been engaged in plunder; a little boy also, who was shut through the bowels, is not expected to recover; fifty-one other persons, including four women, have also received injuries, some of them very severe ones, principally sabre wounds; a few in consequence of the parties leaping from the burning houses. In this account, we enumerate the cases taken to the public hospitals only. Many lives were lost in the flames, and several persons who received injury having been taken to their own homes, we have no means of acquiring the requisite information respecting them.

*(From the Second Edition of the same Paper.)*

OWN O'CLUCK.—The narrative we have given above brought down the principal circumstances connected with the present deplorable state of our city until the hour of our going to press. Being closely pressed for time, we however found it impossible to speak of the laudable conduct, as we could have wished, displayed throughout the night by the Members of the Political Union, acting in conjunction with the parochial authorities. The firmness and patriotism they have displayed on the present emergency, entitle them not only to the esteem of their fellow-citizens, but to the gratitude of the whole country. A stronger contrast can scarcely be conceived than the good order of the last evening presented to the uproar and confusion of Sunday night. Under their protection we may now say that confidence is restored, though the city still wears the appearance of gloom—very few shops being open, and business still being in a measure suspended. We have some sincere pleasure in stating that they are, at the present moment, employing the most efficient means to bring the plunderers and incendiaries to the justice which their crimes deserve. Being authorized by the Magistrates to search all places where they had a suspicion any of the stolen property was secreted, and to arrest all persons in whose possession such property was found, they have already exercised that power with such success, that, at the time we write, there are confined in the Exchange no fewer than sixty individuals, men, women, and children, some of the latter (corroborating our previous statement) not more than ten or

eleven years of age. In the same place there is also a considerable quantity of furniture, mostly in a shattered condition, which was found in the residences of the prisoners, many of whom were discovered in a state of intoxication, and in the act of enjoying themselves over the wine which they had purloined from the cellars in the square. There is now evidently a reaction; and, in their turn, the plunderers have been seized with a panic. We hear that all sorts of stratagems have been resorted to by them to dispossess themselves of their ill-gotten booty.

¶ We have also heard, but we cannot vouch for the truth of the statement, that seventeen of the ringleaders in the outrages of Sunday are confined in the most secure wing of the jail, the dilapidated building being now guarded by a strong body of soldiers. The persons already apprehended were principally found in Back-street, Great-gardens, Lewin's-mead, Host street, Temple-street, the Pithay, and Bedminster. We have just learned that the 52d regiment from Southampton, will arrive here to-morrow, and the 35th was to leave Portsmouth this morning for the same destination. We regret to add that the fires are not yet extinguished though there is no fear of their extending beyond the premises previously materially damaged.

## BY THE KING. A PROCLAMATION.

**WILLIAM, R.** Whereas in divers parts of Great Britain, and more particularly in the towns of Lichby and Nottingham, and in the city of Bristol, tumultuous assemblages of people have taken place, and outrages of the most violent description have been committed both upon the persons and property of divers of our subjects: and whereas all the restraints of law and order have been overborne and trodden under-foot by such lawless multitudes, the mansions of individuals violently entered, pillaged, and set on fire, the ordinary course of justice forcibly interrupted, the jails for the confinement of criminals broken into and destroyed, and malefactors and persons charged with offences let loose upon the public, to the great disturbance and danger of the common weal, and the subversion of established Government; and whereas the welfare and happiness of all nations do, under Divine Providence, chiefly depend upon the observance and enforcement of the laws: and whereas it is our firm determination faithfully to discharge the duty imposed on us, to preserve the public peace, and vigorously to exert the powers which we possess for the protection of all our subjects in the entire enjoyment of their rights and liberties; we therefore, being resolved to suppress the wicked and flagitious practices aforesaid, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, solemnly warning all

our liege subjects to guard against every attempt to violate the law, and to abstain from every act inconsistent with the peace and good order of society; and we do hereby charge and command all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Chief Magistrates of cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all the Magistrates throughout Great Britain, that they do effectually repress all tumults, riots, outrages, and breaches of the peace, within their respective jurisdictions; and that they do make diligent inquiry in order to discover, and to bring to justice the movers and perpetrators of all such seditious and wicked acts as aforesaid; and we do further earnestly and solemnly exhort, enjoin, call upon, and command all our liege subjects, of all ranks and conditions, that they do come forward upon the first appearance or apprehension of any such disturbances as aforesaid, as they are bound by their duty to us, by their regard for the general interest, and by the obligation of the law, and that they be actively aiding and assisting to all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Magistrates, in enforcing the law against evil doers, and in protecting their fellow-subjects in enjoyment of their property and the exercise of their rights, against all forcible, illegal, and unconstitutional interference, control, or aggression.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this second day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and in the second year of our reign. GOD save the KING.

This is very proper, as far as it goes; but I wish that it had contained a *word or two to sooth the people*, to exhort them to *patience*. I warned LOAN GARY against a *long prorogation*; and I do now implore him to adopt *quieting* measures as soon as possible.

### COBBETT'S CORN.

I ALWAYS said that I should not care a straw about the success of even this great *national good*, unless the borough-monger power were abated; and, indeed, without *that*, every addition to the resources of the country must be an *evil*. Now, however, that power must, *by hook or by crook*, come down; and honest labour, in spite of the efforts of THE LIAR and WETHERELL, will once more enjoy its fruits. Therefore I now sincerely congratulate my readers on the complete success of my undertaking with regard to this corn. I have now not time to give an account of the *crops*, raised in different parts of Eng-

land and Scotland; but I can give the most complete information as to the *application* of the crop as *food for man*. I have frequently had to observe, that for the feeding and *fattening* of oxen, sheep, pigs, poultry of all sorts, and even of horses, nothing in the world was equal to this corn. I have also, in my *COOK BOOK*, given very minute directions for the application of the meal, in various *ways*, as *food for man*. But we had not, when I wrote that book, any proof that this corn, *grown in England*, would be *as good* as that grown in America, or in other hot countries. We have now *most ample proof* on that head, and that proof I am now about to state; and so the statement I beg the reader's attention, if attention he can bestow on *any thing*, with the awful *transactions* of *Heidel* in his mind! Every good Englishman feels, at this moment, as we feel while a beloved parent or child or sister lies dead in the house: all the pleasing objects around us seem to have lost their charm: our country seems, for the present, not to be worth our care: but we must again revive: having, in our minds, strewed with sweetest flowers the graves of the fallen; having bedewed them with our tears, and having besought God to bless their parents, their widows, and their fatherless children, we must again push forward in the cause, and again bestow our attention on the cares of our country.

A notion, very industriously inculcated by the tithe- and tax-eaters was, that though the corn might *ripen* in this country, still it would not have in it the *qualities* which it had in America and other hot countries. If any other man had introduced this corn, what a fuss the tax and tithe-eaters would have made with him! OLD MASA WILBY would have had him up *for a grant*, like JAMMAN; and TOM BARINA (with his *musket* and *ringed bear* for crest) would have called on us *for a grant*, as he did for MACADAN, who only taught what had been practised in France a hundred years before. If any man but me had introduced this corn, what praises the whole tribe of tax and tithe-eaters would have bestowed on him!

But, coming through ME, every effort has been made to disparage the undertaking, and, if possible, to prevent its success. All will fail, however; and, the thing is now come to this; that the cultivation must become common in England; or I must, if I live six or seven years, derive a great fortune from it. One of these must be; and a devil of a dilemma it is for the tax and tithe-eaters, and for the nasty, mean, spiteful, envious and malignant race that write, or that, like JEREMIAH MARSH, in Hants, gabble at county and other meetings. A devil of a dilemma! But, on one of the horns of which these wretches will certainly be hung. Either the corn will be seen in every market in England; and "Cobbett-Corn" it must be called; or I must have as much money as I please to have.

I was, when I took a ramble, saying that, the corrupt and envious crew, when compelled to acknowledge that the corn might ripen in England, asserted that it would not have the same qualities as the American Corn. That, in short, it would be good for nothing, at least, as human food; though it might do to feed pigs or fowls; and that, even for those purposes, it was inferior to barley. Mr. Sapsford, Baker, No. 20, corner of Queen Anne and Wimpole-streets, Marybone, London, got some American Corn in 1828, and he has, ever since, sold the flour, and sold bread made partly of that, and partly of wheat flour. But he has been continually asked, why he did not sell the flour of Cobbett-Corn. The reason was, he could get no Cobbett-Corn. What I growed, I wanted to sell FOR SEED; and it was a sort of sin to grind it, while it was wanted for that purpose. But, this year, I was resolved to put the quality to the test. I sold, some time ago (10th of October) a sack of my this year's corn to Mr. Sapsford, who had it ground; and who has given me an account of the result, which he has authorized me to publish, he being ready, by his miller as well as himself, to verify the facts. Mr. Sapsford has, ever since 1828, been in the practice of selling the flour

and the bread of the American corn; so that he has furnished the means of a comparative as well as of a positive estimate. Let me first take the sack (four Winchester bushels, for never will I either sell or buy by the Scotch quackery of "Imperial"), and state its weight and its produce.

	POUNDS
Sack of Cobbett's Corn.....	244
Flour .....	215
Offal (sold at 3s. 6d. a bushel, of 56 lbs.) .....	21
Waste, in grinding .....	8
	<hr/> 244

Now for a sack of American corn, bought at Mark-lane by Mr. Sapsford.

	POUNDS
Sack of American Corn.....	224
Flour .....	170
Offal .....	43
Waste in grinding .....	11
	<hr/> 224

There, envious and malignant beasts! There, LIAR! Now frank your circulars again, and send them round the country to assure people that this corn is "the greatest friend that ever was palmed upon the people." You told the good and credulous people in the North, that "after all your sacrifices in the cause, you had, thank God, A LITTLE PATRIMONY left to make you independent." Whether you had it in ACTUAL OCCUPATION, you did not say; nor did you say WHERE IT WAS! But if you really have it in hand, go and raise some Cobbett-Corn on it; and do not delay your work, at any rate, before you become a forgotten clod; advice which will also give to WETHERELL, FARR, TAYLOR, and all your recent fellow-creators of "reaction."

Now, sensible reader, look at the vast difference in the produce of those two sacks of corn. But besides the weight, there is the quality of the flour. Mr. Sapsford says, that the difference in this respect is still greater than the difference in the weight. He can buy American corn, or French corn, at Mark-Lane, for 3s. a quarter; but for

mine he can afford to give 48s. when, mind, the average price of barley is 33s. Of the correctness of all these facts any one may be satisfied by applying to Mr. Sapsford at his shop, as above, where the flour is, for the present, to be seen and bought. The miller is Mr. DEARN, who lives in the east of Hertfordshire; for Mr. Sapsford has found that the town mills do not grind so well. Mr. DEARN, who is also a farmer, buys the *offal* of the corn at 3s. 6d. the bushel; and even that offal of my corn is *better than prime barley-meal*, and this every farmer will know, when he looks at the price of it. Mr. DEARN came to see me, at Bolt-court, last Friday, and bespoke seed corn to plant *three acres*. Many persons intend to plant considerable quantities; but I must advise no man to *do this till a new edition of my Corn-Book is out*; for subsequent experience has taught me many things which I did not know when that book was written, and which it is absolutely necessary that every one, who plants to any extent, should know. Without this additional knowledge, the thing *cannot succeed well* with any one. I will have the book ready by the 1st of December; and, with that book, no man can fail.

I shall want so large a part of my crop to *sell for seed*, that, out of my acre, I shall not be able to let Mr. Sapsford have more than *five or six sacks*, of which he has already had *three*, but, next year, I will, if alive and well, and if the country be in any thing like a *state of peace*, grow, somewhere or other, a hundred quarters of this corn *for grinding*. But what I have further to say upon this interesting subject must be reserved for another, and, I hope, less anxious and affecting time.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

HEMMING, W., Chaines, Worcesters, draper.  
JOSEPH, S., Great George-street, Westminster, sculptor.  
WOODRUFFE, T., Ramsey, Essex, cattle-dr.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ALLINSON, T., Manchester, commission-agent.  
BAKER, G. F., Ratheaston, Somersetshire, silk-manufacturer.  
BRIGHT, T. R., Devonport, ironmonger.  
BURN, J., Newport-market, St. Ann's, Soho, china-dealer.  
GRAHAM, J., Liverpool, linen-draper.  
HOWELL, B. and W. Bennett, baker, Charles-st., Cavendish-square, and Judd-street, Brunswick-square, nonmougers.  
LAMB, J. A., Battersea, victualler.  
MADDOCK, W., Portsea, coal-merchant.  
MOSES, M., Newport, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.  
PROVO, L. Y., Newton Abbott, Devonshire, ironmonger.  
SHEPARD, T., Upper Marybonne-street, victualler.  
VICKERY, W., Brereton, Cheshire, inn-keeper.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ALLAN, H. and J. Sherwood, Edinburgh, coach-builders.  
FOLLOCK, G., Chapelhall, near Airdrie, inn-keeper.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1831.

#### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

CROFTS, G., Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, merchant.  
FLOWRIGHT, E. G. and W. Plowright, Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, wine-merchants.  
WARD, J., Upper Ground-street, Christchurch, Surrey, iron-founder.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SYMONS, A., Falmouth, wine-merchant.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BRETTELL, J., Bristol, cheese-factor.  
CAPPER, T. and B., Beaufort-buildings, Strand, coal-merchants.  
FOARD, E., Brighton, wine-merchant.  
GAPP, J., Seymour-mews and Hinde-mews, Marybonne, job-master.  
HODKINSON, J., and R. Dyson, George-street, Hanover-square, tailors.  
KEMPSTER, W. H., Kingston-on-Thames, rectifier.  
LAZARUS, S. M., Bath, soap-maker.  
LEES, E., Manchester, bread-maker.  
MORSE, W., Faringdon-street, and Swan-yard, Holborn-bridge, dealer in glass.  
OLDLAND, J., Wotton-under-edge, Gloucestershire, clothier.  
PRATT, T., Exeter, druggist.  
QUINTON, W., Walsall, Staffords., victualler.  
SCOTT, W., Newbottle, Durham, miller.  
SMITH, J., George-place, Camden-town, Bazaar, Baker-street, Portman-square, & Margate, Silversmith.  
TURNER, A., Halifax, Yorkshire, carpet-manufacturer.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCTOBER 31.—Supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, English, Irish, Scotch and foreign barley; Scotch flour, English and Scotch oats, English and foreign beans and peas, with malt and most kinds of seeds, from all quarters, very limited; of Irish wheat and oats great; of foreign wheat, and English, Irish, and foreign flour, good.—There were no foreign oats nor rye from any quarter.

There was to-day a numerous assemblage of buyers; and, owing to the supply being limited, a bustle among the samples, that seemed to indicate a brisk trade, in most kinds of grain, a few small parcels of very superior wheat, and a considerable quantity of good barley, with some beans and peas, sold at an advance of from 1s. to 3s.; malt 2s. per quarter, 9,294 quarters having arrived last week from Ireland, the trade became dull at nothing beyond last week's prices, with the exception of fine wheat and barley.—Our lower barley quotations are advanced, on account of improvement in quality.—Linseed and hempseed find purchasers, but most other seeds are next to nominal, and last week's currency.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	30s. to 35s.
— fine .....	35s. to 45s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 40s.
— Builders .....	35s. to 46s.
— Grey .....	36s. to 41s.
Beans, Old .....	37s. to 40s.
— Tick .....	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	25s. to 30s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	12s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 126s. 0d. to —s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 60s. 0d. to 63s. per barrel	
Butter, Belfast .... 100s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow .... 100s. to 102s.	
— Cork .... 97s. to 98s.	
— Limerick .. 97s. to —s.	
— Waterford .. 94s. to 98s.	
— Dublin .... 95s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire .... 60s. to 65s.	
— Gloucester, Double .. 56s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Single .. 46s. to 54s.	
— Edam .... 46s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ..... 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish .... 42s. to 54s.	

## SMITHFIELD—October 31.

In this day's market, which was for the time of year well supplied, each kind of meat met with rather a sluggish trade. Beef, mutton, and pork, at Friday's quotations; veal at a depression of full 2d. per cwt. Beasts, 3,225; sheep and lambs, 20,530; calves, 145; pigs, 210.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 4.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thur
	82½	83	82½	82½	82½	83

## CHEAP CLOTHING!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,  
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

**R**EQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley L. & C.	
Colours .....	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth...	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers .....	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats .....	12 0
Figured Silk ditto .....	15 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets ..	1 10 0
Regatan ditto .....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery .....	4 1 0

Gadles, Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. Wm. COBBETT.

## Price Sixpence.

**A** LETTER to EARL GREY on the Subject of the ADJUSTMENT of the HOUSE OF PEERS.

"It is a kind of Analysis of the Division on the Second Reading of the Reform Bill in the Lords. The public will, we are sure, be much struck with the fact which the Author communicates; but at present we do not think it would be wise to make any new creations for the purpose merely of neutralizing the Irish and Scotch Peers." — *Courier*, Oct. 20.

By J. B. SPURWAY, 169, Piccadilly, and through every Bookseller. Of whom may also be had THE PROTESTANT MANUAL; or notices respecting the majority of 199 PEERS advocates of existing corruption, who REJECTED THE REFORM BILL: 1s.; or, on common paper for distribution 2s. per dozen.

"This Tract is admirable! it is well calculated to effect the objects of its production; its contents should be widely and unreservedly disseminated."

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet street.



"In all human probability, then, the whole of the interest of the debt, and all the taxes, cures, and pensions, and salaries, and also the expences of a thundering standing army, will continue to be made up by taxes, by loans from the Bank, by exchequer bills, by every species of contrivance, to the latest possible moment, and until the whole of the paper-system, amidst the war of opinions, of projects, of interests, and of passions, shall go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."—*Register*, 28th March, 1817.

### TO LORD GREY.

*On the Ten-Pound Suffrage in Large Towns.*

*Warrington, 7th November, 1831.*

MY LORD,

PLEASE to look at the motto! She really seems now to be getting amongst the breakers! The wind howls in the shrouds; the masts creak; the culling fire of the waves gleams through the darkness; thump after thump sends her to and fro, and the next moment may rive her in pieces. The standing army all in motion; cannons travelling post; guards stationed to defend the bread-mills; post-chaises filled with common soldiers; fires blazing in every direction; the rich, in towns, seeking for their defence against the poor; the working people are called; ye heavy-cavalry, in the country, waiting for a similar purpose; a bill brought in by the Government for issuing licences to farmers to plant man-traps and spring-guns in their homesteads; a supper escaping from the bench, over the roofs of houses, in disguise! I shall presently speak of the causes; but, at any rate, such is the state of things; to

which may be added, *bishops burnt in effigy*, and that, too, by the very same people who, thirty-eight years ago, were urged by the loyal, and by the clergy in particular, to burn in effigy that "TOM PAYNE," who foretold these very things, and which things would have been prevented, if his advice had been followed. Of the *cause* I shall presently speak; but if these things do not indicate that "the rocks" are at hand, I do not know what can.

I am well aware that those who live on taxes and tithes will, while they grind their teeth and grin horribly, exclaim, "Punishment will fall on the rioters!" Ay, but what then? It has fallen on them: many of them are dead; hundreds are sent into slavery for life; and some of these for "highway robbery," committed by a crowd of men and boys making a farmer or a parson give them a few shillings or a few pence. "Punishment" has fallen upon them; punishment did fall on WILLIAM SUTTON, a Hampshire lad of eighteen, who, with a dozen others, made a farmer give them four copper pennies, for which "highway robbery" SUTTON was condemned to death, and transported for life. "Punishment" did fall upon HENRY COOK, of Michel-dever, who was hanged for striking BINGHAM BABING, without doing him any bodily harm. "Punishment" has fallen on them, and is falling on them every day; but that brings no diminution of the danger or of the alarm. Many fall; many indeed! But millions remain; and millions can neither be put to death, nor held in chains; and as to making them contented by calling them *mob*, *rabble*, *wretches*, *miscreants*, *monsters*, and the like, none but the insolent villains who plunder them will ever think of that; and amongst these villains are a great part of those who conduct the London daily press. In such a state of things, the inflicting of punishment does no good. Even the dreadful slaughter at Bristol

will not frighten nor damp one single working man; but it will fill the breasts of the whole of them, even in the most obscure hamlets, with feelings that it would be unnecessary for me to describe.

As to the immediate cause of the present violent state of things, it is clear that WETHERELL was not that cause, except upon one spot, and even there there were *predisposing causes*, without which the dreadful effect would not have been produced. To be sure, his conduct had been particularly offensive; he had called the working people by all manner of vile names; he had called the 10l. voters "*a pauper constituency*"; he had called the working people of London "*the turbid, base populace*"; he had been constantly insisting that the *people were become cool in the cause of reform*; he had called for *special commissions to go forth again*; he had, in short, been a co-operator with THE LIAR in calumniating the people on the subject of the bill; he had done every thing to irritate and provoke the people. But still, if the people had felt confident that *THE BILL would finally be carried*, they would, indeed, have hissed and groaned him most gloriously in a noble-spirited place like Bristol, and they might have smashed his carriage; but there their anger would have ended. He would have been a subject of laughter and of mockery, instead of serious assault, if they could have been confident that *all his efforts against them would finally be defeated*. Far, however, was that from being the case. They had seen *THE BILL* rejected; and, which was a great deal worse, they had reason to apprehend *ANOTHER BILL, by which the working people would be forever cut off from the right of voting*. Their minds were soured by this prospect; they had no promise that this should not be done; they looked upon themselves as *betrayed*; the inflammable matter was already in their breasts, and the offensive, the contemptuous, the insolent WETHERELL was the match.

I beg your Lordship to consider a little the state of the mind of the people

of Bristol at the time when this contumelious lawyer was about to enter it for the purpose of *administering justice*. The London daily papers, which have taken notice of this matter, choose to consider the working people almost as brutes in point of mind; they choose, particularly the *Morning Chronicle*, to ascribe all the violences at Bristol to the *ignorance of the working people*. Never was there ignorance or impudence surpassing that of these writers. The working people, in country as well as town, know their interests a great deal better than these writers seem to know them. Of their quick-sightedness I will give the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* the following instance. When I was in Hampshire, the other day, a chopstick, who came to my place of lodging to talk to me about the mode of harvesting and preserving his corn, and who soon diverged into a talk about the *Reform Bill*, said: "And this cholera morbus, Sir, don't you think it's a sort of a *shoyboy* to frighten us out of the reform?" "Not exactly that," said I, "but when one of your children has got the *hickups*:" "Ay," said he, interrupting me, "then my dame tells it some frightful lie, and away goes 'the hickups.'" "Just so," said I. "Ay," said he, "but they won't frighten us by their cholera morbus, and make us contented with potatoes and water." My friend, Doctor BLACK, who owes his diploma entirely to me, understands a great many things; he knows a great deal; but he does not know the state of the minds of the working people of England, who understand, quite as well as he does, the nature and the tendency and the object also of all the laws affecting them, which have been passed since the oldest of them came into the world. They know all about STURGES BOURNE'S bills; all about Peel's new felony and new trespass laws; all about the punishment of them without trial by jury; all about the parson-justices; and the pensioner and placeman, and military and naval officer-justices; they know all about the origin and ancient distribution of tithes. They understand well

how a bill came into the House of Commons, and was passed there, to authorise the selling of their dead bodies; they do not form themselves into clubs, in order to raise money to defray the expenses of *watching the graves of their deceased relations*; they do not do this without asking, why the Parliament cannot pass a law to *protect the dead bodies of the poor*, while they pass so many laws to protect the live and dead bodies of pheasants, partridges, and hares? In short, they want no instruction upon these subjects: they know well, that all their hardships arise from the want of having members in the Parliament *chosen by themselves*.

The people of Bristol knew these things as well as the people in every other part of the kingdom; and, besides this general knowledge, they were particularly interested in the fate of the Reform Bill; particularly interested in the passing of that bill *without any alterations*; and especially an alteration which would raise the qualification of voting in large towns. The elections at Bristol were made by the freemen, who are a very numerous body, and who are principally working men. The bill that has been rejected by the bishops and other lords took the right away at once from all the freemen who are not actually residing in the town at the time of the election, and for some months before; and it also took away the right of all resident future freemen, so that the present apprentices never would, as freemen of the city, have a right to vote at elections; but the bill did not do injustice to Bristol, because it gave a vote to every man that paid ten pounds a year rent for a house, which was better for the city and better for the nation; because, while it gave a greater number of voters than existed before, it made those voters more independent, less liable to be over-awed or corrupted.

The world has never exhibited instances of public spirit, of generosity, of devotion to country, equal to those which have been exhibited by the working men of England in their eagerness to give up their peculiar privileges for the

general good; and of this whole country, containing so many cities and towns where the working men possess this peculiar privilege, nowhere has the generous surrender been made with so much enthusiasm as in this very city of Bristol. When, therefore, they learned, and from your own mouth, that it was the intention to prorogue the Parliament *until a time undefined*, was it not to be expected that their feelings of disappointment would be strong in proportion to their generosity and zeal and devotion? It is a common saying, that you cannot have blood out of a flint stone; but it is as reasonable to expect blood from that callous material as to expect passive obedience and non-resistance to associate with enthusiastic public spirit.

But, if the people of Bristol felt sore at the delay in passing the bill, what must have been their feelings at suspecting, as I suspected, and as we had good reason to suspect, that the new bill was not only to deprive them of their ancient right of suffrage, but to deprive them also of the ten-pound voting contained in the last bill; or, at any rate, so to alter the suffrage as to diminish the number of voters in the city of Bristol? If I be asked *what ground* they had for this suspicion, I once more repeat the speech of the Lord Chancellor, made towards the close of the debate on the Reform Bill; and here are the parts that I allude to of that speech. At the beginning of his speech (Oct. 8), he said, "I have listened with profound attention to the debate, of which this, I believe, will be the last night, and which has already occupied five days, and having heard a vast variety of objections, having weighed the arguments on both sides, and *careless whether I give offence in any quarter*, I must say, that I am so *far moved by some points urged as to be ready to reconsider some matters upon which I had deemed that my mind was sufficiently made up.*" After an hour or two of very unmeaning stuff, he came to this: "In London and the great towns, in the Tower Hamlets, in Lambeth, and the like, ten pounds



"is a low qualification; but in other places it is not. TWENTY POUNDS was ORIGINALLY DESTINED for the qualification; but, upon inquiry into the circumstances of the small towns, we were induced to abandon it. But if noble Lords, speaking upon the question in general, choose to object to this qualification that it is uniform, and say that it ought to be different at divers places—lower in the smaller towns, and higher in the larger—I will not say that I agree with them; I will not say what was originally my opinion; I will not tell the reasons that now recommend the bill, as it stands, to my support; but I will say that whoever holds that doctrine will find me ready to secure for him the most ample, the most scrutinising, the most candid discussion of the subject in the committee. I speak as an individual; candour compels me to say thus much. But I, at the same time, say that it is emphatically a subject for the committee."

Now, my Lord, it was impossible for me to read this without seeing clearly that the Lord Chancellor was ready, not like the hunted beaver, to throw anything to the hunters belonging to himself; but to throw to them the sole protection of the working people. Let it be observed, and your Lordship knows it well, that the ten-pound suffrage in the great towns was the thing on which the opposing bishops and peers made the stoutest stand. They saw, as I see, and as the people saw, that the ten-pound suffrage in the great towns would be a real good to the working people. The opponents of the bill, therefore, took it as their strongest ground of objection. They dwelt upon it more than upon any other part of the bill. With from fifty to a hundred men, really chosen by the working people, they clearly saw that the Pension and Sinecure List never could stand a year. They saw, in short, that they might as well give universal suffrage at once. Therefore it was, that the Lord Chancellor made the speech that I have quoted from, clearly expressing a readiness to give up this ten-pound suffrage,

and thus leave the working millions without the power of returning one single member. Does your Lordship imagine that the people of Nottingham, of Derby, and of Bristol, did not see this as clearly as I did? They saw that the Lord Chancellor was ready to give them up; they heard, coming from your Lordship's own lips, that the new bill was to contain alterations; what those alterations were to be was kept a secret; and no contradiction was ever given, and has not yet been given, to the interpretation which I gave to the speech of the Lord Chancellor; and what, then, were the people to think other than that this part of the bill was to be surrendered? What the feelings of the people are may be best described, perhaps, by what they would inevitably be if the new bill, with this alteration in it, were to pass. The bill being passed; the famous Reform Bill having become a law, off would go the reforming members to Dover, to Canterbury, to Rochester, to Chichester, to Portsmouth, to Southampton, to Chester, to Northampton, to Liverpool, to Derby, to Nottingham, to Hull, to York, to Newcastle, and other large towns. If we suppose one of these members addressing his constituents in order to get them to choose him again; and, as a happy instance, let us suppose your Attorney-General arrived for this purpose at Nottingham; something like the following would, if he were to speak common sense, be his speech:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"When I last had the honour to be elected by you, you deputed me to to keep together in my chivalry with my learned brother, Lord BROUGHAM. We have fought the good fight; we have beaten the boroughmongers; we have carried our glorious Reform Bill; we have, indeed, taken away the suffrages of all those working men in this ancient and high-spirited town who returned me to Parliament; and we have given the right of voting to the tax-eaters and tithe-eaters, and others who live by the labour of the working men; but, then, we have taken care to secure to those working

"men the valuable, the precious, privileged of *paying taxes* and of *fighting* for those who have the votes!"

Long before he arrived at this sentence, happy man would he be if nothing harder than rotten eggs saluted his eloquent mouth; and, if he exclaimed, that he had a right to say what he thought, he would be answered by being reminded that he denied to the Duke of Newcastle the right to do *what he liked with his own*. Such, however, must be the substance of his speech, if he were to give his vote for such a bill. He might endeavour to varnish the matter over. He might tell the people of Nottingham, that houses were rented higher in Nottingham than in the towns of Hampshire; and that, therefore, it would not be fair, it would be ununiform, to give a vote to as low a rent in Nottingham as in Winchester. But his clever and sharp-sighted constituents would tell him, that the way to make the thing uniform would be to make the ten-pound rent the highest qualification, and to go on *lowering it* according as rents were lower in other places. The "*patriot*" Colonel Davis wanted a scheme of proportion; but he was for raising the qualification in the great towns, and lowering it in the small towns, in which he was not afraid of adding to the number of voters; because, in those towns, the aristocracy would have great and immediate influence.

Even according to the rejected bill, there are many *whole counties* in which not a single working man would have had a vote. The ten-pound rent shuts out every working man in every town in Sussex; in every town in Hampshire, except, perhaps, Portsmouth; in every town in Kent, except, perhaps, a few in Rochester and Chatham; in every town in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Somersetshire, unless Bristol be deemed a part of Somersetshire; in every town without exception in the whole of Wales, North and South; in every town in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire; and in short, in every town even in Lincolnshire; and, it is the same to the east, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, Norwich

excepted. In Cambridgeshire not a single working man would have had a vote, and the same in Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, and Leicestershire. There were absolutely no places at all the suburbs of London, Norwich, Bristol, and the great towns in Warwickshire, and Staffordshire, Derby, Nottingham, and the great towns in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and further to the North, including the great towns in Scotland, and four or five great towns in Ireland; there were none but these populous spots, in which there would have been one single working man entitled to a vote; and yet this was *too much*, and the famous patriot Brougham was "*ready to reconsider*" even this! Here, however, I take my stand. Not one *shilling of rise* in the qualification; no trick of shifting the suffrage *from rent to rate*, so as to enable the owners of houses to nullify the right of voting by letting their houses *free of rates* and *paying the rates themselves*; as touching this matter, I will never give my assent to any alteration that shall, in any manner, raise the suffrage in any towns, great or small; or that shall, in any way, tend to diminish the number of voters, whether in the towns or the counties.

Amongst all the schemes of disqualification, I do not hear of any one for disqualifying any persons who *live upon the taxes or the tithes*! Pensioners in general are nothing more than state paupers. Lord ALTHAM said, that many of the pensions were given *as charity*. While parish paupers are disqualified, why not disqualify state paupers? Our fathers, when they, in evil hour, consented to mortgage the country and to establish a revenue to be raised by internal taxation, disqualified revenue officers from voting at elections of members to serve in Parliament; because such officers had a manifest interest in choosing such men as were likely to heap taxes upon the people. Even so late as the date of the establishment of the *paid justices of the Wen*, this principle prevailed; and these paid justices cannot vote at elections in consequence of a clause in the first police act, moved, I believe, by

*yourself*, or, at least, I recollect well that it was supported by you. This was very proper; to introduce the clause was a very meritorious act; but, my Lord, are these police magistrates more deeply interested in returning to Parliament men disposed to heap taxes on the people, than are the pensioners, sinecure people, grantees, retired-allowance people, dead-weight, and even the officers of the army and the navy, and all the long train of commissaries and commissioners and clerks? If there was good ground, and never was there better, for disqualifying officers of revenue and magistrates of police, is there not equally good ground for disqualifying all others who have a manifest, a vital, interest in returning such men to Parliament as shall be likely to heap taxes upon the people?

I by no means impute blame to your Lordship for not attempting to do this act of justice at this time; nor do I argue, from your not doing it, the want of a disposition in you to do it; but I beseech your Lordship to consider, how mortifying, how galling, how provoking it must be to the working man, who pays taxes and who receives none, to see perked up by the side of him a person who lives upon the taxes, qualified to vote at elections, while he himself is disqualified! If the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, in the fulness of his contempt for the knowledge of the working people, think them too ignorant to perceive, or too blunted to feel, the injustice and insolence of this, he knows less of the working people of England than he knows of the Hebrew tongue. They do perceive the insolence of this distinction; they do feel upon the subject as if becomes them to feel; their good-nature, their generosity, their proneness always to think well of the Government; their natural abhorrence of every thing tending to dishonour the country and to tear it to pieces, made them eagerly seize the Reform Bill as the olive branch; but in exact proportion to the sacrifice which they willingly made to concilia-

tion will be their resentment if they see themselves studiously marked out as creatures fit only to be trodden under-foot.

Besides the injustice and the insolence of such an alteration, there is the flagrant impolicy of it; that is to say, impolicy on the part of the aristocracy particularly, who, as a permanent privileged body, have nothing so justly to dread as the rivalry of an aristocracy of money, which in this country must always be powerful, always interposing, always full of envy of the nobility, and must always be desirous to pull that body down to their own level. I have known the dispositions of a pretty many men in my life-time, and I have always observed that the most bitter enemies of hereditary rank and hereditary wealth are to be found amongst monied men, who measure lords by the scale of pounds, shillings, and pence, and who, having been the makers of their own fortunes, take special care never to look behind them, and have not the smallest regard for any thing that bears a traditionary character. All the world is the same to them; and, as all men have ambition of some sort or other, the ambition of such men is, *not to see a greater man than themselves*; and as the order of nobility tells them, thus far shall you go, and no farther, they have a natural desire to pull down that order. Now, this is by no means the turn of mind of the working people, whose utmost ambition is that of attaining excellence in their several callings, and whose desires all terminate in being able to live well, in exchange for their constant labour. From thousands of men in the middle rank of life I have heard invective against the order of nobility; from no working man did I ever hear such in my life; and I am perfectly satisfied that there would be more danger to the order of nobility from voting confined to twenty-pound householders than from voting on the principle of a suffrage perfectly universal. Nay, I am satisfied that if the twenty-pound householder scheme were tried, the peers would, for their own safety, be compelled to resort

to universal suffrage, as Henry the Seventh, to preserve his kingly powers against the encroachments of the barons, was compelled to call in the people.

But, my Lord, the peers who oppose the bill seem to have thought of *nothing but the present moment*. They saw, as I saw, that the members coming from the great towns, and chosen by the working people, would never suffer that working people to be borne down to the earth as they now are; and they clearly saw that there was no possible way of relieving the working people, other than that of taking off the taxes to a very great extent; and they knew that this could not be done without beginning by taking from them and their families and dependents the enormous sums which they now receive out of those taxes. They saw, for instance, that the ten-pound suffrage would, if I chose it, put me into Parliament, where they well know that I never would be, without making the most strenuous efforts to cause this object to be accomplished. I am fully warranted in believing that the certainty, or nearly the certainty, that the ten-pound suffrage would put me into Parliament, *was one of the reasons for their rejecting the bill*. I am fully warranted in believing this, because, while almost every one of them who spoke against the bill made allusion to me and to Manchester, no less than four of them named me and that town, and cited the intention of that town to choose me as an *instance of the great danger to be apprehended from the ten-pound suffrage in great towns*; and, my Lord, I would not take my oath that *it was not Cobbett and Manchester that convinced your colleague, Lord Brougham, of the propriety of being "ready to reconsider" his opinions relative to that part of the bill*!

To be plain, I do verily believe, that *Cobbett and Manchester* had great weight in the rejection of the bill, and also great weight with most of your colleagues, if not with your Lordship, in forming that design, which I believe to have been entertained, if it be not still entertained, *to alter the bill in this respect,*

and to raise the suffrage and thereby diminish the number of voters in the great towns; and I further believe, that this is the conviction of every well-informed man in the whole kingdom.

Such a thing as this never before disgraced any body of rulers upon the face of the earth! What a surprising thing that a man, literally bred up at the plough tail; never having been put to a school; never having had a patron of any description; having had to work all his life like a horse, to maintain and breed up a numerous family; having had no one contingency that has favoured his progress in life; having had no one earthly resource out of himself; never having written a line to catch the thoughts, or to flatter any description of persons, high or low; having preferred living on a crust to riches and ease obtained by any of those means by which literary men usually obtain wealth and exaltation: what a surprising thing that such a man, leading such a life, should become so formidable to two great parties, dividing between them the whole of the powers of the Government of the greatest and richest country in the world, as to make those two parties (waging eternal strife as to every thing else) unite like children from the same mother, in efforts of every description, to keep that man down! Yet, surprising as it is, it is not less true than it is surprising. Before the Reform Bill was brought in, and when we were all on the tiptoe of expectation, I said to a friend, who was sitting talking with me on the subject, "What sort of reform do you think they mean to give us?" His answer was, "I think they will give just as much as will enable them to keep you out of Parliament." I told him that I made no doubt, that that would be *the wish*; but that if they gave so little as that, they would soon become more odious than their predecessors; and that they could not very well exclude me *by name*, as they had very nearly done in the SIX ACTS, two of which might as well have had *the name*; for every man in the kingdom saw that the Acts were intended solely for *the man*.

What adds to the curiosity of the thing is, that I never have wished to possess any public power of any sort, except that of being in Parliament, and that wish arose from a desire to assist in effecting a Parliamentary Reform. I cannot but know the prodigious difficulties that must surround a man who shall now undertake to assist in putting the affairs of this great and troubled country to rights. I know well that my *thirteen propositions*, which Lord WYNWORTH (I think they call him), who was once the renowned SERJEANT BESR, lamented that he had lost, and therefore could not read them to the House, and which I will submit to this letter, that the late Serjeant may have them another time; I know, my Lord, that these thirteen propositions must be adopted to the very letter, or that the discontent after the reform will be even greater than it is at this moment. And am I, of all men in the world, so stupid as not to perceive the great difficulties attending that adoption? Am I so shortsighted as not to foresee the turmoil which will arise in consequence? Do I know so little of mankind as not to be aware, that he who inflicts present evil on a comparative few, is sure to find but weak apologists in the many, on whom he is bestowing future and permanent good? Do I not know, that reproaches follow the knife of the surgeon, though it be necessary to the saving of life? Can I behold in prospect, as I do, as clearly as I behold the paper on which I am writing, swarms of clamorous pensioners, sincere people, retired-allowance people, discarded commissioners, dead-weight people, by thousands upon thousands, growing fundholders, and dependents of all these, swarming like locusts upon the banks of the Nile, and all directing a good share, at least, of their reproaches towards me: can I behold all this, and behold, at the same time, the delivered the freed, the benefited, the happy nation, leaving me to bear the reproaches as well as I can: can I behold all this, and, still possessing my senses, embark in the perilous concern as on a party of pleasure? Can I, who have

lived all my life as free as a bird in the woods; who have never been thwarted in my will by any-body, and who have never had on my shoulders responsibility to any living soul; who value not wealth, who cannot gain a particle of fame, who despise the very thought of possessing what are called honours and dignities, and who would not pass one evening amongst the guttlers and gossippers and spitters and belchers of the boozing-ken of Bellamy, even on condition of thereby adding five years to the length of my life; can I, for my own sake, sigh after a seat in the Parliament?

Yet, what a fuss, what a contriving, what a plotting, to keep me out of that hole of candle-light confusion, to sit in which, more than one session by candle-light, would demand a motive much stronger than I can at this moment conceive! What an intriguing, what a plotting, what a prosecuting, by both the parties, and what terrible calamities to this our country! And, at once horrible and ludicrous as is the thought, I verily believe that, at last, both parties would prefer a going upon the rocks to the seeing of me in that Parliament, in which I do not want to be, but to go into which I will *never decline*, if any body of electors shall freely, and of their own accord, choose me to be the representative of their will; and in which Parliament the nobility, if they had had common sense, would have taken care to have me long and long ago, seeing that, while I would not have suffered them to take one penny unjustly out of the pockets of the people, I would not have suffered them to be despoiled by loan-mongers and Jews, always having been convinced as I still am, that an aristocracy of *title and of privilege*, when kept within due and constitutional bounds, brings none of that oppression upon the working people which is always brought upon them by a *damned aristocracy of money*.

I have, thus, my Lord, very frankly, and, I trust, with becoming respect, offered you my opinion upon a subject deeply interesting to those industrious and laborious millions to whom our

country chiefly owes its greatness. I am fully persuaded, that it is your individual wish to act justly towards them ; and that you may have the resolution to give effect to that wish, or to appeal from your opponents to the people, is the anxious desire of one who has never had any ambition other than that of seeing his country the greatest and the happiest in the world.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The following are the 13 propositions which OLD SERJEANT BEST had lost, or put into the wrong pocket. It is a pity that he should not have have them at hand ready for *another bout* ; and therefore I insert them here.

1. To put an end to all pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, half-pay, and all other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found fully to merit them ; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.
2. To discharge the standing army, except such part of the ordnance and artillery as may be necessary to maintain the arsenals at the sea-ports in a state of readiness for war ; and to abolish the military academies, and dispose of all barracks and other property now applied to military uses.
3. To make the counties, each according to its whole number of members of parliament, maintain and equip a body of militia, horse as well as foot and artillery, at the county expense, and to have these bodies, as they are in America, mustered at stated periods ; so that at any time, a hundred thousand efficient men may be ready to come into the field, if the defence of the kingdom require it.
4. To abolish tithes of every description ; to leave to the clergy the churches, the church-yards, the parsonage houses, and the ancient

glebes ; and, for the rest, leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people.

5. To take all the rest of the property, commonly called church-property ; all the houses, lands, manors, tithes, rents, and real property of every kind, now possessed by bishops, chapters, or other ecclesiastical bodies, and all the misapplied property of corporate bodies of every sort ; and also all the property called crown-lands, or crown-estates, including that of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster ; and sell them all, and apply the proceeds to the discharge of the Debt which the late parliaments contracted with the fundholders.
6. To cease, during the first six months after June, 1832, to pay interest on a fourth part of the debt ; second six months, to cease to pay interest on another fourth ; and so on for the other two fourths ; so that no more interest, or any part of the debt would be paid, after the end of two years.
7. To divide the proceeds of all the property mentioned in paragraph No. 5, and also in paragraph No. 2, in due proportion, on principles of equity, amongst the owners of what is called *stock*, or, in other words, the *fundholders*, or persons who lent their money to those who borrowed it in virtue of acts of the late parliaments ; and to give to the fundholders, out of the taxes, no thing beyond these proceeds.
8. To make an equitable adjustment with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man, and thereby rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and ruin inflicted on thousands upon thousands of virtuous families by the arbitrary changes made by acts of the late parliaments, in the value of the money of the country.
9. To abolish *all internal taxes* (except on the land), whether direct or indirect, including stamp-taxes of every description ; and to impose such a postage-charge for letters

as to defray the *real expenses* of an economical and yet efficient post-office establishment, and no more; so that the postage would be merely a *payment* for the conveyance of letters, and not a tax.

10. To lay just as much custom-house duty on importations as shall be found conducive to the benefit of the navigation, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom, viewed as a whole, and not to lay on one penny more.

11. To make effectual provision, in every department, for the maintenance of a powerful navy; to give such pay and such an allotment of prize-money to the seaman as to render impressment wholly unnecessary; to abolish the odious innovation of *naval academies*, and re-open the door of promotion to skill and valour, whether found in the heirs of nobles, or in the sons of the loom or of the plough; to abolish all military *Orders*; and to place the navy next in honour to the throne itself.

12. To make a legal, a *fixed*, and a generous allowance to the King, and, through him, to all the branches and members of his family; to leave to him the unshackled freedom of appointing all his servants, whether of his household or of his public ministry; to leave to him the full control over his palaces, gardens, and parks, as land-owners have over their estates; to take care that he be not worried with intrigues to purchase from him that which the people give him for his own enjoyment; so that he may be, in all respects, what the Chief of a free people ought to be, his name held in the highest honour, and his person held sacred, as the great guardian of the people's rights.

13. To make an accurate valuation of all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, in each county in the whole kingdom; to impose a tax upon that property, to be paid quarterly, and in every county on

the same day, and in such manner as to cost in the collection, or, rather, payment, not more than *four hundred pounds* a year in any one county; to make the rate and amount of this tax vary with the wants of the state, always taking care to be amply provided with means in case of war, when war shall be demanded by the safety, the interest, or the honour of the kingdom.

Now, my Lord Grey, here, at any rate, there is nothing of an *abstract* nature; nothing theoretic, nothing dark, nothing *covert*. This is what I would do, if I could have my will; and if I were a member of Parliament, and found that this, *the whole* of this, could not be obtained by the Parliament, I would quit the concern as soon as I had ascertained this to be the fact; as soon as I had ascertained that the people had chosen men not ready to do all this; or, at least, as soon as I had ascertained that the people would again choose such men. I would not consent to be the representative of any body of persons who would not pledge themselves most solemnly to support me in my endeavours to accomplish *all* this. And, further, I would accept of the post only on the condition that I should be at liberty to vacate it if I chose, at the end of one session, if the Parliament continued the shameful practice of sitting by *candle-light*, and under the same roof where there are an eating-house and a boozing place. I will never sit, for any length of time, amongst "legislators," who drop in one after another, or half a score at a time, belching, and picking their teeth. In such a scene, how can attention and reflection exist? From such a scene sober thought is excluded by the laws of nature. From the fumes of port and sherry and grog and brown-stout and tobacco; from the spattering of the frying-pan and the hissing of the grid-iron, wisdom flees; all men flee from a pestilence. To account for so great a country being brought to the state in which this now is, after ages will only want to be informed that its legislators lounged away the morning in bed, and

held their deliberations in the night-time, under the same roof with a guttling and guzzling house, and that, on an average, a fourth, or a third, of them were eating or drinking; at the very moment that laws affecting the property, the liberty, the life of millions were under discussion. This is all that after-ages will want to know about the causes that produced a state of things such as that which now exists in England. To a body of men leading such lives and addicted to such manners, no motive, not much more powerful than I can have an idea of, would induce me to belong any longer than the time sufficient to enable me to ascertain that no change in their manners was to be reasonably expected. So that the renowned OLD SERJEANT need not be very uneasy about the danger to be apprehended from my being in Parliament. Those who have the power of choosing members of Parliament generally look for a *little coaxing*; and none will anybody ever get from me. It will be *service* for me to bestow, and not a *favour* for me to receive. I have, with the rest of the people, an interest in the general happiness of the nation; but I have none but a common interest; and there is no moral obligation on me to submit, for the sake of the general good, to endure the breath of the belchers from Bellamy's, who have, I am told, even a "*smoking room*!" All this must be changed, or there can be no good arise from reform. At any rate, it *shall* be changed, or I will have nothing to do with it for more than *one session*. So that, again I say, OLD SERJEANT BEST may make himself pretty easy on account of me.

### THE BISHOPS.

PRETTY generally these "successors of the Apostles," as they call themselves, have been *hanged and burnt in effigy*, since the rejection of the Reform Bill. He of WINCHESTER was, as the newspapers told us, *hanged*, on the top of the market-house, just opposite his palace, at EARNHAM; afterwards burnt,

and thrown over into his own garden! He of Bristol *was absent*, when his palace was burnt; or he might have experienced something more serious. Instead of GUY FAWKES, who has, for more than 200 years, been annually burnt in effigy on the 5th of November, the Bishops have been burnt *this year*! What a change! How that lie, that infamous lie, which has for more than 200 years, been played off against the Catholics, has now recoiled on the Protestant Bishops! I wonder how *he of Exeter felt*, while the transactions, which are related by the *Chronicle* as follows, were going on! I wonder whether, when surrounded in his palace by SOLDIERS, he thought of Lord Grey's advice to the bishops, to put their house in order!

"This city has been in a constant state of alarm for several days past, in consequence of the vast influx of strange ill-looking fellows, and as it was well known to the authorities that it was the intention of certain parties to burn the effigy of the Bishop, an officious little Tory Alderman, the Bishop's secretary, and several other obnoxious characters, on the 5th of November, it was greatly feared this scene would be taken advantage of by the ill-looking fellows who were lurking about the city in parties of six and eight; accordingly the Mayor sent to Plymouth for a regiment of soldiers, but none could be spared. All the inhabitants were requested to be sworn in as special constables, and as that force would only be adequate to protect the city, four regiments of yeomanry cavalry were quartered in the barracks to defend the county jail and bridewell. So affrighted were many of the wealthy inhabitants, that they removed their plate and valuables, provided themselves with fire-arms, and fortified their houses in every possible way. The long-dreaded 5th of November came, and the morning, as usual, was ushered in with a merry peal on the parish bells, firing of cannon, &c. The day passed off quietly, and, in the evening, the usual



"display of fire-works took place ;  
 "but the spectators were comparatively  
 "few ; no move was made to burn the  
 "effigy of the Bishop, &c., till eleven  
 "o'clock at night, when a large body  
 "of determined fellows made their ap-  
 "pearance in the Cathedral-yard with  
 "the effigy of the poor Bishop, mitred  
 "and lawn-sleeved, &c., also a large  
 "quantity of faggots ; a temporary  
 "gallows was soon erected, and the  
 "pious scaramouch was soon hoisted  
 "upon the gibbet. Its appearance was  
 "ridiculously emblematical of this  
 "notorious hater of liberty and re-  
 "form. The head was composed of  
 "a hollow turnip, with a candle in the  
 "centre, in which were cut the nose  
 "and mouth, but no eyes—showing,  
 "that though the head possessed light,  
 "the bishop was blind to the past and  
 "present scenes around him. The fag-  
 "gots being adjusted, they were set fire  
 "to, and the light soon discovered the  
 "vitals, composed of the liver and lights  
 "of a sheep, and a heart one mass of  
 "corruption, which the flames soon  
 "devoured, with the hollow head,  
 "mitre, and lawn sleeves, of one of  
 "the twenty-four enemies of reform,  
 "and withholders of the people's just  
 "rights ; all this was done in the  
 "Cathedral-yard, in full sight of the  
 "Palace. Had any attempt been made  
 "to prevent this innocent ebullition of  
 "public indignation, I have no doubt  
 "many lives would have been lost,  
 "and we should have had a second  
 "Bristol affair. Much credit is due to  
 "the Mayor in permitting the people  
 "to vent their indignant feeling (created  
 "by the late blind, obstinate, and wicked  
 "conduct of the bishops) on this effigy  
 "of a man who can never reclaim his  
 "character but by voting for reform  
 "when the bill is next brought before  
 "the House of Lords. The bonfire  
 "and effigy being consumed, the assem-  
 "bled multitude, which was composed  
 "of many thousands, gave three groans  
 "for the bishops and Tories, and nine  
 "hearty cheers for the cause of reform.  
 "The Bishop's Palace was filled with  
 "armed soldiers, who kept guard all  
 "night. Nothing occurred until half-

"past twelve, when the whole Palace  
 "was set in commotion by a few idle  
 "boys rolling a burning tar-barrel to-  
 "wards the Palace, which was supposed  
 "to be the signal for its demolition :  
 "but it was only done to frighten and  
 "make a deeper impression on the  
 "mind of the Bishop, of what might be  
 "the consequence of a second act of  
 "hostility towards the people. The  
 "boys continued their course down a  
 "street towards the river, which soon  
 "quenched the tar-barrel, and dissipated  
 "the fears of the Bishop, the Tory Lord  
 "Rolle, and others assembled in the  
 "Palace, to support the drooping spirits  
 "of the holy and right rev. Father in  
 "God, whose compunction of conscience  
 "they had serious apprehension would  
 "urge him to apply one of the loaded  
 "muskets to his head, and blow out  
 "the small portion of brains his skull  
 "contained. Soon after burning the  
 "effigy of the Bishop, the assembled  
 "multitude separated, quietly went to  
 "their homes, and up to the present  
 "time, Monday morning, there has not  
 "been a single committal for riot or  
 "disturbance. I again repeat, much  
 "credit is due to the Mayor for fore-  
 "sight, determination, and coolness, in  
 "permitting the effigy to be burnt, which  
 "could not have been prevented without  
 "bloodshed. Will the liberty-hating Tories  
 "now dare to say there is a re-action in re-  
 "form in Devon, and especially in this  
 "city, which till lately has been com-  
 "pletely under their thralldom ? It has  
 "thrown off its shackles, and the people  
 "are now as free as the air they breathe.  
 "An anti-reform petition has been  
 "hawked about the city for the last  
 "week past, and notwithstanding the  
 "Tories have had the mendacity to get  
 "upwards of thirty people to sign it  
 "under the pretence of its being in  
 "favour of reform, and several other  
 "poor creatures at sixpence a-head, still  
 "only forty-three individuals of the  
 "lowest class have disgraced them-  
 "selves by signing it. No sooner had  
 "the frightened inhabitants of this city  
 "recovered themselves on Sunday, than  
 "an alarm was created about two  
 "o'clock by the galloping of the yeo-

manry cavalry, through the streets to  
 "Newton Bushell (a town about four-  
 "teen miles from Exeter), an express  
 "having arrived that the whole town was  
 "in flames. This I am not surprised at,  
 "as it is the veriest sink of Toryism in  
 "the county. No doubt they have set  
 "the town on fire to divert the public  
 "attention from reform. Such is their  
 "chagrin at their fallen littleness, that  
 "they would, like their mad fool-hardy  
 "leader, Sir Charles Wetherell, sacri-  
 "fice the lives of thousands of their  
 "fellow-creatures to effect their hellish  
 "purpose, by throwing the county  
 "into anarchy and confusion. New-  
 "ton Bushell is a town composed  
 "of houses which are principally cover-  
 "ed with thatch, and nothing can save  
 "it if set fire to in two or three places;  
 "it is here the Tories have lately  
 "had their meetings and dinners, for  
 "they are completely driven out of this  
 "city; and their numbers have so  
 "dwindled, that they would be lost in  
 "a respectable-sized room; they have  
 "breathed their last gasp, and their  
 "writhing will avail them nothing—  
 "their factious spirit must expire, and  
 "like an eel out of water, will even-  
 "tually smother itself in its own slime."  
 "MONDAY, EIGHT O'CLOCK.—An ex-  
 "press has just arrived, stating that the  
 "fire was extinguished before the ar-  
 "rival of the military, and was supposed  
 "to have taken place from a chimney  
 "having taken fire, the flakes from  
 "which fell on the thatch. The damage  
 "done does not exceed 100*l*. An un-  
 "necessary alarm existed in this case."

## THE ALARM.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

*Holt-Court, Thursday Morning, 16th Nov. 1831.*  
 MY FRIENDS,

I REQUEST you pay attention, first to  
 some articles that I am about to take  
 from the MORNING CHRONICLE  
 and the TIMES, and then to the *pro-*  
*ceedings of the Council of the Political*  
*Union of Birmingham*, in a meeting  
 held on Monday last. You are all men

of sense, and many of you men of in-  
 fluence; and you may now do much in  
 preserving the peace of the country. I  
 am acquainted with no man who is in  
 any way connected with the Govern-  
 ment; but the editors of the MORNING  
 CHRONICLE and of the TIMES have  
 communications with such persons:  
 I KNOW that they have; and, there-  
 fore, I pay just as much attention to  
 the following two articles, as if the  
 words had been uttered to me by Lord  
 GRAY himself! Read, then, with at-  
 tention; pause on every sentence; you  
 will clearly see to what and to whom  
 they point. You will see, indeed, that  
 all my long-entertained suspicions were  
 but too well founded. I never doubted  
 the good wishes of Lord GRAY; but  
 always doubted his power to give effect  
 to those wishes. The non-dismissal of  
 the LORDS-LIEUTENANT was quite proof  
 enough of this. But pray read the fol-  
 lowing articles, and think that you hear  
 Lord GRAY utter the words.

*From the Chronicle and Times of  
 9th November.*

We have always been slow to believe  
 the reports of conversions of bishops  
 and peers, knowing the strong aversion  
 that these men must have to all mea-  
 sures founded on equal-handed justice  
 —and more especially to that crowning  
 measure, a reform of the representation.  
 All coaxing—all attempts at persuasion  
 must be thrown away in such a case.  
 The request to BARNARDINE to come  
 down to be hanged, was not more un-  
 palatable than to boroughmongers and  
 bishops (one and the same), must be  
 the application to consent to a really  
 efficient bill of reform. We know that  
 it is the interest of these men to affect  
 a disposition towards conversion, be-  
 cause it throws their opponents off their  
 guard, and what they want is delay. It  
 is only in hell that the great poet ex-  
 cludes the entrance of hope. The anti-  
 reformers feed themselves with hopes  
 of re-actions—hopes of deaths—hopes

of riots and insurrections, which might inspire alarm into men possessed of property. We ourselves are not without alarm, on account of the distress caused by the stagnation of trade in many parts of the country. In the manufacturing districts, there are at present numbers of men out of work and suffering severely; and till the Reform Bill is carried, no improvement is to be hoped for. The anti-reformers hope to profit by the calamities of which they are the authors, by the rejection of the Reform Bill. The *Times*, we observe, shares our suspicions with regard to the alleged conversions of the anti-reformers. "That the peers have not" (says our contemporary) *usefully reconsidered their opinions* on the Reform Bill, so as to insure a reception for that measure more palatable to the nation than the last, has *within these few days become a matter of widely-diffused suspicion!* No proof, indeed, of the contrary has yet been adduced, nor any facts which carry much weight or authority on the face of them. If, therefore, Ministers, *once already deceived and disappointed,—once already instrumental,* no doubt innocently, in the *heavy disappointment of the nation,—if they have not more materials for confidence in the self-reformation of the House of Lords than have yet reached the public eye, and still do not lend themselves with instant vigour to a 're-adjustment' of the peers, the concluding passage of the following extract may be found to express a feeling by no means confined to the author, who begins with some caustic, though grave, reflections on the bishops, and on the Scotch and Irish peers.* (Here our contemporary introduces a long quotation from a pamphlet, in the shape of a letter to

"Earl GREY, 'on the adjustment of the House of Peers.'"

An efficient Parliamentary reform must necessarily lead to economy in church and state, and of this the bishops and boroughmongers are well aware. To a reform which will be attended with such results they will never, we fear, consent, except under circumstances which they hope may never occur.

In the meantime, the vote of the bishops has at once and for ever alienated from them the regard of the nation. It is one striking sign of the times, that everywhere on the 5th of November last the bishops were substituted for GUY FAWKES. North and South, East and West, speak but one language with regard to them.

These are the sentiments that now pervade the country. Reform must **ULTIMATELY** be carried; of THAT we have no doubt. *But we dread the collision of an angry people, and the selfish enemies of the people;* and we are *suspicious of the alleged conversions of enemies to friends.* This we **KNOW**, that if the people **DO NOT BESTIR THEMSELVES** in such a manner as to extinguish all hope in the boroughmongers of the possibility of resisting reform, the country may *have to wade through blood to the attainment of that blessing.* We know that the boroughmongers are **CAPABLE OF ALL WICKEDNESS!**

*From the Chronicle of the 10th of November.*

Meetings continue to be held throughout the country. That of the county of Warwick, which took place on Tuesday, affords a striking evidence of the zeal and spirit of the reformers in that part of England. The requisition for a meeting of the county of Norfolk is

signed by a strong array of nobles and rich commoners, and individuals of influence and character. These are not surely symptoms of re-action.

The anti-reformers, we know, are beginning to hold their heads as high as ever; and though there are no symptoms of any alteration of opinion on the part of the people, but, on the contrary, everywhere evidence of a more earnest determination to obtain an *efficient reform*; yet, **SOMEHOW OR OTHER**, a belief is gaining ground that the path of Ministers is beset with greater difficulties than they calculated on. That belief has travelled much farther than the metropolis. At the meeting of the Birmingham Council, held on Monday last, of which a report will be found in another column, Mr. Attwood observed, "he did not hesitate to say that the bill was in danger. It had been rejected by the House of Lords, and he feared it would be rejected again. But there were other circumstances which he could not but consider. It was possible—he did not think it was probable—but it was possible—that our good and patriotic King may be induced, by the wiles of those who surround him, to withdraw his support from the bill. It was possible that the machinations of our powerful enemies may defeat the Ministers, and compel them to resign. And if (said Mr. A.) the King, army, and navy, are transferred to the power of the boroughmongers, why, then, I could not but feel the peculiar danger of my situation." It is obvious, from these remarks, that Mr. Attwood is suspicious. The advice he gave the members of the Union was important. "If the enemy (said he) could send spies to excite the people to rise in petty, unorganised, undirected bodies, in order that these bodies might

be cut down in detail, the energy of the people would be damped; they would argue from these numerous failures of petty bodies to the failure of all attempts, and the cause of reform must fall to the ground; the boroughmongers would triumph, and the venerable Earl Grey himself, whose life had been devoted to reform, might be brought to punishment for his patriotic efforts."

It is proper that we should, at this important crisis, be prepared for the worst. We have never doubted the honesty of Ministers, but we have always doubted their power to perform impossibilities; we have always doubted their power to convert bishops into reformers, and boroughmongering peers, interested in the present system of pillage of the people, into partisans of an economical government. We never under-rated the task of Ministers; on the contrary, we have always been inclined to suppose that some of the Ministry over-rated their own means of management. It requires no great art to persuade a man to fill his pocket at the expense of others; but a man must be more than a conjurer, who can persuade another who can take what he pleases from the pockets of others, to forego that power. If Ministers can have a majority without the bishops, the bishops may be reformers against their will; but if the majority is to be made by the bishops, they will play the old trick over again.

Mr. ATTWOOD says, "If the boroughmongers should throw out the bill a second time, they will destroy Lord Grey, unless the people save him. Let them adhere to the law, to the throne, and the Government, and put their trust in them until they deceive them. When they have deceived us—but deceive us they scarcely can—we must

have a care lest they destroy us. The proposed organisation will enable us to do this with effect, and therefore it was very important that this should be done whilst the present Ministry are in power.

... The council will be placed in dangerous circumstances if the boroughmongers should again triumph. Therefore he called upon the Union to take such steps as would enable them, if efforts were made to oppose the King or punish his Ministers, to arrest the hand of the destroyer, and vindicate the rights of Englishmen, the happiness of their homes, and the principles of law."

Several plans of arming were submitted to the Council, and referred to a Committee, which is to report on Tuesday next. Mr. Artwood urged expedition, as a week, he said, was important.

We warn Englishmen not to allow themselves to suppose THAT THEY CAN NOW REMAIN PASSIVE. A time is coming when danger can alone be averted by showing that they are prepared to face it. Ministers have much at stake; but we all of us have much at stake; for should WELLINGTON and the boroughmongers return to power, they would endeavour to stifle the desire for reform by an exercise of authority which would involve numbers in great distress. They would not ultimately succeed; but in the meantime many a worthy man would be sacrificed.

Let us now show a bold front. He who is not with us now is against us. Nothing but firmness and a determination on the part of the people not to be trodden down, will enable them to succeed. Through the first opening given by timidity or faint-heartedness, the boroughmongers will pass.

*Proceedings of the Council of the Birmingham Union, on Monday, the 7th Nov. 1831.*

In consequence of the Warwick Meeting being held on Tuesday, the Council met on Monday. The meeting, as usual, was most numerously attended. At West Bromwich, a very populous district, a new Union was formed on Monday last: spirited resolutions were passed, and "the old women in black aprons" were spoken of in terms by no means creditable to them. The feeling against the bishops runs very high in this neighbourhood; on the 5th of November they quite supplanted Guy Fawkes. At the last meeting of the Council a letter from Liverpool was read by Mr. Pare, requesting all information which would assist certain patriotic individuals there in forming a Union. It was stated that many of the leading men of Liverpool are anxious to see the project carried into effect. Another anonymous donation of 50*l.* was received. It was conveyed to the Secretary in the following letter:—

"Birmingham, 7th Nov. 1831.

"Sir,—Having narrowly watched the proceedings of the Birmingham Political Union from its commencement, I cannot help expressing my unqualified approbation of its patriotic conduct, and adding my testimony in its favour to that of the country generally. Let your Council continue to pursue the same glorious path which they have hitherto chalked out for themselves, and let their future proceedings be guided by the prudence, wisdom, and determination which have hitherto distinguished their proceedings, and I am convinced the salvation of our dear country will ultimately crown their efforts. Being fully aware how essential pecuniary assistance must be to enable you to carry on the great work you have undertaken, I beg your acceptance of the enclosed donation of 50*l.* in furtherance of the great cause of Parliamentary Reform.—I am, Sir,

"AN ARDENT FRIEND AND ADMIRER OF THE BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION.

"To Mr. B. Hadley,  
Hon. Secretary of the Birmingham Political Union.

This letter was received with loud cheers, and a vote of thanks to the patriotic donor was immediately carried. The testimony of the donor is as important as his donation is liberal. The general business of the meeting was unusually interesting. The conduct of the Lancashire reformers was noticed. The Council condemned the proceedings of Mr. Hunt in the most unqualified manner. He called the Reform Bill "humbug" and "poison," and yet he had voted for that humbugging, poisonous measure. The Lancashire men should first rest satisfied with obtaining the bill as it now stands. If it did not produce the desired effects, they might then call for additional concessions; and they would be enabled, by the provisions of Lord John Russell's Bill, to call for such additions with sevenfold greater force than they at present possess.

Mr. EDMONDS denounced Mr. Hunt as the advocate of either revolution, or of confirmed slavery to the boroughmongers. He was aiming at an impracticable measure. Was it likely that the peers would consent to a measure including annual parliaments, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage, when they would not concede a much more modified measure? Does Mr. Hunt, then, mean to excite the people to fight for the measure he proposes? If such be his determination, it was strangely inconsistent in him to urge Government to prosecute Mr. Edmonds merely for calling upon the people not to pay taxes, if the enemies of the present bill came into power? If he himself contemplates acts of ultra violence, why condemn a much more moderate and equally efficient measure of resistance, when proposed by Mr. Edmonds? The question is this—a reform, a full and adequate reform, is to be obtained. The

bill contemplates a reform which bids fair to lead to an adequate reform of all abuses; that bill, supported as it is, must be carried; and if, when carried, it answers not the end proposed, the power of the people is seven times increased to effect what is wanting. Here, then, is a measure of peace, insuring a speedy and bloodless revolution. But Mr. Hunt's proposal, if acted upon, and if attempted to be carried by force, brings the people into an immediate civil war with the boroughmongers; many of the present friends of the people may forsake them—blood will flow, and all the horrors of the first French Revolution will be renewed. If Mr. Hunt declares that he seeks not revolution, he seeks to confirm our slavery by proposing a measure which must be lost; for, if he seeks not revolution, he will forbid us to attempt the triumph of our cause by arms, and we must quietly resign ourselves to our fate. The Lancashire men will, therefore, do well to reflect, that Mr. Hunt's proposal undoubtedly involves either slavery or revolution, whilst the bill and the Unions advocate a measure which must ultimately secure liberty, and complete the restoration of every happiness, without making wives widows, and children orphans.

The above we consider the sentiments of the council respecting Mr. Hunt and the men of Lancashire; if, indeed, the feelings of the men of Lancashire are such as are proclaimed at the late comparatively small meetings at which Mr. Hunt was present.

Mr. CHARLES JONES, a very influential man in Birmingham, then brought forward his plan for the organisation of the members of the Union, upon the principle and for the objects which, in a former paper we elucidated. He had

received very great assistance in the arrangement of his plan from a gentleman whom he named, and who is a banker at Wolverhampton.

After Mr. Jones had submitted his plan to the consideration of the Council, a second plan, differing but little from the first, was proposed by Mr. Edmonds. Neither of the plans was adopted, but both were referred to the consideration of a committee appointed for the purpose. The report of the committee will be brought up on Tuesday next. We shall then lay the plan adopted before the public.

Mr. HARRISS very judiciously observed, that in the proposed organisation, the Union will have to steer clear of two great difficulties. On the one hand, they must not trench upon the law, so as to be caught in its meshes; and on the other, whilst they still act with, and for, the Government, they must not be ostensibly the tools of men who are in power, lest they thus cause a suspicion amongst the people that they are not firm, uncompromising friends of the popular cause. The deliberations of the Council will be directed to the devising of a plan which will secure the Union from either of these dilemmas. No time will be lost in completing the organisation. Mr. Attwood observed that no delay must be encouraged, *for a week is important*. Important, because circumstances may occur which will require the Union to preserve peace, and defend the law, Government, and his Majesty. To convey some idea of the importance which the surrounding Unions attach to the proceedings of the Union at Birmingham, we need only observe, that one member of the Council stated that he, in his individual capacity, had received, during the week, three letters, inquiring what course the

Union meant to follow. The effect of the contemplated organisation will be, that if riots should occur in Birmingham, ten or fifteen thousand men will, in the short space of two hours or less, be prepared, irresistibly, to vindicate the law, and restore the peace and security of the town. Mr. Edmonds particularly insisted upon the truth, that if the Unions show their strength, they will never have to exert it. The contemplated measure will give additional credit to the Union. It will place the members more immediately under the eye of the appointed officers, and any violent, illegal, or seditious conduct will draw upon the man who exhibits it immediate expulsion. Thus, in whatever light the measure is viewed, whether as a conservative step to defend the peace when violated, whether as a support to the King and his Ministers, or whether as a means of enhancing the integral worth of the Union, it seems entitled to praise. Such is decidedly the impression which exists among the Council.

Mr. Attwood gave his opinion upon the subject in the most candid and fearless manner. He did not hesitate to say that *the bill was in danger*. It had been rejected by the House of Lords, and he feared it would be rejected again. But there were other circumstances which he could not but consider. It was possible—he did not think it was probable, but it was possible—that our good and patriotic King may be induced, by the wiles of those who surrounded him, to withdraw his support from the Bill. It was possible that the machinations of our powerful enemies may defeat the Ministers, and compel them to resign. And if, said Mr. Attwood, the King, army, and the navy, are transferred into the power of the boroughmongers, why

then I could not but feel *the peculiar danger of my situation*. He knew that *spies* from the enemies' camp were in Birmingham; they might be then in the room, and he hoped they were, in order that they might see the determination of the Union to go with the law in defence of the law. He cautioned the Union and the people, whose happiness was his being, end, and aim, not to become the victims of the spies to whom he had alluded; if the people did but remain *legally united respecting the law*, they would not long be slaves; but if they allowed faction to arise amongst them, they never could be free. He illustrated this by the fable of the Bulls. If the enemy could send spies to excite the people to rise in petty, unorganised, undirected bodies, in order that those bodies might be cut down in detail, the energy of the people would be damped, they would argue from these numerous failures of petty bodies to the failure of all attempts, and the cause of reform must fall to the ground; the borough-mongers would triumph, and the *venerable Earl Grey himself*, whose life had been devoted to reform, *might be brought to punishment for his patriotic efforts*. Again he conjured the people not to listen to men who urged them to *these partial risings*, which *never could succeed*. If by their spies the borough-mongers should induce the people to waste their strength wickedly, sillily, murderously, as they have done at Bristol, he for one should immediately despair of reform. The working classes can of themselves do nothing but plunder, and burn, and pull down society upon their own heads. Therefore the members of the Union should, with spirit, act up to that clause in their regulations, which instructs them to consider as their enemy any man who

would instigate to violence. No crowd, however powerful and determined in itself, can do any-thing effectual without a head. Not only would any petty effort fail, but those who made it would break the holy league which now exists between the King, the people, and the peerage." He said the peerage, for it must never be forgotten that all the old peers were for the people, and none but the upstart peers were against them. That league must not be broken, for in it the hope of the country is anchored. That league will give to the country a boon far greater than Magna Charta itself; for Magna Charta only destroyed the tyranny of a King, to erect that of the barons; but the bill of reform will destroy the tyranny of all, and erect on its ruins the liberty of the people at large. He would say the same of the Bill of Rights, which only transferred power from the hands of one faction into the hands of another, which has scourged the people more severely than the former did. Mr. Attwood briefly referred to the Lancashire reformers. He did not condemn annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage; but really he could not say whether a bill, in which these were included, would or would not be more favourable to the happiness of the people than the bill of Lord John Russell. Mr. Attwood's sole object was to see a state of things which would give the poor man honest food for honest labour, and which would make the employer as dependent upon the employed as the employed upon the employer. If he found that the present measure would not lead to this happy and natural state of things, why then he would go for something else. But he never would forego a certainly practicable and salutary measure for one which is at present



of an impracticable character. He again repeated, that no petty rising of the populace could effect the triumph of the bill, unless they had with them (as the Union has) the mind, the muscle, and the mass of the people throughout the country. But when they have these, why, if ever the law should be violated—if ever *Polignac should come*—we stand upon an impregnable rock to repel him, and defend the laws and liberties of our country. It required no little energy and power to oppose and defeat a sordid oligarchy. Julius Cæsar, when he had conquered the world, did not venture to oppose the tyrants of Rome, until their conduct had condemned itself, and then he exclaimed, “We will go where the gods and justice call us.” Here was an example for the people: let them adhere to the law, to the throne and the Government, and put their trust in them until they deceive them. When they have deceived us—but deceive us they scarcely can—we must have a care lest they destroy us. If, indeed, the boroughmongers should throw out the bill a second time, *they will destroy Lord Grey*, unless the people save him. The proposed organisation will enable us to do this with effect, and, therefore, it was very important that this should be done whilst the present Ministry are in power. The vile *Standard* is labouring to prejudice the mind of our excellent King against the reformers. It is said we caused the riots at Bristol, we, who keep peace at home, go to excite disturbance abroad! These wretched insinuations may injure us; therefore let us make hay whilst the sun shines. *Be prompt and decisive.* Mr. Attwood, in the course of a long and powerful speech, repeatedly urged the necessity of a peaceful demeanour on the part of the people.

He said the Union had always had difficulties to contend with; those difficulties were daily, nay, *hourly increasing*. The Union must be organised peacefully, efficiently, and legally. It is a sacred duty which we owe to ourselves and our friends. Therefore, when the plan is published, let every man act with promptitude; let every petty jealousy be forgotten, and the welfare of our country be the object, the only object of all. The office which he held, he held only for the benefit of the people. He hoped every little, low feeling would be banished from the hearts of the Unionists—that one closely-united phalanx might be exhibited to meet *any coming emergency*. *The time was at hand when men's hearts would be tried*. In every society there must be leaders, and the Union itself would have been powerless without the Council. The Council would be *placed in dangerous circumstances* if the boroughmongers should *again triumph*. Therefore he called upon the Union to take such steps as would enable them, if efforts were made to *oppose the King or punish his Ministers, to arrest the hand of the destroyer*, and vindicate the rights of Englishmen, the happiness of their homes, and the principles of law.

The above is a mere skeleton of Mr. Attwood's address. It is evident that the project now under the consideration of the committee is one which must engage the attention of the public at large. We shall lay before them the earliest information respecting it. The attention of the Council was then turned to the late affair at Bristol, and to certain facts connected with the Reform Bill. We shall report the whole to-morrow. One fact, however, we must now notice.—Mr. Fare read from a letter which he had just received from Bristol, the

important fact, that one gentleman whose house was burnt down has recognised the person who fired it, and he proves to be one of the special constables sworn in by the magistrates to protect the entry of Sir Charles Wetherell. The writer of the letter states, that upon inquiry being made into the whole of this unfortunate affair, some dark doings will be discovered.

In consequence of the increasing anxiety manifested by the public to attend the meetings of the Council, a committee has been appointed to procure a still larger room for their accommodation.

Now, my readers may be well assured, that Mr. Arwood did not say what is here imputed to him, without being thoroughly convinced of the danger, of which he spoke! In short, I believe, that the existence of the danger had been communicated to him in the most authentic manner; and that he had been chosen as the channel for conveying the alarm to the whole country! Every man of only plain common sense, who is at all used to estimate the value of words made use of in such a case, must see what is now the obstacle that Lord Grey has to contend with, and where that obstacle lies. Every such man must also see that the fate of the kingdom, as far as regards its peace and safety, now depends upon him, and upon him alone. If he had, if he found the obstacle, on the 10th of October, resigned at once, and clearly stated the reasons, clearly described the obstacle, to the people, never should we have heard of the sad affair at Bristol, or of any of the affairs in any other part of the kingdom, which have so alarmed and terrified people of property. It is the state of uncertainty in which the people are that is the real cause of all the violence; the uncertainty in which the people are, not with regard to the will and wishes of Lord Grey, but with regard to his intentions; with regard

to what he means to do. He is only one, in number, of a Ministry; but, in the eyes of the people, he is the whole Ministry; and the people ought, by some means or other, to be, as quickly as possible, informed of what he is resolved upon. Two or three men, of excellent understandings, have told me, that they suspected it to be his intention quietly to resign, and retire home to his estate, leaving his successors to do what they could with the troubled nation. I have always opposed this opinion; for, besides the impolicy of it; besides the suspicion, the well-grounded suspicion, of connivance on his part, Lord Grey would be justly chargeable with all the horrible works which would inevitably succeed such a step taken by him. And what apology would he have for such a step? That he found the obstacle, mentioned above? That would be worse than saying at once that he had changed his mind, and was no longer for reform! No; he never can do this thing: he never can devote his country to anarchy. His path is very simple: he has only to tell the people plainly, that he is determined to propose THE BILL again, and to keep his place, in order to do it, unless he be put out of his place. Let him plainly say that, and all will be well; the bill will be carried, and an end will be put to the turmoil, and the throne and the Peers and all will be safe. The people are every-where ready to support him; but they are in the dark as to his intentions. I do hope that many days will not pass before those intentions will be explicitly declared.

The following letter, which I take from the CORRIER of Tuesday last, belongs to this subject. It is a most eloquent call on the people TO ARM. It is a piece of very able writing; but, which is more, it comes from a paper well known to be the mouth-piece of the Ministry.

Sir,—I perceive you are averse from a general arming of the people. Allow me to state in a few words, for want of better arguments, why I am a dissentient from your doctrine.

I take it for granted, ours is free state. At all events, we may consider it theoretically

so, though, I believe, the ideas of Lord Castlereagh had of it was, that it was constitutionally and essentially oligarchical, merely checked and modified by the independent habits of the people; for, in answer to the Deputies from Italy, he is reported to have said, that freedom here was verily a custom, and not one of the best we had. Well, taking it to be free, (and if the presumption be indeed an error, it is at least sanctioned by all constitutional writers, without exception,) I defy you to select any other free state, either ancient or modern, in which there exists an actual prohibition from carrying arms; yet this I believe to be the case in this very panegyricized free state.

Now I confess I am an advocate for teaching the people the use of arms. No nation can possess high moral qualities without courage. That courage must be exercised according to the fashion that the changing modes of warfare may suggest, or it will grow obtuse and rusty. It was remarked (by Lord Wellington, I think, but my memory is a porous one) as a proof of a very bad state of society in France, that the people there were obliged each to carry a musket in one hand, and his implements of industry in the other. This, which he regarded as a very bad state of society, I regard as the very best. Let one hand guard, I say, the productions of the other. Woe to the state of which the sole defenders are mercenaries! I see no reason, either physical or moral, why the sword should not be laid upon the loom, and the same nerves cleave the spear which welded the iron for its formation. Freemen should never give up the noble prerogative of self-defence—

With hearts resolved, and hands prepared,  
The blessings they enjoy to guard.

Arts and manufactures, and the sedentary habits of life which they beget, are naturally enervating; and the only way to counteract and neutralize their influence in this respect is, by the exercise of arms, and of the livelier passions which they bring into play. Bring me an instance of an industrious people who have been wholly kept from the use of warlike instruments, who have not fallen a prey either to foreign invasion or domestic tyranny. Is there a people more industrious, allowing for climate, than the Hindoos or the Chinese, in spite of it? Yet, the one nation has time immemorial been the spoil and slave of every subjugator; and the latter has long been under the gentle, and therefore politic yoke of the Tartars, who easily subdued it—and why? Because the former confined the use of arms to a particular caste; and the latter neglected it altogether, trusting rather to stone walls and insubstantial fortresses, than to living ramparts and indomitable spirits.

Besides, in the good old times of England, was not every man a soldier? Was not a mullet inflicted upon every one who did not keep his trusty yew bow, and who was not, at least weekly, instructed in the practice of

shooting at a mark? Do we despise, in the pride of our modern perfection in the arts of death, the simple but effective weapons of our ancestors? Were there not the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt, and these the sinewy instruments that illustrated them! And do the rays of those crowns of glory beam with less lustre than those of Blenheim and Waterloo? or do they not rather, in their political consequences, throw a brighter refulgence on the historical scroll than these ever will?

When incendiaries were hurling about the fiend-like brand of destruction, last winter, who, that is an Englishman, but felt conscious that a moral degradation, proceed from what cause soever it might, had reduced to an infuriated Lazzaroni the British peasantry? When the leaders of itinerant mobs were seized without difficulty, and abandoned by their dastardly followers without a struggle, who but confessed that the sturdy character of that most useful class of our countrymen had become deteriorated and lost? I own, I would rather they had made an obstinate old English opposition, even in a bad cause, than resembled the boors of Russia, and the serfs of Hungary, in their vengeance and their cowardice. The conduct of the men of Merthyr-Tydvil refreshed and consoled me. I approve heartily of the energy of the Government on that occasion; but I beg also to sympathise with the undaunted bearing of these iron-men.

In short, begging pardon for my diffuseness, I think the exercise of arms would tend much to give a bolder tone to society; to dissipate the milk-and-water courtesies, now deemed polite, which are as pitiless as they are specious; to inspire a manly resolution and consistency, and to preserve effectually, not only from the actual contact of barbarian tyranny, but even from the more distant, but withering influence of a Holy Alliance, an influence which, I fear, has already tarnished the bulls, or blasted the strawberry leaves, of more than one English coronet.

Besides, somebody, and not a friend, has contemplated an appeal to arms; else why the Tower—another citadel of another Antwerp—put into a state of defence? Why Fort Augustus, or some other fort in Scotland, victualled? Charles XII. instinctively put his hand to his sword in his dying moment; and corruption too, in her guilty agony, pointed to stronger circumvallations than Gaton and Sarum. The anti-reformers have troops. They regard (though I am sure those independent fellows would soon belie their expectations, were they called upon to act against the nation)—they regard the yeomanry as their armed feudal followers. On the broad principle of political expediency, I say, to arm one portion of the population against the other is most wicked, most tyrannous, and, in its ultimate consequences, as Ireland has proved, most anti-national. All should be armed, or none. I know the re embodying of the yeo-

manry was forced upon the present Government; but it is then duty, in the bare possibility of their ejection from office, on the most hypothetical surmise of a crash, or a convulsion (which God avert), not to leave the people of England in a worse condition, as to their defence, than they found them. I am certain the Minister will not betray us; but we shall be yet in a stronger position if we be not in a condition to be betrayed. Poland is fallen—the voice of a dictator is again heard on the banks of the Scheldt and the Eurotas.

I see, by your statement to-day, thirteen only out of fifty-one Lieutenants of Counties are friendly to reform or the Government; and yet these are the commanders of the newly-raised oligarchical troops. As scarcely any too, except those persons of certain principles, have been promoted in the army for years, I fear there also we shall find a fearful majority against us.

For these reasons, real or hypothetical, I entreat the Government to call out the Volunteers. A proclamation that will give bones and sinews and substance to these shadows of internal and external defence, will at once fix the Ministry. The turbulent will be restrained—property will be protected—the Reform Bill will be carried—the smouldering spark of patriotism, now extinct, or only flashing round the precincts of some petty corporate interests, or feeling, will burst into a broad, pyramidal, universal flame—and they who are now aliens to the sympathies of England, who triumph with the Cossack lance, or the torturing rack of a Miguel, will remember again they are part and parcel of ourselves, and hasten to identify themselves, and re-unite with “The Nation.”

P. S.—I have authority (the great Lord Chatham's, I believe) for my opinions; but I hesitate to make the flood of his eloquence pass through the slough of my recollection. He says, in his language, not mine—“The free soldier puts not off the citizen when he enters the camp, for it is to preserve his rights of citizenship that he has made himself, for awhile, a soldier.” Yours, obediently,

R. W.

October 29, 1831.

#### ADDRESS TO THE KING AND TO LORD GREY, FROM THE MEETING OF THE COUNTY OF WARWICK.

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

“Most Gracious Sovereign—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders and inhabitant freeholders, in the county of Warwick, assembled at a public meeting convened by the High Sheriff, desire most respectfully to approach your Majesty at this important crisis, to express our sincere, ardent, and devoted attachment to your Royal person, and our unshaken resolution to sup-

port your Majesty's present Government by every constitutional means in our power.

“We deeply lament the refusal of the House of Lords to sanction the bill for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament, upon which the hopes and expectations of the nation were intensely fixed.

“We beg to express our unfeigned gratitude to your Majesty for continuing your confidence in an administration distinguished by its enlightened zeal to promote the public welfare, and to secure the constitutional rights and liberties of your people.

“We place implicit confidence in your Majesty's determined exercise of all those royal prerogatives invested in your Majesty by the Constitution, for the maintenance of your royal authority, and the preservation of the liberties of the subject, as to your Majesty may now or hereafter seem wise and necessary in such critical and eventful times; and we implore your Majesty, as the protector of the rights of your subjects, to give such aid and sanction to the counsel of your Ministers as may enable them to carry into speedy effect the great measure of Parliamentary Reform—a measure calculated to produce and ensure the peace, happiness, and prosperity, of your Majesty's dominions.

“We entreat your Majesty to give a favourable reception to this our humble petition, expressing, as it does, the sentiments of an immense majority of your Majesty's faithful subjects, who await with deep anxiety, but with unshaken confidence, the attainment of this great object of their wishes.

“May your Majesty, in thus aiding the hopes and prayers of your devoted and faithful subjects, cause them ever to regard you as the Patriot King of a grateful and happy people.”

\*  
“To the Right Hon. the Earl Grey.”

“The Address of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants Householders, of the county of Warwick, in the county meeting assembled, on the 8th of November, 1831.

“We, the nobility, gentry, clergy, freeholders, and inhabitant householders, of the county of Warwick, offer our grateful thanks to your Lordship and his Majesty's Ministers, for your patriotism and firmness in support of the great measure of Parliamentary Reform, and for your continuance in his Majesty's councils after the rejection, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the bill for the amendment of the representation in England and Wales.

“That your Lordship's distinct and solemn public pledges to re-introduce into the legislative measures of equal efficiency in restoring to the people their just rights in the Commons House of Parliament, have maintained general order and tranquility in the country, and acquired for your Lordship and his Majesty's Government the confidence and support of a united people.”

"That we have witnessed with increasing apprehension the rejection of the English Bill of Reform by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, without the deliberation of a committee, by which act the House of Lords has endangered all the institutions of Church and State, and hazarded the peace and prosperity of the nation.

"That the imputed reaction of public opinion is a gross misrepresentation; that the people are determined to support your Lordship's administration against the prejudices and interested machinations of the opposers of reform, and we implore your Lordship to uphold by the nation, to place confidence in its resolute support of your Lordship's enlightened and patriotic measures.

"That we observe with deep regret the active opposition to his Majesty's Counsels and Government of persons holding official situations; and we respectfully implore your Lordship to terminate the disgraceful exclusion of men of liberal opinions from civil distinctions, and to recommend the constitutional exercise of all those royal prerogatives that may be now or hereafter essential to the success of the Reform Bill—energy and determination being essential to the maintenance and success of your Lordship's administration.

### \* PRETTY CURIOUS !

LIVERPOOL, 11th OCTOBER.—DINNER.—LORD SANDON yesterday se'nnight a public dinner was given to Lord Sandon, at the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool, in celebration of his late triumph as a candidate for the representation of that borough. The preparations were on a most extensive scale. About 650 gentlemen sat down to dinner, and the boxes, as well as the gallery, were filled with ladies gaily attired. Amongst the latter were Lady Frances Sandon and Lady Charlotte Denison.

Some idea of the kind of reform to which the noble Lord is friendly, may be inferred from the following passage in his speech, which appears to be a thing of shreds and patches—a confused mass of ideas brought out by fits and starts :—

"They had just achieved a triumph which furnished a symptom that the affluent classes are not disposed to rend asunder the ties of the constitution, as some other persons appeared so desirous of seeing accomplished. (Cheers.) He felt that they had given a proud testimony that it was not their wish because an individual of high connexions came among them to exclude him from the honour of representing them in Parliament. (Loud

cheers.) The great object was the bill; but though from the principle he would not swerve, from the means avowed necessary to carry it, he might be allowed to vary. After the manner in which the measure had been received by one branch of the constitution, he was disposed to regard the question as at an end, unless means could be found—constitutional means—to carry it, and he hoped no one would resolve to see it carried in any way than constitutionally. (Cheers.) What use, he would ask, was the House of Lords, if, in time of great public excitement, it could not exercise a deliberate judgment? (Cheers.) But it was said that this was a question which pertained exclusively to the House of Commons. What, is not the other House to entertain a matter which deeply concerns the constitution? which concerns every man, whether commoners or lords, in the community? He believed that the Upper House entertained their opinions honestly; but while he allowed them the utmost discretion in the exercise of their opinions, he did not think that they acted wisely in rejecting the measure before they had taken the means to examine its detail. (Cheers.)"

Thus, *blowing hot, and then cold*, his Lordship *floundered through an address of considerable length*. J. E. Denison, Esq., was present, and was greeted with the loudest applause by his former friends. The toast of "The Members for the Borough" was received with *hisses and cheers*, amidst cries of "Order" and much confusion. After the Chairman had retired, a most extraordinary scene of disturbance took place, in the course of which several tables were upset, several glasses were sent flying across the room, and sundry black eyes were given and received. We understand that it arose partly out of a dispute about who should be chairman, and partly out of the old grudge between the Ewartites and the Denisonites. The two Members do not, however, appear to entertain the *same jealousy towards each other that appears to exist amongst their partisans*. They both dined together, after the above entertainment, with the Mayor and Corporation, in perfect good fellowship, and their healths were coupled in one toast, and drunk with unanimous applause.—*Preston Chronicle*.

Ay, ay! I thought that HARROWBY's son would turn out to be a *prime Reformer*!

## LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE BISHOPS.

[From *Carpenter's Political Magazine*.]

Love and meekness, lord,  
Become a churchman better than ambition;  
Win straying souls with modesty again.

SHAKESPEARE.

The "untoward" conduct of the "spiritual peers" upon the motion for reading the Reform Bill a second time in the Upper House, has raised a cry against them from one end of the kingdom to the other—not merely among "the mob" and "the rabble," but among persons of all classes, and filling the highest rank in society. Whether the present excitement, which seems to be directed towards expelling the sub-heads of the church from the House of Peers will terminate in so grave an event, we are not disposed to affirm. Of one thing we feel certain, however; namely, that if the bishops have any good right to a seat in Parliament, it would not be just to deprive them of their right, merely for their vote on the bill, while the rest of the majority is left in the possession and exercise of their legislative functions. Their recent conduct, however, in opposition to the throne and the country, may be the occasion of instituting an inquiry into the *origo* and *propriety* of the *spiritual* order being amalgamated with the lay order, in the management of secular affairs; and if it should do so, we have little doubt of the result.

In behalf of its propriety, no man can say a word, if he compares the Scriptures, and is familiarized with the conduct, labours, sufferings, and doctrines of the primitive teachers of Christianity, to whose office the Anglican church affirms that her bishops have succeeded. Strange, indeed, this! when no one can read the New Testament, even in the most casual manner, without being struck with the fact, that a modern bishop is, in this and a thousand other circumstances, the very antithesis of his assumed predecessors of the apostolic age. Poverty, disinterestedness, laborious exertion without hope of reward, and the deliberate encountering of

perils, imprisonment, and death, characterized the primitive bishops—or pastors or guardians, as they might, with more scriptural propriety, be called.

But what are the labours, watchings, fastings, perils, and difficulties of our Bacon-Bishops? These holy men, perhaps, pass many a sleepless night in the first stage of their exaltation, to discover by what possible means they may escape the persecution of Laudaff or Bristol, or some other poor fellow, in which they find themselves disagreeably entangled. To be rid of this meagre martyrdom, they have some struggles with Satan, many wrestlings in prayer, many a score of groans and tears. By dint of voting and jobbing in the House of Lords, the successor of the Apostles finds his prospects brighten a little, for after infinite exertions of soul and body, he is translated to Exeter, peradventure, whereby his apostolical pocket is replenished with a great number of orthodox guineas. But not in Exeter is the godly man at ease; he is smit with a love of multiplication, and letter after letter is written to his patron and the minister, urging the necessity of a more advantageous translation. In the course of time, Winchester or Durham is vacant—then do all the eagles gather together to the carcass; loud are the screams of the apostolical vultures, and sad the dismay of the "first lord of the Treasury." Now how to satisfy so much pious voracity? At last, after undergoing the threatened labours of Lavinia, each eager for his own client, the Premier makes selection of the hero of his picture, and crowns his hopes with twenty-five thousand pounds a year, and all the gorgeous dignities of the Durham episcopacy. After this, surely the man of God is contented at last? By no means; he has sons and daughters not a few, and nephews very numerous. For all these there must be accumulated a store of good things full of marrow: the eldest son, perhaps, will condescend to gather up the dainties of the state as a layman—he is to be the head of the family; for him, therefore, the Parliament, and the regular course of Parliamentary jobbing; but for his younger brethren, the mother must open her nurse-like arms, and bestow on them a shower of benefices. My Lord Bishop is not slow to act the character of Jupiter Pluvius, and speedily sends forth from his liberal urn a deluge of golden prebends, large livings, archdeacons, residentiaries, prebendarships, chantries, chantries, perpetual curacies; fellowships, vicarages, and all the other thousand varieties of dew, concocted by the bounty of blood-compelling love. The young gentlemen, who find themselves thus gilded from above, are probably the very worst sons of Belial that ever fornicated in the porch of the temple.

Beverley's Letter to the Archbishop of York.

The number of bishops having seats in the House of Lords is thirty; namely, the two English archbishops, twenty-four English bishops, and four Irish bishops; and they sit in the House (tell it not in Gath!) *not as churchmen, or peers, representing the clergy*, in their various grades (for these are all represented with the commonalty in the Lower House) but as **SOLDIERS**!—that is, as **Barons**, holding *cer-* lands, by *military tenure*—tenants *capite par baroniam*; and there compelled, under the feudal system by which they were created, to furnish their quota of knights, or men-at-arms, and do other military service to the crown. True it is, that all this has now become fiction; but that alters not the nature or propriety of a bishop's tenure to his seat in Parliament.

But our object is not now to discuss formally this question; for that we hope to have other, and perhaps more proper occasions; our present displeasure at the anti-reforming propensities of the reverend bench somewhat us to discuss *subject* deeply affe their very c

It may no own to some of readers, that this question of the right and propriety of the bishops sitting in Parliament, has been already once disposed of as it should be, by Parliament itself. A short account of the proceedings may not be without interest at the present moment.

It appears, that the evils resulting from "the government of archbishops and lord bishops," &c. had gradually acquired such a height and extent, during the period which elapsed between the reigns of Henry VIII. and Charles I. that the attention of the House of Commons was at length prayed for, in order to their suppression, by a petition, dated in the early part of December, 1640, and signed by 12,000 citizens of London. The Lower House immediately entered upon an investigation of the allegations of the petitioners, which issued in a censure being passed upon the whole body of the clergy, many of whom were likewise severely punished by imprisonment and otherwise, and

also by the passing of a bill "to restrain bishops and others in holy orders, from intermeddling with secular affairs." This bill was sent up to the Lords on the first of May, 1641, and was opposed in a lengthy speech by Bishop Hall, who concluded in the following words: "To shut up therefore. Let us be taken off from all ordinary trade of secular employment, and, if you please, ridge us of intermeddling with matters of common justice; but leave us possessed of those places and privileges Parliament which our predecessors have so long and peaceably enjoyed."

In the subsequent stages it was opposed by Lord Newark, and by Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and was finally rejected by the House, but a conference with the Commons was asked and granted. It is somewhat curious, that on the same day that the Peers rejected this bill, the Commons had read a *second* time, by a large majority, a bill, entitled, "An Act for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, or chancellors and commissaries; us, deans and chapters; archdeacons, prebendaries, chanter, canons, and other under-officers, out of the church of England." On the 11th of January, in the following year, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the inhabitants of the county of Bucks, in which they prayed that "Popish lords and bishops may be forthwith outed the House of Peers without which the petitioners have not the least hope the kingdom's peace;" and on 14th of February the bill passed the House of Lords, only the Bishops of Winchester, Rochester, and Worcester, dissenting. The King, however, refused his assent, but promised to take the matter into consideration, and "send an answer in convenient time," which being communicated to the Commons, the House expressed its sorrow at the delay, which they held to be as bad as a denial; and seeing "the passing of the bill to be a matter of great importance, the vote of the whole kingdom being for it, as may appear by daily petitions from several," they obtained the concurrence

of the Lords in drawing up three reasons for the speedy passing of the measure, and sent them up to the King by a deputation. On the 14th the bill received the royal assent, "the grace and goodness" of which were formally acknowledged in an address from both Houses.

We conclude this historical sketch, with the reasons offered by the Commons to the Lords, for the passing of this measure, upon the latter rejecting the bill, when originally sent up to their House. Most of them are as cogent in the 19th century as they were in the 17th:—

"1st. That it [the sitting of bishops in Parliament] was a very great hindrance to their ministerial functions. 2dly. Because they do vow and undertake at their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation. 3dly. Because councils and canons, in several ages, do forbid them to meddle with secular affairs. 4thly. Because the twenty-four bishops have a dependency upon the two archbishops, and because of their oath of canonical obedience to them. 5thly. Because they are but for their lives, and therefore unfit to have a legislative power over the honours, inheritance, persons, and liberty of others. 6thly. Because of bishops' dependencies and expectancies of translations to places of greater profit. 7thly. That several bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and properties of the subjects; and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach, and the subjects will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachments, when they are judges of those complaints. The same reason extends to their legislative power, in any bill to pass for the regulation of their powers, upon any emergent inconvenience by it. 8thly. Because the whole number of them is interested to maintain the jurisdiction of bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolished it, and multitudes in England and Ireland have petitioned against it. 9thly. Because the Bishops being Lords of Parliament, it setteth too great distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the Ministry; which occasioneth pride in them, discontent in others, and disunion in the church.

"As to their having votes a long time since, the answer is, If inconvenient, time and usage are not to be considered by law-makers, some abbots voted in parliament as ancient as bishops, yet are taken away. For particular jurisdiction, as the deanery of Westminster, the Bishops of Durham and Ely, the Archbishop of York, which they are to execute in their own persons, the former reason shows

the inconvenience of them. For their Temporal Courts and Jurisdictions, which are executed by their temporal officers, the bill doth not concern them. Nor doth it reach to those certificates of plurality of benefices, legality of age, and the like, which the bishops and return by course of common law. The argument taken from the canons and ecclesiastical, must be considered as a against the bishops by their own weapons; a kind of Goliath's sword, to cut off Goliath's head: but not as though the House of Commons did thereby, usually, the legality of any of them. The proviso of the Universities and Temporal Lords may stand in the bill, if their bishops so please. To this may be added, that there is an act preparing for regulating the Universities, and this proviso is but permitted to stay there till the act be effected."

TO ALL THE  
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,  
SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,  
BUT PARTICULARLY TO  
THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE,  
ON THE  
AFFAIR OF THE  
BARINGS AND THE DEACLES.

ever esteem men merely on account of riches or their station. Respect goodness, and find it where you find it. Honour talent wherever you find it unaccompanied with vice; but honour it most when accompanied with exertion, and especially when exerted in the cause of truth and justice; and, above all things, hold it in honour when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence against the attacks of powerful men."—CORBETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR, Letter XXIII.

(Continued from No. 5, column 317.)

Mrs. DEACLE, as I have before observed, was, after about three days' imprisonment, let out of the jail, and has never been called to any account since. Mr. DEACLE also was let out without bail of any sort or for any purpose; but having threatened to bring an action against the magistrates, he was indicted for a misdemeanor, in going about with a paper to compel landlords and persons to reduce rents and tithes. The trial of this indictment, however, was put off to the Lent Assizes, when he was tried and acquitted, as I before observed, in the most honourable manner, according to the declaration of the judge himself. He was acquitted, without having an opportunity of producing a witness in his defence, and without counsel being heard in his defence: the evidence against him was so manifestly good for nothing, that the judge

\* This curious parenthesis is in the Report of the Conference in the *Lords' Journals*, but not in the *Commons*.



would not suffer any witness to be called in his defence. Well, then, here we have the innocence of the parties completely established: here we have proof that they *ought not to have been seized at all*: ought not to have been taken up, or troubled for a single moment, even in the mildest and most gentle manner. If, then, the evidence produced upon the trial of the action is taken to be true; if LEWINGTON and SWITZER and the servant-girl be not to be declared perjurers upon the bare word of the BARINGS, what are we to think of the hand-cuffs; what are we to think of the dragging across the yard, the soltings in the cart, the cramming into a post-chaise with a common jailer, and the cramming into jail as felonious malefactors?

Now, please to mark. LEWINGTON's evidence and the other considerable were given on the trial of the action at the Summer Assizes, when the result was a verdict of *fifty pounds* against BINGHAM BARING. This verdict astonished the whole world, as far as the news of it reached. Every one exclaimed, "*Fifty pounds!*" But Mr. DEACLE did nothing. He was, probably, not very well contented with the verdict; but he was content to let that, and the report of the trial, imperfect as that report was, produce their natural effect upon the public mind. He and Mrs. DEACLE had suffered a great deal, to be sure; but he was content with what he was sure would be the decision of the public. He was not wrong in his calculations. The public cried aloud against the actors in the scene at Marwell; and the press, urged on by the public, inveighed most bitterly against those parties. BINGHAM BARING had now to contend, not with Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, but with the public and the press. He *published*; and he made the matter worse. In this state of things, Colonel EVANS, a Member of Parliament (without any intimation of his intention to Mr. DEACLE, observe), brought the subject before Parliament in the shape of a motion for the judges' notes, or something of that sort. But though he gave no intimation to Mr. DEACLE, he had taken care to give intimation of it to the BARINGS; and there were they and Mr. SERGEANT WILDE. It is not for me to say what these men said in Parliament; but it is for me say that the *Morning Chronicle* published under their names the most outrageous abuse and most atrocious accusations against Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE; under the names of both these men, the DEACLES were again accused of acts of felony, though honourably acquitted at Winchester, in the manner before described; and while the dirty printers, Jacob and Johnson, circulated these calumnies against Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, they refused to publish a letter of Mr. DEACLE, written in his own defence against those calumnies.

Thus stood the matter for a little while; but Mr. DEACLE, unable to get any means of rebutting these slanders, petitioned, along with Mrs. DEACLE, the House of Commons, by petition dated 29th July, and which petition was

Presented by the same Colonel EVANS, on the 2nd of August. It is from this petition that I have taken the statement above-mentioned. This petition, which told all the story about Long and about BARINGS, seems to have astonished the men of notions. A committee was talked of, after the petition had been presented; but that went off somehow or another, and nothing was done; and nothing would have been done to this moment if the people had not taken up the matter; but they did take it up. Petitions came pouring in from all parts of the country, praying for an investigation into this affair. During two or three nights, the excuse for not appointing a committee was, that the BARINGS intended further legal proceedings. Member after Member declared that a committee ought to be granted. But that, as further legal proceedings were intended by the BARINGS, the proceedings of a committee might prejudice those proceedings. Now, do mark this. ALEXANDER BARING saw, of course, that if the committee was prevented from this consideration, further legal proceedings *must be commenced*; and, therefore, he then confessed that his family had consulted lawyers, and that they had resolved not to take any further legal proceedings. Oh! now then, a committee, of course; and Colonel EVANS appointed Tuesday, the 27th of September, to move for that committee; after Mr. HUMS had presented a second petition calling for a committee; after this, Colonel EVANS did move for a committee, when, to the utter astonishment of all London, he was, by the mouth of Lord ALTHORP, opposed by the whole Government, who, upon this occasion, were joined by PEEL, GOLDSBORN and BURDETT, all of whom said that they believed that the hon. Gentlemen, the BARINGS, most anxiously desired the committee, in order that they might clear themselves in the eyes of the public; but that it was a case which would render a committee improper.

The House at last divided, when there was a great majority against the committee. So that here are a parcel of people, telling us that they believe the BARINGS to be innocent, calling the BARINGS their honourable friends, having the greatest confidence that they would be able completely to disprove, not only the assertions of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, but the sworn evidence of LEWINGTON, SWITZER and the servant-girl. Here are they most solemnly declaring this; and, at the same time, refusing their hon. friends the only possible means of making their innocence appear! But, my friends, mark particularly what the reporter ascribes to Lord ALTHORP. The reporter says, that he pledged his honour, as a gentleman, that "he opposed the motion with great unwillingness, because he had a high esteem for the hon. Member for Portsmouth (FRANCIS BARING), and it gave him great pain to do any thing which might prevent that gentleman from setting himself right in the estimation of the public." This he declared upon the word of a man of honour

and a gentleman! After which, I think, we may with propriety call him "*the man of honour and the gentleman.*"

People of Hampshire particularly, if any of you, either at Portsmouth or Winchester or any-where else, have entertained a thought of electing any one or more of these BARINGS to represent you, and especially if any one should apply to you to promise them your votes, give the applicant this sensible and honest answer:—"It is my duty, above all things, to take care that the man that I vote for, shall not be suspected of a disposition to put the liberty and lives of myself and my countrymen in jeopardy: two of these BARINGS stand accused of the memorable acts committed at Marwell; and, until they be cleared of that charge, I shall regard myself as an infamous villain if I voted for either of them, or for any of their abettors or upholders." If the applicant answer, that the BARINGS most earnestly want an investigation in order that they may clear themselves; but that the Ministers and the House will not let them have it, your reply is, "That is very strange: the Ministers call them their hon. friends, and one of them is a Lord of the Treasury, and a relation of the Prime Minister: most strange it is, therefore, that, if the Ministers believe them to be capable of proving their innocence, they will not grant them the means of proving it, and of thereby crushing the DEACLES for ever; of removing completely the accusation from the families of the Grange and Stratton, causing the whole people to rush forward in their behalf, making them the most popular men in the county, and, in fact, giving them the command of it." If the applicant for votes for the BARINGS shall persevere, and say that the Ministers are obstinate, are resolved not to give their friends an opportunity of proving their innocence, which they so easily might do, the final answer of every honest man will be, "Well, then, I cannot help that; I cannot be sure of their innocence until Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE's prayer be granted: I cannot be sure of their innocence until it be proved, and, therefore, if the Ministers do not give way in behalf of their hon. friends, I must choose somebody else; for this is a thing such as was never heard of before in the world. Suppose my son to be accused of some great offence which makes him wholly unfit to associate with any-body but downright tyrannical brutes: suppose me to be thoroughly convinced of his innocence; suppose the case to be such as that he can prove his innocence in a minute, and without a farthing of expense, and that it only requires my consent to his going into that prison, would not all the world condemn me as the worst brute in nature, if I refused that consent? If, indeed, I believe him to be guilty, or if I strongly suspect it, then I should prefer his continuing without an attempt to produce the proof of his innocence, to his having a trial that must end in his conviction."

"Here is not a son here; but here is something very near it. FRANCIS BARING is accused by Mrs. DEACLE of hauling her up, and holding her arm while the hand-cuff was put upon it; then dragging her along with such violence as to pull her hand out of the bolt which was held to her merely by the ruffle which had caught in the snap of the bolt. She further accuses him of dragging her into the yard without any cover upon her head, of lugging her across the yard like a furze bavin, under his arm, then hoisting her up into the coal-cart, where there was NEVILL to pull her by the arms as if she were a calf or a sheep going into the cart of a butcher. This is what Mrs. DEACLE asserts respecting the conduct of FRANCIS T. BARING. This man has married the niece of the Prime Minister, Lord GREY. Lord GREY must have seen this over and over again. He must have talked the subject over with this Baring himself, as well as with others. He must have talked to the ATTORNEY-GENERAL about it; now, then, suppose yourself, reader, in the place of Lord GREY; here is the husband of his niece; here is a Lord of the Treasury immediately under himself in his own department; here is the heir of a father who has a great estate. Now, if Lord GREY thought this man innocent of this charge, do you believe that he would refuse him the only means that there are in the world of proving that innocence? I desire you, reader, once more to look at all the circumstances; once more to look at the nature of the charge which Mrs. DEACLE prefers; once more to see what danger, not only from present unpopularity, but from lasting impression, this young man is exposed to from this charge remaining disproved; once more, then, put yourself in the place of Lord GREY, and consider him to be a man of sound judgment and of great experience, feeling most acutely, as he must, the doubts which this affair is exciting with regard to the motives and character of his ministry; knowing, as he must, the uneasiness, the troubles, the ceaseless anxieties, that it is causing in the several families of the BARINGS, in his brother's family and his own family too; knowing, as he must, that the eyes of the whole nation are upon him, watching his conduct as to this affair; and well knowing, as he must, that a committee which would prove the innocence of the BARINGS, would, in one single day, scatter all these troubles to the winds: put yourself in his place, reader, and then say whether you believe, that, if he was convinced that the BARINGS were innocent, he would refuse this committee."

At any rate, and at all events, until the committee be granted, you have a ready answer to every one who attempts to bespeak your vote for a BARING. You cannot give the vote until the charge be removed; if these Ministers will not consent to suffer it to be removed; if the honourable friends of the BARINGS will not suffer their innocence to be made appear, they must wait with patience till

their enemies get into Parliament, when that which friendship will not grant *enmity probably may!*

Here the case stops at present; but here it cannot stop long. The people will continue to petition. New petitions will come, and those who have already petitioned, will petition again. Every petition gives the thing a stir up; and, at last, we shall get justice. If justice acquit the magistrates, if justice declare Mr. and Mrs. DEACIE culpable and the BARINGS and LONG innocent, *then* we shall be satisfied; *then* we shall not think ourselves in jeopardy; *then* we shall know that an innocent woman has not been handcuffed and jolted in a cart and crammed into a jail; and then we shall have the satisfaction to know that BACKETT did not call BAINES out of the dock to LONG, who was a grand-juryman at the same time; but unless there be a committee, unless the honourable friends of the BARINGS will grant them a committee to prove their innocence, while the other parties are praying for it too, it would be to proclaim ourselves to the world as brute beasts, to entertain any doubt at all upon the matter, or to act upon any other ground than that of the allegations as they lie before us.

I am, my Friends and Countrymen,  
Your faithful and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

### COBBETT - CORN.

I HAVE received corn, ground by fourteen persons near GREAT GAIMSBY, in Lincolnshire, and some very very fine corn, ground at MORPETH, in Northumberland. I wish that a gentleman, who has a crop at PEVENSY, in Sussex, would send me four or five of his ears of corn: I shall then have some grown at PAISLEY, and some 450 miles to the north of PEVENSY.

### TO DOCTOR BLACK.

Bolt-court, November 11, 1831.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I PERCEIVE the great alarm you are in at what you call the success of THE LIAR, in the great towns, especially at LEEDS, and I hasten to comfort you. What was his triumph? It was none at all: it was the triumph of Mr. FOSTER of the *Patriot*, over the BAINES of the *Mercury*, which BAINES is the "*great Liar of the North*," and which BAINES is *Brougham's man*, and is now working to impose upon the fine town of

Leeds, that MACAULAY, who is now the Lansdown man for the rotten borough of CALNE. This is the real truth of the matter. Mr. MANN and Mr. FOSTER seem to have got our LIAR to Leeds as the means of humbling BAINES and the *Brougham faction*; and BAINES was, it appears, fool enough to go and try his strength against him on the spot. How Foster and Mann and all the real reformers must have laughed, to see the GREAT LIAR of the North and THE LIAR of the South, meet in direct and deadly conflict! I saw our Liar's approach towards Leeds, and talking with a Yorkshire man about the means that BAINES was preparing to meet him, I said: "I'll bet you 100 to one the LIAR of the South beats the LIAR of the North, though the latter takes, and not unjustly, the surname of GREAT." The Yorkshire man, knowing the capacity of our LIAR, dared not take my bet. If BAINES had been man enough to use the point of his shoe, or a horse-whip, he would have triumphed in an instant; but when it was a matter of mere HARD LYING, he was sure to be defeated; for at that our Southern fellow would beat the Devil himself. BAINES did, it seems, take him by the collar, upon which the hero retreated into another room, with a window to speak from, and fastened himself in! It was the shoe, or a horse-whip, that was wanted. How FOSTER and MANN, each of whom has as much sense in his little finger as the LIAR has in his whole carcase, must have trembled for the success of the frolic, when they saw the brazen thing "turn pale" and retreat! But, Doctor, are you so little informed as to imagine that the working people of Leeds do not read the debates in Parliament; and that they do not know all about our LIAR? They know well all about him; they know about his self-denying path, taken before the Lord Mayor, and about his getting a contract from the Wellington Ministry after that; they know about his pulling down the tricoloured flag at the Rotunda, and about his frequent visits to Peel at the Home Office at the same time; they know what a horribly

ignorant thing it is; but they also know that it was the devil of BAINES and MACAULAY; and, therefore, Mr. MANN (who remembers the dungeons of Sidmouth) went off to fetch the great bulky brazen thing to Leeds. A gentleman who saw this fellow at the Westminster election of 1818, haranguing a crowd from a window, heard the harangue crowned with a *hurra! hurra! hurra!* and heard a fat butcher, who was turning round and putting on his hat, exclaim, "*What a damned fool it is!*"

Be assured, Doctor, that such is the case in all the towns whither OUR LIAR has gone: he is the raw-head and bloody-bones wherewith to frighten the crafty knaves who think to cheat the people quietly out of all share in the representation: he is not the *deluder* of the people, but their *tool*. At last, some man will *kick him*, or *horsewhip him*; and then he will be of no further use. His LIE about the CORN shows "*what a fool it is,*" as the huzzaing butcher said. The very earth now gives him the lie. But, Doctor, while you call this fool-liar "*a friend,*" I do not hear a word from you about the fiend-like conduct of the *London press*, and of *Burdett's crew*, towards Mr. WAKLEY, whose conduct has been so perfectly unexceptionable and meritorious! You think that the people in the North are ignorant, because they do not read the *London newspapers*. If they were to believe these newspapers, what base injustice would they do to Mr. WAKLEY! And what a villain should I be in their eyes, if they did not despise those newspapers!

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The BLOODY OLD TIMES has had the infamy to-day to lump Mr. WAKLEY with the LIAR, to say, that the former as well as the latter are investigated by the *boroughmongers*. This very thing of lumping up with the LIAR this bloody paper did, for a long time, with regard to me: and yet Doctor Black is so unhappy lest the people of Leeds should not get *London newspapers* to read!

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

BEAUCHAMP, R., Holborn, silversmith.  
LEE, A., Regent's Quadrant, music-seller.  
PATERSON, J., Tonbridge, Kent, coal-merch.  
WATSON, H., Regent-street, printseller.

#### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

HALL, W., T. S. Hall, and W. J. Hall,  
Crosby-square, packers.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SHAW, W., Aston, Staffordsh., china-manuf.

#### BANKRUPTS.

CANNINGS, W., Bath, cabinet-maker.  
CLARKSON, B., Selby, Yorkshire, banker.  
EVANS, M., Penmaen Colliery, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.  
FIELD, D., Warford, Berkshire, mealman.  
GATES, T., White Hart-court, Lombard-st., money-scrivener.  
HERITAGE, J., Uxbridge, draper.  
MANSFIELD, T., and J. Hackney, Cobridge, Staffordshire, earthenware-manufacturers.  
MELDRUM, D. Bath, haberdasher.  
PHILLIPS, J., jun., Great Newport-street, Newport-market, china-dealer.  
SCHOLFIELD, J., and J. Cleugh, Selby, Yorkshire, bankers.  
SHIRLEY, T., New Bridge-st., Blackfriars, wine-merchant.  
STEPHEN, J., Great St. Helen's, wine-merch.  
TAYLOR, W. W., Marybonne-lane, wine-merchant.  
VICKERY, W., Brereton, Cheshire, innkeeper.  
WHAYMAN, R., West Smithfield, victualler.  
WHITWORTH, W., Manchester, and N. Whitworth, Drogheda, corn-factors.  
WILLS, E. P., Chichester, tailor.  
WOOD, H., Jermyn-street, upholsterer.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

BANNER, H. and F. G., Cripplegate-buildings, plumbers.  
FAYRER, R. J., London, mariner.  
WRIGHT, A., London, merchant.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW, T., Harpenden, Hertfords., baker.  
BILLOWS, G. B., Poole, ironmonger.  
CLUGSTON, A., and C. P. Chapman, Paul's-wharf, Thames-street, merchants.  
EASTWOOD, W., Waterloo-road, linen-draper.  
GOLDING, J., Manchester, draper.  
GREEN, C., Cheltenham, Glostersh., cooper.  
HARVEY, W., and T. Grice, Holloway, builders.  
HAWKINS, T. B., Stafford, plumber.  
HIRST, J., Leeds, corn-factor.  
HUNT, J., Bath, grocer.  
HUXSTEP, S., Thannington, Kent, pig-dealer.  
JONES, J., Bushey, Hertfords., silk-throwster.

TREASURE, J., Monythusloyne, Monmouth-shire, shop-keeper.

WRIGHT, G., Woodhouse, Yorkshire, stone-mason.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOVEMBER 7.—Our Supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley, malt, and beans, as also English and foreign peas, and Irish oats and flour, have been moderately good; of English flour, great; of foreign wheat, Irish, Scotch and foreign barley, and seeds from all quarters, but limited; of foreign oats, or rye, from any quarter, none.

In the early part of this day's market, trade threatened to be dull; but the holders of foreign corn, particularly of wheat, the duty on which is now 26s. 8d. per quarter,—seeming determined to hold for an anticipated advance, and consequent decline in duty; and the assemblage of buyers becoming numerous, good wheat and barley ultimately began to go off somewhat briskly; oats, beans, malt, flour, and grey peas, steadily at but little variation, if any, from last Monday's quotations. Boiling peas looked a little upwards. Hemp seed has fallen from 5s. to 4s. per last; and linseed sold tardily, at last week's prices. The quotations of most other seeds are nominal. It was, indeed, supposed that, to effect sales of them, a considerable abatement must have been submitted to.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	30s. to 35s.
— fine .....	35s. to 45s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 40s.
— Buffers .....	38s. to 48s.
— Grey .....	36s. to 41s.
Beans, Old .....	37s. to 40s.
— Tick .....	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	25s. to 30s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	69s. to 65s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new .....	50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new .....	12s. 0d. to —s. 0d.
Pork, Mess, new .....	60s. 0d. to 65s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast .....	100s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow .....	100s. to 102s.
— Cork .....	97s. to 98s.
— Limerick .....	97s. to —s.
— Waterford .....	94s. to 98s.
— Dublin .....	95s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire .....	60s. to 60s.
— Gloucester, Double .....	56s. to 63s.
— Gloucester, Single .....	48s. to 54s.
— Edam .....	46s. to 50s.
— Gouda .....	44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish .....	42s. to 54s.

SMITHFIELD—November 7.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great: of sheep, fat calves, and porkers, moderately

good. The trade was, throughout rather dull. With beef, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations; with mutton at a depression of 2d. per stone. Beasts, 3,249; sheep and lambs, 18,450; calves, 153; pigs, 180.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 11.

The arrivals this week are fair. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	} Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	} 82½	83	82½	82½	82½	82½

### THE WHOLE LAW OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR FOR FIVE SHILLINGS!

This day is published,

**A FAMILIAR COMPENDIUM of the LAW OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR:** comprising the whole of the Bankrupt Laws, with the alterations and amendments recently enacted by the legislature: the whole of the Consolidated laws, as now in operation, relating to insolvent debtors, with forms, &c. Arrangements between Debtor and Creditor, including compositions and deeds of trust; the Law of Arrest on Mesne Process; the Law relating to Property intrusted to Factors or Agents; the recent Act confirming the Statute of Limitations and regulating the Law concerning representations of character, and **LORD BROUGHAM'S NEW BANKRUPTCY CONTRACT.**

By JOHN H. BRADY,  
Author of "Plain Instructions to Executors," &c.

London: Edingham Wilson, No. 83, Royal Exchange.

### FASHIONABLE TAILORING ESTABLISHMENT.

**E. TOBIN** (from MEULEY and Co.'s, Regent-street) begs to inform his friends and the public that he has opened the premises, 174, Fleet-street, in the above business.

E. T. begs to assure those gentlemen whose object is economy and fashion, that he intends to make every article of dress from the best materials, and cut by the most approved scientific principles, on the following terms:

	£	s.	d.
Black or Blue Coat .....	3	5	0
Black Hugging Frock, lined with silk .....	3	3	0
Silk Waistcoat, best quality .....	0	18	0
Best Trowsers .....	1	10	0
Suit of Livery .....	4	4	0

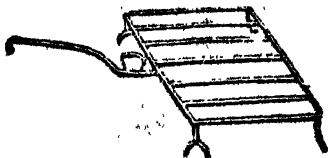
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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 74.—No. 8.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## LETTER II.

### TO LORD GREY,

*On his present difficulties, on the causes of them, and on the means of extricating himself from them.*

Kensington, 16th November, 1831.

MY LORD,

IN my last letter (*Register*, 12th instant), I addressed your Lordship on Lord BROUGHAM's "readiness to reconsider" the matter of the *ten-pound suffrage*; and warned you against any and every proposition for altering the suffrage in the large towns, in any way whatever, so as to *lessen the number of voters* in those towns. I am confirmed in the correctness of my opinions on that important subject, I now, supposing you not to be without some anxiety for the duration of your power, address you on the subject, stated at the head of this letter.

Every-body sees that you are in a state of *great difficulty*; but I have yet seen no publication, in which the *real causes* of your difficulties are frankly stated. I will presently state them with perfect frankness, and thereby prepare my readers, at any rate, for what may probably be the ultimate consequences of those difficulties. . . . . But I am interrupted by the arrival of the *MORNING CHRONICLE*, which will spare me the trouble of describing the difficulties themselves, which description is, however, necessary, as a prelude to that which is to follow. This newspaper,

which has been a very honest and zealous supporter of your Lordship and of the Reform Bill, has, until of late, spoken very confidently, not only of your intention to cause the bill to be carried, but of your power to give effect to that intention. Of all the fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen millions of his Majesty's European subjects, there is not one who is more completely a stranger to all the persons belonging to the Government, to all persons having any connexion or acquaintanceship with persons belonging to the Government; to all members of Parliament of both Houses; in short, who is more completely shut out; voluntarily, certainly; but who is more completely cut off from all means of information, direct or indirect, relative to matters of state and of public policy, than I am. I absolutely know nothing but that which I see in print, relative to such matters; and, as to that, I am compelled to make up my opinion, not upon the statements I read, but upon the indications which I think them to convey. These indications have, within a few days, been of a character to leave no doubt at all in my mind, that the obstacle to the carrying of the Reform Bill, which obstacle I have seen from the very beginning, is now about to be made apparent to every-body.

The editor of the *Morning Chronicle* has direct communication with one or more of your Lordship's colleagues; he is not always right, and with regard to his abstract notions about the causes of the nation's distress, he is, like all other Scotchmen, always wrong; but long observation on his conduct; long attention, or, at any rate, perusal of his paper, which is worth more than all the other daily papers put together, has convinced me that he is perfectly sincere in his wishes for parliamentary reform, and that he would not, if he knew it, mistake any fact of public importance. With this preface, I will insert his article of Monday last, and then his article of this day.

## ARTICLE OF MONDAY, 14TH NOV.

"Were the people to see *any display* of power by the present Ministers, they might indulge in some hopes of *their ability to carry the measure of reform*. But they cannot shut their eyes to the circumstances *that Ministers are without power*. The Tories are everywhere in the strong-holds of the country—they are everywhere the delegates of the Royal authority, and the Government may be said to be in their hands. The removal of Earl HOWE and Sir BYAM MARTIN are too trifling to be taken into account. The conclusion at which the people have arrived is, that Ministers have not the power to do that which would enable them to be of any use to the country —that they have been retained till it suits the oligarchy to throw off the mask. We do not believe the Ministers possess the power of carrying reform, and it is of importance that the people should no longer remain under the delusion that they can carry it. He that is forewarned is fore-armed. Believing, from a variety of circumstances, that the Reform Bill will be rejected a second time, what will then be the state of the country? We agree with the *Scotsman*, that the object of the selfish faction of anti-reformers, is to make the Empire one universal scene of turbulence and desolation. The fearful scenes just acted in Bristol are an image of what we shall by-and-by witness in every corner of the three kingdoms, if more effectual means are not provided in time to preserve the public peace. In fact, the rejection of the Reform Bill, as was to have been expected, has led to a want of confidence in the manufacturing districts, and consequently to the dismissal of a number of workmen. This process has been going on for some time, and has now attained to such a height as to inspire thinking men with much alarm. Now let us suppose the bill rejected a second time, with the existence of a number of discontented, because un-

"employed, workmen throughout the country."

## ARTICLE OF WEDNESDAY, 16TH NOV.

"A variety of reports of a change of Ministry were yesterday circulated. They must be bold men indeed, who, on the resignation of Earl GREY, because he is *not allowed* the means of carrying an efficient reform, would think of taking office. The resignation of Earl GREY would be a signal to the country of the triumph of the *oligarchy*; and if the people acquiesced in the indignity offered to them, they would thereby prove themselves vile sordid slaves, and the very name of Englishman would stink in the nostrils of the nations.

"Heavy, indeed, would be the responsibility OF THOSE who, by compelling Earl GREY to resign, would thereby drive a nation to despair. We cannot believe that HIS MAJESTY would expose the people of this country to the calamity of witnessing itself deceived in its fondest hopes. HIS MAJESTY must surely have believed reform indispensable, or he would not have bestowed his confidence on a Ministry formed on the principle of reform. But whose wishes the end must wish the means. To propose reform, and yet refuse to consent to the means for effecting it, would be a mere mockery of the nation.

"However, it is time that the nation should know who interposes the obstacles to the passing of reform. If his MAJESTY is an anti-reformer, and prefers the welfare of the borough-mongers to the welfare of the nation, LET IT BE KNOWN. The time has arrived when there should be no longer any mystery or mystification on the subject.

"That there is a hitch somewhere is beyond a doubt. If the course were clear, there could be no hesitation as to the instantly removing the apprehensions of the people."

This was a pretty good breaking of the ice. The word "*Oligarchy*" only

serves the writer as a cover ; it is clear that when he wrote this in his paper of Monday, he knew all that he said in the paper of to-day (Wednesday). Now, my Lord, please to look at the last paragraph of this article of Wednesday. The writer says that if the course were clear, there could be no hesitation as to instantly removing the apprehensions of the people. This is what I have always said. You promised us a good bill ; but you would not tell us what it was to be ; and therefore I would not express my confidence in you. It is impossible to read this article of the *Chronicle* without perceiving clearly that this writer is firmly persuaded that *the King will not consent to give you the means of carrying the Reform Bill*. It is possible that this, may be an error, but this is clearly the belief of a very prudent man who has pretty constant communication with some of your colleagues, and who has manfully done his duty in communicating that belief to his readers. In short, this is what he says in substance, that the King refuses you the means of carrying the bill, and that you are kept in office until it suits those who advised the King to turn you out of office.

To this we are come, then, at last ; and, now, is it too much for me to ask your Lordship to look back at some passage in the *Register*, published since you brought in this bill, and pointing to this very result ? I am not to suppose that you are a reader of the *Register* ; but it would not be too much to expect that now, in this second season of your difficulties as a statesman, to ask you just to read one passage in the *Register* of the 26th of March last. At that time, it was doubted whether the King would give his consent to a dissolution of the Parliament. I very much doubted whether he would ; or, rather, I firmly believed that he would not ; and, in order that my readers, at any rate, should not be duped, I published on the subject an address to them, dated at Kensington, on the 23rd of March, and inserted in the *Register* of the 26th of March ; an extract from which *Register* I am about to insert here : and from

that extract my readers, at any rate, will see that I knew a little more about the matter even than your Lordship yourself appears to have known. After having stated that a dissolution of Parliament was absolutely necessary to carry the Reform Bill, and that it was your duty to carry the dissolution, I proceeded thus —

“ But, CAN he dissolve the Parliament ? He can, if it be true that the King wishes that this bill should be passed. To dissolve the Parliament, there must be *the consent of the King* ; and will the King refuse to give that consent ? This is the question ; it is, indeed, the only question at present ; and it is perhaps, the most important question, a question of the most fearful magnitude, that one Englishman ever put to another, in any period of the history of our country ! But, I may be asked, how I can doubt of the King's readiness to give his consent to the dissolution of the Parliament, that being so obviously necessary to the success of this measure. I may be asked how I can doubt of this, seeing that all the newspapers have assured us, over and over again, that the King was full as much in favour of the thing as his Ministers. I should rather disbelieve than believe the fact, if we had no better authority than that ; but, the Ministers themselves have declared in Parliament, that they have brought forward the measure *with the entire sanction of the King*. This is a great deal ; there is no question of their having spoken truth as to this matter ; there is no question of their having had the complete sanction of the King for the bringing forward of this measure. But, alas, kings, though kings, are still but men ; and men can *change their minds*, whether they be kings or shepherds.

“ It would be curious indeed, if this very Lord GAZER should (which I trust will not be the case) *twice in his life-time*, have had to experience a change of this sort in the mind of a King. By turning to page 419 of this present volume of the *Register*,



“ where will be found No. 3 of the  
 “ *History of George IV.*, the reader  
 “ will find, in paragraphs from 74 to  
 “ 82 inclusive, the whole history of the  
 “ change of the mind of George III. in  
 “ 1807. He will there find that EARL  
 “ GREY, then LORD HOWICK, brought  
 “ in the Catholic Bill with the King’s  
 “ approbation and sanction; that it was  
 “ brought in and read a first time with-  
 “ out a division; that it was afterwards  
 “ withdrawn by the Ministers them-  
 “ selves; without opposition; and that  
 “ the Ministry were turned out there-  
 “ upon, and the Parliament dissolved.  
 “ Upon that occasion LORD GREY de-  
 “ clared in the House of Commons, that,  
 “ before he attempted to submit the  
 “ consideration of the measure to the  
 “ House, he laid before his Majesty all  
 “ the particulars with regard to it, and  
 “ obtained his Majesty’s approbation  
 “ of it?”

“ Yet, as I have observed before, the  
 “ King *changed his mind*, and turned  
 “ out LORD GREY and his colleagues.  
 “ Therefore, though the Ministers have  
 “ brought forward the present measure  
 “ in like manner, with the approbation  
 “ of the King, you see, my friends, that  
 “ that does not make it amount to a  
 “ *positive certainty* that the King will  
 “ dissolve the Parliament for the sake  
 “ of carrying a measure to which he  
 “ had given his sanction. I do not  
 “ doubt myself; I do not suspect; I do  
 “ not fear; but in truth I know nothing  
 “ of the matter, except, as I said before,  
 “ that kings are *men*, and that all men  
 “ are liable to change their minds; and  
 “ that Lord Grey’s twenty-four years’  
 “ exile from that political power of  
 “ which nature formed him for always  
 “ having a large share, is a striking in-  
 “ stance of the effects of the change  
 “ in the mind of a King. Upon the  
 “ occasion here referred to, the King  
 “ was ready enough to dissolve the Par-  
 “ liament, and did dissolve it, when it  
 “ was only four months old; but, ob-  
 “ serve, he dissolved it to keep in his  
 “ new Minister, and to keep out the one  
 “ that had brought in the bill; he dis-  
 “ solved it, not for the purpose of caus-  
 “ ing to be carried the measure to which

“ he had given his sanction, but in order  
 “ to defeat the measure to which he had  
 “ given his sanction; he dissolved it,  
 “ however, when the senseless and hy-  
 “ pocritical cry of ‘*no popery*’ had  
 “ placed at his back the unreflecting  
 “ millions of England and Wales and  
 “ Scotland, led on by the parsons and  
 “ the corporate bodies. In this latter  
 “ respect, great indeed is the difference  
 “ in the two cases. Then it was the  
 “ millions who wished the measure to  
 “ be defeated: now it is the millions  
 “ who wished the measure not to be  
 “ defeated: now it is the millions who  
 “ wish the measure to be carried. Dis-  
 “ solution was then necessary to defeat  
 “ the measure; dissolution is now ne-  
 “ cessary to carry the measure.

“ With regard to the King having  
 “ given his sanction to this measure,  
 “ there can be no doubt; that *must* be  
 “ so; for, if that had not been the case,  
 “ it would at once have been contra-  
 “ dicted in both Houses of Parliament;  
 “ but, with regard to the King still *con-  
 “ tinuing in the same mind*, we have no  
 “ such authority to rest on. And now,  
 “ let me stop here just to indulge my  
 “ vanity for a moment. PERI’s father  
 “ had a *presentiment*, you know, and  
 “ why should not I! In talking, many  
 “ times, with friends, about the way  
 “ that I would go to work in making a  
 “ parliamentary reform, if I were Prime  
 “ Minister, I have, on such occasions,  
 “ always said, that I never would accept  
 “ of the office, unless the King would  
 “ first put into my hand, signed by him-  
 “ self, a MESSAGE to both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, recommending them to  
 “ make a parliamentary reform, and  
 “ containing some words describing the  
 “ great principle of such reform. I  
 “ always said that ‘Put not your trust  
 “ in princes’ was a precept that never  
 “ should be disobeyed by me; a precept  
 “ implanted in my mind by that which  
 “ occurred to LORD GREY in 1807.  
 “ How much better would it have been  
 “ if Lord Grey had proceeded by *message*  
 “ in this case! Then all would have  
 “ been straightforward work; then there  
 “ would have been no idle rumours, no  
 “ suspicious among the people, no in-

"trigues at court, no cabals of any sort. In short, the measure would have been carried long ago; and the nation, all the people being in perfect harmony and good humour, would have been preparing for the election of a reformed parliament.

"But to what does all this tend? Do I suspect that the King has changed his mind? I suspect nothing; but, at the same time, I know nothing. I can only judge from appearances and circumstances; and I cannot help putting to myself this question: Is it possible that the three hundred and one men, who voted against the second reading of the bill, *could believe* that the King would dissolve the Parliament unless this bill were carried by this Parliament? This is the question which I put to myself; and I beg you, my friends, to put the same question to yourselves, in a very serious and deliberate manner. If these three hundred and one men *believed* that the Parliament would be dissolved, and they sent to face the people if they voted against this bill, *would they have voted against it?* Would they have voted against it if they had *believed* that such vote would have sent them packing? Look well at the matter, my friends; take time to consider, and then answer that question to yourselves. These men are, to be sure, neither Solomons nor Solons; but they are not madmen; they are so far from being regardless of their own interests and safety, that these are objects which always appear to be uppermost in their minds. Would they, then, have voted thus, purely for the pleasure and honour attending the publication of their names throughout the country; they knew to a *certainly* that, if the King dissolved the Parliament after that vote, scarcely a man of them would ever enter the House again. They could have no hope in *out-voting the Ministry*; because a dissolution of the Parliament would render their vote of no use. It is, therefore, CERTAIN that these three hundred and one men *believed* that, if there were a majority

against the second reading, the King would not dissolve the Parliament.

"Now, my friends, I do not say that the thing is so because they believed it to be so; but, at the same time, here are three hundred and one men all acting upon this one and same belief; and there are amongst them a considerable number who know very well what is passing at the court and amongst all those who are likely to possess interest with the King. Pray observe, too, that in 1807, the King was defended against his Ministers by an assertion that, though they had his sanction to a bill in favour of the Catholics, they had not clearly explained to *him the full extent of that bill!* This was a very ugly assertion, because it did not admit of disproof: there was no calling upon the King to give evidence in the case: the Ministers, therefore, had no defence against this; and, if the King should listen to advice such as would prevent his consent to a dissolution of Parliament, Lord GRAY would find himself, as far as relates to this point, just in the situation in which he found himself in 1807. Remark, I pray you, that the opposers of the bill have already laid the ground for this accusation against him. They have repeatedly said, that the bill, in its *present shape*, was not agreed upon by the cabinet until the eleventh hour: they have repeatedly insinuated that the King's name ought not to have been mentioned as connected with the bill; and you can see that they have been constantly endeavouring to cause it to be believed that the King has not been given clearly to understand the extent and drift of the bill. This is a very ugly circumstance; and, though I repeat that these men are neither Solomons nor Solons, they are not downright fools or idiots.

"These observations, my friends, would be useless if they pointed at no practical result; if they afforded no lesson to the people to teach them how to act. The question is not, now, whether this Reform Bill ought to be carried; but whether the Parliament ought to be dissolved, seeing that,

"without such dissolution, the Reform Bill *cannot be carried*! This, therefore, is now the business of the people. The King is legally endued with a power of dissolving Parliament at his pleasure; this prerogative, like all the rest which he possesses, has been given him for the good of his people; the good of his people demand the exercise of it at this time; and it is therefore the right as well as the duty of his people earnestly to implore him to exercise that power. Hitherto it has been sufficient to express gratitude to him for having given his sanction to this great measure; but now, when it is found that it is impossible to carry this measure without a dissolution of the Parliament, duty to themselves as well as to the King calls upon them to petition him to dissolve the Parliament.

"It is nonsense to talk of waiting to see what the House will do in the Committee. We are apprized beforehand that there will be a great majority against the material parts of the bill in the committee. To go into the committee at all, under such circumstances, must be looked upon, in fact, as an abandonment of the bill on the part of the Ministers. And, to abandon it in this way would be a disgrace not to be endured by any man with English blood in his veins; and certainly not to be endured by Lord Grey, who has passed a whole long life amidst this turmoil of factions, and never yet did a mean thing, never abased himself in one single instance. To be in place at all, he can, at his age and after all that has passed, have no possible motive other than that of the good of his country; he has proposed the good, and in the most specific and full and clear manner; and, if the King shall not permit him to do the good, the only thing left for him to do is, to give up his post, and at the same time to declare, in the most full and clear manner, THE CAUSE OF HIS RESIGNATION OF THAT POST! To do this, not in speech in Parliament, which may be disfigured at the pleasure of the boroughmon-

gers, but in some formal document, signed with his name; and thus prevent a repetition of the tricks that were played him in 1807. Then, indeed, he was not the PRIME MINISTER; he was merely a member of the Ministry, and, in fact, he was under the GRENVILLES, who, however provoked, had, amongst them, *sinecures to the amount of thirty thousand pounds a year*. This was the power that kept him quiet under the load of obloquy, cast on him by the transactions of that period. He is now Prime Minister himself. He is weighed down by no Grenvilles nor by any-body else. The people know that the bill is *his*, and solely his; and if the King will not let him use the only means by which it can be carried, it will be a duty to the country as well as to himself to state the fact, in the fullest and most authentic manner to the nation, quite regardless of whom it may affect. The nation must be told the truth now, and the whole truth, let the telling of it affect what and whom it may."

There, my Lord! Dr. BLACK now tells your Lordship, to "*let it be known*;" "that the time is arrived when there should be no longer any mystery or mystification on the subject." He tells you that now; but I told it you on the 26th of March; and thus it is for a man to have a head upon his shoulders, and not to be rendered baffle-headed by any interests, and not to be shackled by any communication whatever with any persons in power, or having communication with any persons in power: thus it is for a sound mind to be left to its free operations. After reading the bloody Times newspaper, and hearing the everlasting backbitings of the contemptible creatures that you have heard gabble about me for the last twenty years, your Lordship was, I dare say, astonished to see a thousand persons in the Court of King's Bench to witness my trial and to hear them cheer the evidence of my Lord RADNOR, and every heavy blow which I gave to your party. I dare say you wondered what devil had raked them altogether; especially as they were well-dressed people, too, who had been,

many of them, obliged to pay money to get admission. You must have been astounded, indeed, when you heard that the anxiety of many of them kept them in the Court during the whole of the night. But, when you have read the above-quoted extract, and have duly considered the esteem and respect that innumerable writings, discovering the same extent of sagacity, penetration, and foresight, which innumerable persons have read from the same pen; when you duly consider the predictions on important subjects, and the invariable verification of those predictions; when you duly reflect on the inevitable impression of these upon the minds of a very large part of the community, you will cease to wonder at the deep interest which was felt and demonstrated upon that occasion, and upon the contemptible figure which not only your great law-officer, but which the whole of you, made upon that memorable occasion; nor would you be surprised that the Trial has already been *re-published in New York* and returned to England, the editor loading his publication with expressions of admiration of the man whom you thought you could crush with as little ceremony as one of your underlings in office crushes a poor creature charged with something or other against the customs or excise.

The extract which I have just quoted leaves me little to say about the great cause of all your difficulties; namely, the not having obtained a *message* from the King at the beginning; and, besides that, a written document in the *King's own hand-writing*, sanctioning the measure; or, at any rate, the measure should have contained some words describing the great principles of the bill. Your next error was, that you did not make and publish in the most authentic manner, by resolutions in Parliament, by an address to the King, or in some authentic shape or other, a *full exposition* of the state in which you found the country. There is not a man who takes a trusteeship, a stewardship, or who takes to the management of any concern who does not take care to be provided with an inventory or statement

and account of the matter which he takes in hand. There is no servant that comes into a house, whether, butler, housekeeper, cook, or in any other capacity, who does not take care that the employer shall know the state of the several things put into the charge of the new comer: "This tureen is cracked," "Ma'am; here are half a dozen broken glasses." To be sure: every one takes care not to be loaded with faults committed by others; but you took to the concern as if it had been all as it ought to be; not a cracked tureen in the whole of the Wedgwood concern did you find out. You even boasted of the state of the finances; talked of national faith as boldly as any of your blundering predecessors, and would have made one believe that barracks, military and naval academies, pension and sinecure lists, dead-weight and retired allowances, a thundering standing army, and tithes held by pluralists and devoured by them, were all of them "*institutions of the country*," which no reform was to shake. In addition to this, which was quite enough of itself, you religiously refrained from anything like an attack upon your deadly foes; and, on the contrary, seemed to caress them with more than fraternal affection, and seemed to care about offending nobody except them. Nay, so decided was your preference of them, that you could not even issue the special commissions without having WELLINGTON and STURGES BOURNE on the bench with the judges, and without bringing the Duke of NEWCASTLE's steward from Nottinghamshire to be the official crown-prosecutor in the counties of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, and Berks.

Another and most odious error was, your prosecution of the press. Say that the prosecution of CABLILE and TAYLOR was a mere paving of the way for shutting me up for the remainder of my life, their names having been, by the *bloody Old Times*, and by the speakers in Parliament, constantly coupled with mine; say this; it is but a poor apology; a very good apology to your foes; but a very poor piece of policy; for there is your Attorney-General as odious as any

of his predecessors ; and be you assured, that the name of Sir CHARLES WETHERELL and of Sir JOHN COPLEY will be pronounced with honour whenever their conduct as Attorney-General is put in contrast with his. But the truth is, you had not the courage necessary to a change of the system ; and, therefore, you were compelled to resort to the means to which your predecessors had resorted for carrying on that system. The mere name of *reform* was nothing ; people wanted to see proofs of sincerity in other acts. They saw no such proofs ; they saw you going on in just the same way that your predecessors had gone on in. They saw, in the case of Mr. and Mrs. Denale, quite enough to convince them that it had, in fact, been a mere change of men. They saw no change of intention as to measures ; the underlings in office were retained because they were necessary to the carrying on of the system. They have *bred* in the system, as mice breed in a barley-mow. There are the grandfather, the son, and the grandson, all bred in the system. You had a choice, between retaining the mice or tumbling down the mow ; and the rich mow you wished to uphold.

But there was one capital blunder ; that was your taking of BROUGHAM for a *colleague*. He was your *rival* for what is called popularity. He was sure to beat you with the dirty thing called "*the public press*," for he would descend to what you would not. I saw how he forced himself upon you, and I foresaw and foretold the consequences ; and there he is, now, ready to *reconsider* that bill by which you have pledged yourself to stand or fall. Great, however, as are the difficulties in which you are involved, he is involved in still greater. How he is to retain place, and get the bill not to pass, is, I think, a something that will puzzle even him ; and yet, retain place he will, or the world is at an end with him, at any rate.

Such, my Lord, hastily sketched, are the causes which have led to your present difficulties, the way out of which is better described by the Bible than it can be by my pen. "Enter ye in at

"the strait, or narrow gate ; for wide "is the gate and broad is the way that "leadeth to destruction ; but strait is "the gate and narrow is the way which "leadeth unto life." March on, then, my Lord, in the narrow way ; get not into a way in which you can turn to the right or to the left ; if my forebodings of the 26th of March be now verified, you have no other course to pursue, except that which is there recommended ; namely, to resign your post at once, and to tell the nation, in the most distinct manner, in a paper signed by yourself and published by your authority, that you have resigned it because the King will not give you the means necessary to carry the Reform Bill. It will not be sufficient that you make this statement in a speech in Parliament. You did that in 1807 ; you got turned out of the county of Northumberland for your pains ; and if you had been sent back to some populous town, you would, like Mr. ROSCOE, have got nearly knocked on the head in addition. To retire from office ; to resign quietly ; to go away home, and not to tell the real cause without any reserve, would be disgrace such as never yet befell any man upon the face of this earth.

When, on Monday the 10th of October, your Lordship went to Windsor, and had, as I thought, prevailed upon the King to make a short prorogation, and to make such an addition to the peers as would have seemed a carrying off of the bill, I expressed with regard to your conduct the highest admiration that the words which I had at my command would enable me to express. I always thought, from the very outset, that the King was opposed to the bill, and always recognised his right to be opposed to it, and by no means call that right in question now ; but then I wanted the nation to know this, as I want it to know all truth which is interesting to it. I thought that he was opposed to the bill ; every thing that I saw convinced me that he was opposed to it ; and if I could have doubted before, could I possibly doubt after seeing all the bishops but two vote against it ? Every man with two grains

of sense in his head must, the moment he saw that vote, have been quite sure that the King was opposed to the bill; or, at the very least, that his Majesty had expressed his determination not to make the necessary addition to the House of Peers. There was quite enough in the circumstance of the King's visiting and receiving some of the most conspicuous opponents of the bill; but, to have doubted, after this vote of the bishops, would have been to give proofs of downright idiocy. When, therefore, your Lordship came back from Windsor on the Monday, the 10th of October, after the vote of Saturday, the 8th of October, and when we were assured on the Wednesday following that you meant to retain your place, and that the King was, to make use of the expression of the Duke of Sussex to the deputation of which Mr. FEARON was one, as "*firm as a rock*," I thought that you had gone to Windsor, and had, instead of resigning, and thereby throwing the responsibility upon the King, had the real loyalty, the true patriotism, the astonishing self-command and magnanimity, to patiently argue the matter with the King, and had prevailed upon him to make the addition to the House of Peers, or, in other words, to give you the only means that existed of carrying the bill. Therefore it was that I so lauded your conduct; but it now appears, if these opinions of Dr. BLACK be correct, that you did not so prevail. I do not say that you acted wickedly or dishonourably in not resigning your place at once. So far from it, I think you would have been perfectly justified in resigning; and I go further, for I say, that it is what I myself would have done, and that, too, without any expostulation at all; for I should have looked upon myself as abandoned by the King, and should have at once acted upon that feeling. Nor do I say that you acted wickedly or dishonourably in retaining your post after you found that you could not prevail; but I am fully convinced that you acted weakly; that you exposed yourself to all the suspicions that have been afloat from that day to this, and in which I have participated

most amply. I say that you acted weakly too with regard to the good of the country, and particularly with regard to the ultimate success of the measure. If you had resigned at that time, or told the real cause, as you must do at last, the King would have seen the great instant impression produced upon the whole kingdom; and I have not the smallest doubt that a successor to you would never have been appointed; and that at this day the Reform Bill would have been passed; that we never should have heard of combinations to refuse to pay taxes, nor of any of those combinations for taking up arms, for arming the rich against the working people, which seem likely to end in the most sanguinary conflicts. However, you are now fairly tied to the stake; you have but one way out of the difficulty and disgrace; you are just going to exhibit to the world a memorable instance of the success which is the reward of resolution in a righteous cause; or of the failure and, indeed, the disgrace which seldom fail to attend a want of resolution in trying circumstances. That it may be the former, I, for the sake of my country, most sincerely wish.

I am, my Lord,  
Your most obedient  
humble servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT. *Thursday Morning.*

Since writing the above, I perceive the following article in the *Morning Chronicle* of this morning. I also am sure that the people can place reliance safely only on themselves. Here is a total change of tone since yesterday: the Ministry appear to be tossed to and fro with every blast; but before I go further, let me insert the article.

"We have authority for contradicting  
"in the most positive terms the rumour  
"of Lord Grey's resignation. We are  
"assured that the rumour is wholly  
"false; that such a resignation has  
"never been contemplated; that the  
"cabinet are firmly united, and most  
"friendly in all their intercourse with  
"one another.

"While, however, we give this un-

“qualified contradiction, we must own  
 “that we are not surprised that the ex-  
 “traordinary silence of Ministers on the  
 “subjects respecting which the people  
 “have so much reason for feeling an  
 “anxiety, should have given rise to ru-  
 “mours of changes and resignations.  
 “Ministers, we know, *express the most*  
 “*confident assurance of their ability to*  
 “*carry the bill*; their language is, if  
 “any thing, *more confident than ever*;  
 “but they cannot expect that the people,  
 “who do not possess the means of  
 “knowing on what their confidence is  
 “founded, should share it with them.  
 “The people hear the same anti-re-  
 “formers who rejected the former bill  
 “threaten as loudly as ever the rejection  
 “of the next. *They hear of intrigues*  
 “—they know that the powers of Go-  
 “vernment have, for half a century and  
 “more, been in the hands of the Tories  
 “—that their creatures are in all offices,  
 “and wield all the power of the nation;  
 “—they see Ministers *more anxious to*  
 “*have the good opinion of these Tories*  
 “*than of the reformers*—and, under such  
 “circumstances, is it wonderful that  
 “they should feel alarm? Do they ask  
 “too much when they *wish to see some*  
 “*indications of the mode in which the*  
 “*bill is to be carried*? We have heard,  
 “on good authority, of one great bo-  
 “roughmonger of the North having  
 “declared, not that he has changed his  
 “opinion respecting the bill, but that it  
 “can no longer be resisted. Lord  
 “Wharncliffe, on the other hand, has  
 “been travelling into the country in  
 “stage-coaches, to obtain evidence of  
 “re-action, and he proclaims that he  
 “has every where found the strongest  
 “evidence of it. There is really no  
 “convincing some men. It would not  
 “surprise us if Lord Tankerville, who  
 “had such a narrow escape at Don-  
 “caster, and who was obliged to travel  
 “all night with the ladies of his family  
 “in a coach greatly shattered and open  
 “to the rain, were not, after a few days’  
 “intermission, also to proclaim that the  
 “re-action had commenced. But these  
 “are the animals who have to decide  
 “the fate of England. It would be ab-  
 “surd to calculate on what they may

“be disposed to do. But of one thing  
 “*we are sure, that the people can safely*  
 “*place reliance only on themselves*. Let  
 “them prepare, that if danger comes,  
 “they may not be taken by surprise.”

There is no doubt that Dr. BLACK  
 has good authority; or, at any rate,  
 that he has been assured by some one  
 in office that Lord GREY has never in-  
 tended to resign. He may intend to be  
 put out, or turned out; and that would  
 be as good as resigning, provided that  
 he published an explicit declaration of  
 the cause of his being turned out, and  
 called by his name the person who was  
 the cause of it. It is enough for Dr.  
 BLACK to tell us that the Ministers are  
 confident of carrying the bill; and, in-  
 deed, he does not appear himself to be  
 satisfied with their expressing such con-  
 fidence; the people have no confidence,  
 at present; and hence the troubles that  
 exist all over the country. The people  
 want, as the Doctor says, some indica-  
 tions of the mode in which the bill is to  
 be carried. They see no such indica-  
 tions; and I, for my part, do not rely  
 on the authority on which Dr. BLACK  
 founds his contradiction of the report.  
 As very closely connected with this sub-  
 ject, I insert an account of the proceed-  
 ings at a meeting of the council of the  
 Metropolitan Political Union. I beg  
 my readers to pay attention to the whole  
 of the report of these proceedings, par-  
 ticularly to what is contained in the  
 speech of Mr. PLACE. He there tells  
 us that he hears from good authority  
 (and I believe his authority to be good),  
 that Parliament will not assemble very  
 speedily, and that he was sorry to say  
 that the Ministers were uncommonly  
 anxious for its meeting at a *distant day*.  
 Now, I believe Mr. PLACE to speak the  
 truth here; and, if he do speak the  
 truth, this wish of the Ministers indi-  
 cates one of two things; insincerity, or  
 want of power. Insincerity in being  
 determined to propose a bill not so good  
 for the people as the last; or want of  
 power to carry the bill that they intend  
 to propose: fear to face the people, or  
 fear to face the boroughmongers. I  
 defy any man living, who is at once  
 sensible and sincere, to come to any

other conclusion. The Ministers well know the horrible state into which the country has been plunged: they well know that every-body is anxiously looking for relief from this state; they know equally well that all but the borough-mongers and the cormorants of various descriptions are looking to the passing of the Reform Bill as the means of relief. They well know that their silence as to the intended bill has excited the strongest suspicions with regard to their intentions; they see themselves daily sinking in public estimation, in consequence of the rumours arising out of this state of uncertainty. They must be the most unfeeling creatures that ever breathed, not to wish for relief from this degraded situation; and therefore, if they do not wish for a speedy meeting of the Parliament, it is impossible to believe that they mean to propose the same bill again, or any-thing like it, or that they think that they shall be able to carry the bill, or any-thing that they intend to propose. To this conclusion every man must come, who concurs in belief with Mr. PLACE: I concur in that belief; and, therefore, to this conclusion I come; namely, that they do not intend to propose the same bill again; and that they do not expect to be able to carry such a bill if they were to propose it.

My belief is, indeed, that they intend, by some means or other, to diminish the number of voters in the great towns. I believe that this is their main object: I believe that they have correspondences, with Manchester particularly, upon the subject: and I believe that the working people will be attempted to be sacrificed as a compromise with the borough-mongers. In the bill, as it now stands, they have done every-thing that could possibly be done, to give a right of voting *nominally* to ten-pound householders, and to withhold it in reality. By the tortuous provisions of the bill, five-sixths of the real *bona-fide* ten-pound householders will not have a right to give a vote. The conditions or qualifications are so many, and so craftily contrived, that the working-people, paying ten-pound rent, will comparatively

few of them have votes: and yet this is *too much*, it seems! I verily believe, however, that this is the point upon which every-thing will turn. If this be the case; if a compromise be made by sacrificing the working people still farther, then how will those look who have been voting unlimited confidence in the Ministry: for my part, I do not confide in them for any-thing that is good. Their conduct in the affair of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE would have confirmed me in my suspicions of them, if I had not entertained those suspicions before. My opinion is, as I delivered it at Epsom, that the Parliament will be further prorogued, from time to time, until January, if not until February, and, if not until March; nor should I at all wonder if the Whigs never brought in the Reform Bill again. I have made many predictions, but never one with more confidence than I do this relative to the prorogation of the Parliament. One reason for putting off the meeting of the Parliament is, that the Ministry *know not what to do*: they know not which to be most afraid of, the people or the borough-mongers; but of the two, I dare say they fear the former most.

In the meanwhile, however, the great source of discontent goes working on. My readers will see that the second resolution of the metropolitan council says that the "*increasing stagnation of trade*, occasioned by the rejection of the Reform Bill, renders it more than ever necessary to support the Ministers in carrying the bill by which they are pledged to stand or fall." They have lost the bill; and they have broken their pledge; and it appears to me a most monstrous absurdity in the people to pledge themselves to support them any longer, unless they will tell the people what they are about to do. It is a prodigious mistake to think that the cause of reform derives any benefit from Lord GREY's remaining in power. On the contrary, his remaining in power, and drawing the thing along in this manner, is the very thing that the borough-mongers ought to wish, and which, I dare say, they do wish. He is a very



good collector of taxes for them; and why should they wish to turn him out. He shows no disposition to abolish tithes or abolish taxes; and it is these to which the borough-mongers are attached. If they could be assured that a reformed Parliament would leave the pension-list, the sinecures, the grants, the retired allowances, the dead-weight, the military and naval academies, the standing army, the taxes and the tithes, untouched; if they could be assured of this, they would not hesitate a moment in agreeing to the Reform Bill; and, therefore, as long as Lord Grey shows not the smallest disposition to touch any of these; as long as he looks upon these "institutions of the country" as sacred and inviolable, so long will the borough-mongers gladly suffer him to remain in power.

But, the "increasing stagnation of trade" of which the Metropolitan Council speak in their second resolution, will steadily go on, in spite of every thing that can be done, whether by Whig or by Tory. Doubtless the rejection of the Reform Bill may have added something to the stagnation; but the great cause was *PEEL'S BILL*, with which, by the by, these amiable Whigs have never reproached him, recollecting, probably, that they themselves, with Solomon GARNVILLE and enlightened HOBBS at their head, were the very first movers in the series of projects which finally ended in that destructive bill. It is that bill, however, not accompanied by other measures, which is producing the stagnation of trade; and this stagnation will go on providing fuel for the flame which *WALLINGTON* kindled in 1830, and which has been nursed and kept alive by the shilly-shally Whigs and their paltering with parliamentary reform. For my part, I give it as my decided opinion, that, after another year of paltering, there will be real confidence in no man in power; that ruin will become so widely spread as to make nineteen-twentieths of the people of property pretty nearly without property; that the tax and the tithe-receivers will have grasped nearly everything, and that the nation, by one convulsive movement,

will shake the whole fabric to atoms; unless some man with energy and honesty necessary to the task, should step forward and rescue the throne and all the real institutions of the country from total destruction. Our statesmen are so engaged in high matters, that nothing short of a castle, a Bishop's Palace, a Custom-house, or an Excise-office in flames, seems to be worthy of their attention. When I have inserted the report of the proceedings above-mentioned in the Metropolitan Council, I will insert, from the newspapers, intelligence relative to *other sort of fires*, which intelligence I shall introduce by a letter to my prosecutor, Sir THOMAS DENMAN, and which letter I give him free leave to take to Nottingham, as a testimonial, when he shall next offer himself as a member for that fine and high-spirited town.

A meeting of the Council took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern yesterday evening, Mr. Churchill having been voted to the chair. Previous to our entering, it had been moved and seconded, that "The laws relating to Political Unions (inserted in the *Chronicle* of yesterday) should be adopted and printed," and on our entering, Mr. Rogers was debating their propriety. Mr. Wakefield said, that besides being prepared by the Sub-committee, he had the sanction of Mr. Austin and Mr. Kelly as to their legality and validity—gentlemen whose professional abilities no one would attempt (without the expense of risking his own character) to deny or depreciate. It was not sought, he said, to know what laws had not been contravened by the regulations or resolutions of the Political Unions, but that they had acted in contradiction or opposition to none.

Mr. WAKEFIELD again begged leave to present himself to the meeting, and trusted he should have their attention, while he hoped they would not consider him too intrusive, considering he had been appointed the reporter or spokesman of the Sub-committee, or Committee of Management. He held in his hand four resolutions, which had been prepared by the Business Committee, and entrusted to him to propose. These resolutions I shall now, he said, beg leave to read:—

"Resolved, 1. That all true reformers ought to rally round the throne, at the present crisis, and support the King in his attempt to wrest the liberties of the people from the borough-mongers' grasp.

"2. That the increasing stagnation of trade, and the nearly-exhausted patience of

the nation, occasioned by the rejection of the Reform Bill, convince this Council that it is more than ever imperative to support his Majesty's Ministers in effecting the great measure by which they have pledged themselves to stand or fall.

"3. That if the arts of a faction should triumph over a patriot King and his present Ministry, this Council will not listen to any illusory promises of reform that a Tory or any other Ministry may proffer to a disappointed people.

"4. That if the enemies of the people should succeed in producing anarchy and confusion, this Council will devise means by which the members of the Union may effectually protect their own lives and properties, and establish the liberties of the country."

Having read the resolutions, Mr. Wakefield moved that they be adopted by the Council. This being seconded,

Mr. ROGERS took the opportunity of remarking on two or three expressions used in the laws relating to the National Political Unions. It was there said, that "during the administration of Lord Castlereagh, the liberties of the people—which had been very much abridged during the administration of Mr. Pitt—were thought to be still too great; and it was concluded, that the more the intelligence and consequent good conduct of the people increased, the greater was the necessity to destroy their rights and liberties; and that an act was therefore passed with this intention, subjecting all political societies to the penalties of the Act 39th Geo. III." Now the increase of intelligence, and consequent good conduct of the people, he thought a very extraordinary reason for affording the necessity of destroying their rights and liberties, and that therefore a special act should be passed to entrench and confine them, and subject them to additional penalties. Again (said Mr. Rogers) I must object to the third resolution now read, which says, that this Council will not listen to any promises of illusory reform which a Tory Ministry may proffer to the people. Now I am willing to receive good political or moral reform in any shape from any source. I would not bind myself to any men or Ministry. Measures, not men, is, or should be our motto.

Mr. PLACE contended that the opinion given of the increase of mental and moral character, as objected to by Mr. Rogers, was not the opinion legally given by the professional men who formed part of the Sub-committee, but that it was the opinion expressed in Parliament during the discussion of the Act alluded to; because, as it was then asserted, that the people had got increased intelligence—that is, political knowledge, discretion, or (if preferred) cunning, whereby they could evade any Act which had previously passed; the intelligence had been presumed, and the Act accordingly passed. But in the laws relating to the Political Unions (which he acknowledged he had been instrumental in getting inserted in the

*Chronicle of to-day*), the reason assigned was considered a simple declaration, not a legal opinion.

The Rev. Mr. Fox cordially concurred in the spirit of the resolutions now proposed for the sanction of the Committee, and that the objection which Mr. Rogers had made to the 3d resolution was valid, and might be obviated by a few grammatical transpositions of the words. "Illusory promises of Reform" (as it originally stood) might be altered to "promises of illusory reform;" for the promise of reform might not delude, yet the reform itself might certainly be illusory. Again, the phrase "Tory Ministry" (as in the original resolution) he would alter to "Tory or any other Ministry."

After some sensible observations concerning the opinion Mr. Rogers referred to as being considered in the light of legal opinion, or a simple declaration of a public political body, without regard to the professions of the persons composing that body, from Mr. Murphy, Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Wainford, and Mr. Powel, it was unanimously agreed, that with the emendations proposed by Mr. Fox, the resolutions should be adopted.

Mr. WAKEFIELD hoped that these resolutions would disabuse the public mind concerning the stigmas endeavoured to be cast upon the Political Unions—that they endeavoured to coerce public opinion by animal or numerical power, rather than by moral force. They would put this society in particular, right in public opinion, and rectify the mistaken views in which it had been endeavoured to be placed before the public eye. It wished to act from reason rather than compulsion—it wished to induce and invite all classes, of every denomination and rank, having moral influence and integrity, to join their standard, and enlist themselves as compatriots under their banners, so as to form a congregated body, so compact and condensed by intelligent union, that they would be unassailable alike either by friends or foes—that they would afford no grounds of cavilling to the sophist, and no basis of hesitation to any class of persons seeking political power as the basis of moral influence and proper elevation of rank in society to join their Union. The Committee felt it their duty to declare that the basis of their Union was political concord, as well as determination to obtain the ends for which their Unions had ostensibly been established. He then moved that the resolutions formerly sanctioned should be printed.

Mr. MURPHY very ably contended for the same, and was happy to second the motion on the present opportunity, from the peculiar necessity now afforded by the wavering aspects of the political world. The prejudice against these Unions existed unwarrantably, because unreasonably. The Unions should persevere determinately, through evil report as well as good. The mass of the people should not trust to any extraneous or adventitious power; they should act co-ordinately and united—trust to

their own personal exertions, if they hoped the beneficial events of their contest should be personal. They wanted a Government good and cheap; and he trusted that the union of all classes, without any invidious distinction, would eventually produce the results anxiously sought; would have the effect of removing every prejudice from the timid and misled—that since no objection could be legally or reasonably adduced against the existence of political associations like their Unions—and that all friends of order and good government would shortly be found enumerated in their society, and embodied together for the welfare of all. Political Unions should be established on a broad, if intended to be on a permanent basis; they should embrace all, and be no respecters of persons. He trusted that other Branch Unions would extensively be formed in town and country, and combined with the parent stock as the branches of a tree with its trunk.

A desultory conversation then took place concerning the propriety of preparing an address to the public, founded on those resolutions, in which

Mr. ROGERS considered it more prudent to wait for some time, and content themselves with the resolutions alone; that they might shortly have reasons—from the rumoured changes in the Ministry anticipated by some, and apprehended by more—for founding a different address, if not on different principles, at least supported by different arguments; he saw no necessity (he said) for embarrassing themselves with resolutions on declarations, and addresses on resolutions; affairs might shortly assume a new aspect from the expected meeting of Parliament—a new character and tone might be given to passing events as well as principles or opinions and determination; and even should not the change anticipated in the popular representation or apprehended in the Ministry take place, there was prudence in the delay, and not accumulating too many addresses and resolutions; and plastering the walls with placards to give the mean or malicious the pleasure of throwing their mud over our works, or defacing our publications. One pill at a time is enough—pills or medicine in any form should be administered successively, not simultaneously.

Mr. PLACE was afraid Mr. Rogers, with others, was too sanguine in anticipating the expected meeting of Parliament soon; and though such a circumstance "was a consummation devoutly to be wished," he was afraid that he could miserably underceive all with regard to that point; for he had heard, from sources whose intelligence or veracity he could not doubt, that the time for the meeting of Parliament was not fixed or determined—that the Ministers intended to hold a meeting this week, for the purpose of resolving upon or appointing the time when the Parliament would again be convoked; but he was sorry to say, he had every reason to believe or be assured that the Ministers ardently and anxiously

expected or longed for a long day. He did not want to add address to address, or to declaration, or resolution, unnecessarily, but thought it indispensable that they should be vigilant and active; and that however they might hope for the best, they should be provided against the worst.

Mr. BOWYER seemed anxious that an address should be prepared from the resolutions, and printed in the most convenient form, for the benefit of the working classes; and he thought that though the resolutions lately approved and adopted, were sufficiently distinct and accurate, and capable of being understood by many, if not most of the people, he could not but consider the form of an address would be more popular, and read by the body of the working classes at large.

Mr. ROGERS again could not but consider the propriety of husbanding their resources; after what Mr. PLACE had informed them, there was no necessity for a flaming declaration, expressing, perhaps, without reason, unlimited confidence in any men or Ministry. They were pledged to measures, and they should measure them accordingly, and gradually adopt measures as circumstances compelled.

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## "USEFUL KNOWLEDGE."

WHAT I am now going to communicate will do more good in one single day, than Lord BROUGHAM AND VAUX's books will ever do till the very last moment that a sheet of them shall be kept out of the hands of the trunk-maker, or preserved by accident from still less honourable uses. To a very considerable part of grown-up men, the complaint which is called RUPTURE is but too well known; and the frequency of the exhibition of TRUSSES in the shop-windows proves to us not only the extent of the prevalence of the complaint, but also the importance attached to its cure. The complaint is purely mechanical; it consists of the dislocation, or displacing, of a part of the human frame; and purely mechanical is the remedy. The remedy, and the sole remedy, consists of a TRUSS, as it is called, to keep constantly in its place the part displaced. There are a great variety of trusses, some better than others; that is, more effectual and less inconvenient; and, to great numbers of persons, it is of great importance to know which sort is the best; and I, being in a situation to com-

municate that knowledge to my readers, know it to be my bounden duty to do it.

Twenty-two years ago, I, being out a shooting, jumped from a bank, full ten feet high, into the field below, and thereby produced, by the violence of the shock, something that gave me very great pain, but of the nature of which I knew nothing. I came to London and applied to the late Mr. CHEVALIER, the surgeon, who directed me to get a truss, which I did. And here I gladly stop to acknowledge the only good I, and, I believe, any other human creature, ever received at the hands of *Old Daddy Burdett*. Having told him what had brought me to town, "Well," said he, "when you have put a truss 'on, never leave it off on the belief 'that you no longer want it;'" a precept which he made effectual by relating to me the cause of the sudden and premature death of *Francis, Duke of Bedford*, who, thinking his rupture gone for ever, threw the truss aside; but, in playing at Fives, a sudden twist of his body brought on the complaint again, and, sending for a surgeon to London, instead of calling in him of the village, a mortification took place, and he slept with his fathers in a few hours. Many times, especially in hot weather, I have, by this advice, and especially by the illustration, of *Daddy Burdett*, been prevented from risking the fate of the Duke of Bedford!

My complaint has been of very little consequence to me, except at particular times. I have ridden on horseback, and done every thing that I should have done, if nothing at all had ailed me. But *coughing* is very untoward in such a case; and I have at times, especially in November and April, a *constitutional and hereditary* cough, which I have had in every year that I can remember of my life, and which is always more violent and of longer duration in London than any where else. It is not a cough of the *lungs*, but merely of the *throat*; but it causes a violent *shaking* of the whole of the body, and at these times I have always, until *May last*, experienced considerable inconvenience, and occasionally a great

deal of pain. I have found it painful (and it is a nasty, gnawing, villanous pain!) to stand for an hour or two at a time; and this sometimes annoyed me exceedingly during my *lecturing expeditions*.

When I expected the *WHIG TRIAL* to come on, in May last, (Oh! the manifold blessings of that trial!), the only thing that gave me uneasiness was, the fear that I should not be able to stand for three or four hours, to lay the lash on well upon Denman and his masters, I having at that time one of my *periodical coughs*. In order to get rid of this fear, which harassed me continually, I resolved, about a week before the expected trial, to go to Bolt-court, and never to quit it again, till I had found out some one to furnish me with a truss which should be efficient for its purpose, even in these seasons of coughing. As I was going I amused myself in reading Mr. CARPENTER'S *POLITICAL LETTER*, for the publication of which the *Whigs* have him now in the King's Bench, and from which they did not think (forgetful, kind souls!) of releasing him at the coronation, as all crown debtors were at the former coronation. In this paper I read the advertisement of Mr. COLES, Truss-maker, of *Charing-Cross*; and as I had tried seven or eight before, I at once sent for Mr. COLES; and the result has been that my complaint is as completely removed as if I had never known of any thing of the kind; and could I have forgotten the precept of the venerable *DANNY BURDETT*, and more especially the fate of the Duke of Bedford, I should have thrown away the truss months ago. Oh! how rejoiced was I when I felt that I should be able to stand at my ease for the hours that I destined for the belabouring of the *Whigs*! I could not (if I had had a cough), without the aid of Mr. Coles, have given them the *four hours and a half*, which were worth more to them (if they turn them to good account) than all the rest of their lives.

I should have mentioned this matter before, but my April cough was nearly gone before Mr. Coles had done the

truss ; and I was not visited with another till late in September ; and I wanted this *fair trial* before I spoke of the matter. I have now had the trial ; and it would be a very shameful neglect of my " duty towards my neighbour," for me not to tell the public that I find the remedy perfect ; and that I can now scarcely perceive, whether with a cough or without a cough, the smallest signs of my ever having had such a complaint. But am I not here, in doing bare *justice* to Mr. Coles, doing him an *injury*, by driving from his shop the tax and tithe-eaters, who will have a "*prejudice*" (that is, a *villany*) against him for the good he has done to me ? No ; hang it ; they like their worthless lives too well for that. However, my sensible readers, pay you (if you should need it) attention to what I have said ; and let the tithe and tax-eaters creep along through life with all the twitches and achings of this harassing complaint, and under all the pains and penalties inflicted on them by the awkward, heavy, cumbrous and still inefficient things which bungling mechanics put round their bodies. One thing bear in mind ; and that is, that this is a matter with which surgeons and physicians have nothing to do, any more than they have with the providing us with suitable *shoes or coats*. As Mr. CHEVALIER told me, the complaint is truly *mechanical* ; and the application of the remedy must depend on the mechanic solely, just as much as the fitting of a coat must depend on the tailor. Here, however, more cleverness is required ; the mechanic must be able to judge well as to the degree of force required ; and he must have great ability in causing the pressure to bear in a proper manner. The moment I heard Mr. Coles speak upon the subject, I was sure he was the man : his observations showed a knowledge of his business ; and the result has most amply verified my opinion. I never saw Mr. Coles before, and I have never seen him since, except to call and thank him. What I have said of him here is but justice, which I do with very great pleasure, while, as to the rest, I am only discharging a duty to the pub-

lic in general, and to my readers in particular. I add this piece of advice to people in the country : *not to write to London* for a truss any sooner than for a coat or a pair of breeches ; not to plague a surgeon to order one ; but to go to the mechanic in person ; and let him fit the force and the form to the necessity of the case.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

SIR THOMAS DENMAN, KNIGHT,  
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Kennington, 17th November, 1831.

SIR,

MORE fires, notwithstanding the special commissions, and notwithstanding I remain an unlecturing individual in this hellish wen instead of being engaged in talking to "*a good many peppet at Batel*;" but before I go further, suffer me to congratulate you, not only on the magnitude, but on the extension of your fame, which, by means of your and my trial, has by this time reached every part of the United States of America, the report of the trial having been republished at New York, in the month of September, and copies of it having been received in London in the month of October. I would send you a copy, only the preface may be libellous ; for though written and published in New York, it would be a crime to publish it here ; and, you know, to send a book, or show a book, to a man is to *publish* it. The editor of the edition does not, indeed, speak of you in very flattering terms ; and nothing short of positive praise is free from the charge of libel, if it name any man who has the power to prosecute, and who chooses to exercise that power. If I belaboured the Whigs, the American writers belabour them still more, there being no one epithet descriptive of insincerity and injustice which they do not apply to that faction ; and there, where men speak their minds freely, there seems to be no doubt with any man, that of the two factions, the Tories are the least bad.

Having despatched this matter, let me

now come to the fires that are blazing all over the country. There have been within this month, not less than seventeen in Wiltshire, though the London papers are as silent upon the subject as if they were listening to a sermon. At last the *Morning Chronicle* seems to have been ashamed to hold its peace any longer; and in an article contained in that paper of this day, there is a list of the blazes. When I have inserted this list, I have an observation or two to add, with regard to the cause and the remedy.

Between eight and nine o'clock, on Wednesday evening last, many persons were alarmed in Boston by the cry of "Fire!" which was shouted by a man who was on horseback, and who galloped towards the church for the fire-engines. Upon inquiry, we learned that the fire was upon Mr. Samuel Everard's farm, at Hubbert's Bridge, in the parish of Brothertoft, and nearly five miles from Boston. The flames were distinctly visible at Boston, and illuminated the horizon. Great numbers of persons left this town for the spot; upon arriving there at half-past ten o'clock, we found an immense mass of fire—the substance then consuming having originally formed a wheat-stack, most of which had fallen upon the bank of the drain adjoining the farm-yard, and was there smoking and smouldering to ashes. Fortunately the evening was quite serene; for, had there been any wind, a number of other stacks in the yard must have fallen a prey to the devouring flames. Besides the Bostonians, a number of persons had assembled from the surrounding cottages, and most of the respectable farmers of Swineshead and the vicinity were present. C. K. Tunnard, Esq., a magistrate of the division, attended, and exerted himself in the due direction of the proper means for subduing the flames. At one time more than one thousand persons were on the spot, including, we regret to say, many whose motives appeared to be anything but honest. Some were drawn thither by idle curiosity, and who contented themselves with being silent spectators of the scene; while others, actuated by a more worthy motive, exerted themselves in suppressing the fire. We learned that the fire was first discovered between seven and eight o'clock; it commenced in a wheat-stack, which formed the first of a line of corn-stacks, and adjoining which, on one side, was a stack of fine old hay. Besides this property, a large barn and a farm-house were put in jeopardy. The early discovery of the fire, and the prompt attendance of an engine from Boston, prevented the flames spreading far beyond the place where the stacks were originally ignited; at one time, indeed, the fire

had extended itself to the adjoining wheat stack, but the water from the engine being directed to that part, the fire was extinguished there. The old hay-stack had a very remarkable appearance; the fire, no doubt, communicated to it at an early period, and the whole of the interior was gradually consumed, while a mere shell of hay, being wet on the outside, prevented the fire from being seen, except in some few spots where the glowing embers shone through. As there appeared at one time symptoms of the wind rising, it was deemed expedient to send for another engine from Boston, which arrived between eleven and twelve. Many of the labourers looked on with the utmost apathy, and never offered to lend their aid, while others exerted themselves to the utmost. An immoderate quantity of ale, distributed on the spot, did infinite mischief, and we have heard that some quarrels and fighting ensued about four o'clock in the morning. The engines kept the fire under, the flames gradually died away, and at two o'clock the fire presented a scene of red ashes, which cooled during the morning, and on Thursday the fire was totally extinguished. We understand that Mr. Everard had reduced the wages of his labourers, which had excited considerable dissatisfaction. He now resides at Gosberton, but was at Stamford on Wednesday; he arrived at the fire between eleven and twelve o'clock, in a state of natural agitation. He was insured. The damage has been estimated at from 300*l.* to 400*l.* No doubt it was the work of an incendiary.

On Wednesday evening a fire broke out, about seven o'clock, in a large barn, close to the Mansfield turnpike-road, and beyond Daybrook; the flames raged furiously, and by half past eight o'clock the roof fell in, above one hundred quarters of corn, the property of Mrs. Frignall, being burnt. The building was formerly a part of the premises of Messrs. Davison and Hawksley of Arnold Mill. There is every reason to suspect that the fire was not accidental.

On Wednesday evening, the 2d instant, about six o'clock, a fire broke out in the stack-yard belonging to Mrs. Mitchinson, a poor widow woman, at Hacheby, near Falkingham, which consumed a straw-stack, and a large stack of oats, containing about sixty quarters. Much praise is due to the tradesmen and labourers of Oshournby, who were indefatigable in their exertions, and who did not quit the scene until about two o'clock on Thursday morning, by which time they had succeeded in totally extinguishing the fire. It is not doubted that the conflagration was occasioned by an incendiary. Unhappily, the property was not insured.

On Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, a fire, no doubt the act of an incendiary, was observed on the land of Mr. Abraham Culy, Guyhim, in the parish of Wisbech St. Mary, which consumed a straw-stack, and the principal part of a threshing-machine belonging to an industrious man named Burrows. The

corn was fortunately removed; and the machine filled with straw, and covered with some combustible material, which was discovered after the fire.

On Monday evening, soon after five o'clock, the atmosphere west of Bingham was most brilliantly illuminated until half-past seven; incendiarianism was suspected to be the cause, and it was soon found to be too just a suspicion. Five stacks of barley (the produce of 20 acres, and estimated to contain 100 qrs. of grain), and two of beans (grown on eight acres, calculated at 40 qrs.), together with an adjoining hovel, all the property of Mr. Richard Butler, a respectable farmer of Radcliffe, about four miles from Bingham, but which stood in that part of the field which is a little more than two miles from the latter town, were totally consumed. It is not doubted that the calamity was caused wilfully. Happily no lives were lost; but it was to be regretted that Mr. Sheppard, in the corn trade, from Hull (formerly of Boston), was passing near in his gig, and took up a stout farming man to render all assistance possible, and, owing to the darkness of the night, in crossing the fields to get to the fire, Mr. Sheppard was thrown out of his gig, and much hurt. He was taken up senseless, and conveyed to the village in a hopeless state.

On Monday night, between ten and eleven o'clock, a large stubble stack, belonging to Mr. Samuel Barrow, of Kegworth, was set on fire by some incendiary, and entirely consumed.

On Friday night, the 4th instant, a barn belonging to Mr. Gilbert, farmer, of Barshy, near Melton Mowbray, was wilfully set on fire and destroyed. On the following Sunday afternoon, between four and five o'clock, a barn and a stack of oats were discovered to be on fire on the premises of Mr. Black, of Ashby Folville, near Melton; they also were completely destroyed. And on Monday night several stacks of corn were fired and consumed at Seagrave, in the same neighbourhood.

DOVER, Nov. 15.—Only one day has passed since the incendiary fire at the Elm Farm and this neighbourhood has again witnessed the midnight torch of devastation. About four o'clock this morning a fire was seen from these hills to be raging at some distance, towards the north, and continued till some time after daylight. We are informed that the Parsonage-house, at Eastry, near Sandwich, was the scene of the devastation, and that several stacks of corn were consumed. It is also reported that the neighbourhood of Eastry is in a very anxious state. "We hope the higher orders will consider, before it is too late, that the lower classes are indeed their brethren; and that haughtiness and contempt, which have too long been falsely considered as marks of superior importance, will give place to the nobler feelings of kindness and compassion. Let the poor be treated, at least, with that civility that is due from one man to another; and

"let them be convinced, by every mark of dutiful attention, that their distresses are not disregarded by their wealthier neighbours, but that they are really desirous to see them happy and comfortable. This would induce the lower orders—I mean those who are not the slaves of wickedness and vice—to look up, with proper respect, to the higher orders, as their natural friends and protectors; and would raise a bulwark of strength against the disorders and divisions which now threaten our distracted country with ruin and confusion."

PAST SIX O'CLOCK.—An express has just arrived from Eastry, for the military, who have left the garrison on coaches and other vehicles in the utmost haste. Another fire, they say, is now raging, and a mob is collecting near it. Other reports say a number have been taken into custody, and a rescue is apprehended, or further mischief.

One cannot read the account of soldiers travelling post in Kent without calling to mind the words of Mr. HOBBS when he presented some petitions in favour of reform early in the month of March last or late in February. His words were these:—"In presenting these petitions I took the opportunity of expressing the sincere pleasure I felt in being enabled to state that the disturbances, which had first commenced in the county of Kent, had wholly subsided, and I trusted that nothing would occur to re-excite them. —In saying this, however, I begged to state my entire conviction that the continuance of the tranquillity, not of that county only, but of the whole kingdom, mainly depended on the successful issue of the great question of reform."

This prediction, if it had extended to all England, would have been verified. The fact is this, the farmers rose the wages to a point still short of what the men ought to have had; but to a point which they could not without ruin maintain, without a great reduction of tithes and of taxes. From a parliamentary reform they expected this reduction to come. Believing, as I do, that there will be no efficient reform at all, by peaceable means, they are now endeavouring to reduce the wages; and as the men do not like to be condemned to death and transported for life for rioting,

and for "*highway robbery*," in taking four copper pennies from a farmer by means of threats, or bullying; as they do not like to be hanged, for giving a blow, unattended by bodily harm, to an employer who comes and takes them by the collar; as they do not like these, they resort to the silent and undetectable use of that element which is proverbially the best of servants and the worst of masters, and which presents itself to them in the knife that they carry in their pockets and in the flint which they trample under their feet. I warned you of the inefficacy of any other measures than those of conciliation with regard to this *race of men*, against whose revenge there is no defence any more than there is efficacy in the measures of "*Charley*" Pearson to preserve us against the cholera morbus. It is curious that you had half a mind to prosecute me for the very *Twopenny-Trash* which contained this warning. But, at any rate, there are the fires; and though I must not say that they have done good, you will hardly disagree with me when I say that they have brought forth, subjoined to the article of intelligence from Dover, some observations which never would have been made had it not been for these fires. The observations are very just: they are such as I have been in the constant habit of making during the whole course of my life; but never would they have been made, had it not been for the terror excited by the fires. I have counted, in the country papers, a hundred and forty-three fires since about the middle of October; and there have not been forty of them mentioned in the London newspapers. Every farmer leads a life of terror; and yet not a single incendiary is detected. Deceived, indeed, are you and your Whig colleagues, if you think that the labourers are ignorant with regard to what is going on in London, and with regard to the manner in which it affects their interests. It is you that are the ignorant men, and not they. They know very well what are the causes of their suffering. The only mode of conciliation which would have been effectual was that mode which I pointed out to you in

*Two-penny Trash*, No. 8, of Volume I. And the chief thing pointed out to you was a free pardon to all the labourers who were still at home, and to bring back those who had been already sent away, and give them a free pardon also. You were upon your high horse when that advice was offered you: your horse is not quite so high now; but you will not adopt that measure; and yet, unless you do adopt it, you will never, as I told you to your faces, see the rural population in a state of content again. What a grand figure you made with WILDE at your elbow, when you were prosecuting Cooper and Cook, and poor farmer Boyes. Can you now look at Nottingham without thinking on Hampshire? If you can, you are thoughtless indeed. You came back boasting that your Special Commissions had tranquillized the country. Have they tranquillized it? Look at the state of the counties whence comes the intelligence of the blazes above-described, and then review your boastings in the House of Commons.

To conclude, let me once more tell you and your colleagues that you will never tranquillize the country except by the measures recommended by me. The "*vigorous Ministry*" to which you belong have shown vigour but in two things, namely, in the Special Commissions, and their prosecutions of the press. The bull-frog farmers who chuckled at the success of the Special Commissions, who delighted in the transportings and the hangings, begin to feel that all did not end there; and the low and reverential bows that they made to you and to WILDE, would now, if you were to see them again, be turned into something which I do not choose to describe.

WM. COBBETT.

## BRISTOL.

I insert here an official account, given by the Mayor of Bristol, of the late transactions in that city. He writes a letter to the Editor of the *Bristol*



MAYOR, and sends to him for publication his own official account, made to the Secretary of State, together with all the documents to which that account alludes. My readers will find the whole of it very interesting; especially that part which relates to the conduct of the soldiers.

*Council-house, Bristol, Nov. 14.*

Mr. Editor,—A fortnight has now passed since the distressing scenes took place in the city of Bristol, which will long mark Sunday, the 30th of October, in the memory of those who witnessed them. During the interval which has elapsed, the magistrates and their officers have been occupied almost without intermission in satisfying the numerous claims upon their attention, which the apprehension of persons charged with offences, the recovery and reservation of abstracted property, and other matters of continual and pressing occurrence, presented.

It is hoped that the candour of by far the greatest part of their fellow-citizens has, in the mean time, spared them from the censure and reproach which others, in ignorance of the facts, and without materials for judgment, have thrown upon them; their complete vindication must be left to that full and fair inquiry by which, whether it be called down upon them by adverse application, or may take place under any other circumstances, they feel that justice will eventually be done to all, and by the result of which they are contented to abide. In the meantime the enclosed copies of two letters sent by the magistrates on the 4th November, one of them with the Appendix to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the other to the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces, (a copy of which last letter was also sent to Colonel Brereton,) will serve to convey an outline of the principal circumstances as they occurred, and which, it being ten days since the documents were transmitted to the respective offices, the magistrates think they may now, without impropriety, lay before the public; reserving the full detail of particulars for the proper time and occasion, and wishing to refrain altogether from comment. The magistrates, nevertheless, consider it necessary to notice a letter from Captain Codrington to the Secretary of State, which has been very generally published in the newspapers. The facts appear to be these:—Captain Codrington's troop arrived soon after the firing of the Bishop's Palace, where some of the magistrates had gone from the Council-house, as stated in their letter to the Secretary of State, and had in the result been separated by the rush of the mob.

The approach of the troops, on entering the city, was communicated by the messenger who had been dispatched for them to one of the magistrates of the Council-house, who

immediately went to make arrangements for getting their billets. When the officer called at the Council-house, he was directed to the commanding officer's station, in the College-green, to report himself. Shortly afterwards, an officer called at the Council-house, from Colonel Brereton, to ask for a magistrate, and was told the Colonel should hear from the Council-house in five minutes; within that time, a call was made at the Colonel's office, in College-green. He was not at home, and no directions could be obtained where to find him. In about half an hour from this time, the letter in the Appendix, No. 5, and also billets for the troop, were left at the Colonel's office; the troop had, in the mean time, gone from College-green to the livery-stables, in College-street, where the 14th Light Dragoons had been stationed, and where, in the presence of Colonel Brereton, the same accommodation was offered to this troop which the 14th Light Dragoons had received there; but, whilst the lights were being placed in the stables, they went away and left the city.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

CHARLES PINNEY, Mayor.

*Council-house, Bristol, Nov. 4.*

My Lord,—The jail-delivery having been fixed for Saturday, the 29th of October, it soon became evident to the magistrates, as well from reports circulated in the city, and placards upon the walls, as also from paragraphs in the newspapers, expressing the disapprobation of the friends of reform with respect to Sir Charles Wetherell's conduct in Parliament, that a strong public feeling would be excited against him, and that this might be expected to manifest itself on his arrival and during his stay in the city. The magistrates, therefore, took into their consideration the propriety of making a communication to Sir Charles on the subject, and of submitting to him whether, under the circumstances, it would be advisable to postpone the jail-delivery. A deputation accordingly waited upon him in London, to make this representation and ascertain his decision; and in case it should be determined to hold the jail-delivery, to make a communication to the Secretary of State, and request that a military force might be sent to assist and support the civil authorities in protecting the city, and preserving the public peace. It having been decided upon that the jail-delivery ought to be held as usual, the proposed application was at once made to your Lordship, and your Lordship having assented to the views of the magistrates, but wishing to see the deputation again on the subject, you were accordingly waited upon by them and Sir Charles Wetherell on the following day. Your Lordship having then sanctioned the opinion of the magistrates as to the propriety of holding the jail-delivery in the usual form, and having directed that troops should be sent to the vicinity of the city, and placed under the orders of the ma-

gistrates, upon the express understanding, however, that their services should not be required except in case of actual necessity, and the failure of the civil power to maintain the peace, the magistrates immediately took such measures as appeared to be necessary for increasing the constabulary force.

Upon application to the inhabitants of the several wards, their returns were insufficient for the number required, and such deficiency was immediately supplied by engaging hired constables for the purpose; the whole, with the sheriffs' officers, amounted to about 300 men. On Thursday, the 27th, the magistrates issued and published the address contained in the Appendix, No. 1. On the 29th, the Sheriffs met the Recorder at 10 in the forenoon, (being much earlier than the usual hour,) at the distance of about one mile from the Guildhall, and much nearer to it than the usual place of meeting.

These precautions, which were adopted in the hope that they might lessen the difficulties of Sir Charles coming in, had not altogether the desired effect; the number of persons assembled was much larger than upon former occasions, and considerable tumult and pressure took place. Sir Charles was assailed with violent groans, hisses, and other strong expressions of disapprobation, and occasionally by stones thrown at him, from the time of his being first received by the sheriffs to his arrival at the Guildhall, and again in proceeding from thence to the Mansion-house, after having completed the usual formalities of reading the charter and adjourning the Court. In passing from one place to another, the constables experienced great pressure and annoyance, and were frequently struck with stones, and several of them were considerably wounded.

They, however, performed the duty assigned to them, and Sir Charles reached the Mansion-house in perfect safety, about noon. The crowd assembled in front of the Mansion-house continued there for some hours, without any indication of riot, except by expressing their disapprobation as they before had done, and by occasional skirmishes which took place when the constables endeavoured to apprehend persons in the act of throwing stones, or to disperse those who showed a disposition to be more forward than the others. This state of things having continued until nearly dusk, the numbers from time to time varying, and their behaviour being occasionally more or less tumultuous, and it appearing some of them had, in the mean time, provided themselves with sticks, the Mayor, accompanied by the magistrates, went out in front of the Mansion-house and addressed the people, remonstrating with them on the impropriety of their conduct, pointing out to them the danger of persisting in it, earnestly entreating them to disperse and go home quietly, and stating to them the necessity of the magistrates using stronger measures, unless this recommendation should have the desired effect. Stones were thrown

at the magistrates while this address was being made, one of which struck the person who was standing next to the Mayor, and knocked off his hat. But the earnest desire of the magistrates to abstain from using force until the last possible moment, prevented them from having recourse to it until some time had elapsed. About 5 o'clock, however, upon the approach of evening, the number of people appearing to be considerably increased, and their conduct becoming greatly more violent, the doors and windows of the Mansion-house having been attacked with stones, and several of the constables having been brought in severely wounded, the Riot Act was read, and this appearing to have no effect, an order was sent to the troops, who had been before directed to hold themselves in readiness, to come at once to the scene of action.

In the interval of more than half an hour, which took place before their arrival, the Mayor, and those who were with him in the Mansion-house, were in the greatest personal danger. The people on the outside had driven in the constables, torn up the iron-railing in front of the house, and with stones and large pieces of timber battered in the windows and window-frames and the panels of the doors, and were with the greatest difficulty prevented from forcing a complete entrance, by having the windows and doors barricaded with beds and furniture; they had entered into the dining-room and another room on the ground floor, and destroyed the contents, and had made such a breach in the large street-door, as enabled them to rake and sweep the hall with stones and large bars of wood; and they had, as it appears, provided and placed straw in the dining-room for the apparent purpose of setting fire to the house. Upon the appearance of the soldiers, the people withdrew from the attack, but did not disperse; and directions were given to Colonel Brereton, who came to the magistrates for orders, to get the streets cleared; they, however, still continued to occupy the courts of the adjoining houses and the corners of the square, near the Mansion-house, in considerable numbers, throwing stones at the windows and at the 14th Dragoons, two of whom were brought in wounded. Colonel Brereton came in from time to time to report to the magistrates, and it appeared, from his statement, that the people were in very good humour, that he had been shaking hands with them until his own arm was tired, that their number was lessening, and that he should disperse them by merely riding the troops about. It appeared, however, to the magistrates, that their number was rather increasing than diminishing, and that their conduct was tumultuous and violent, as they still continued to assail the house by throwing stones, and attempted to force their way into the kitchen and other parts of the building; and the magistrates considered it necessary to have the people dispersed. Colonel Brereton was asked if he had any directions which prevented him

from acting under the orders of the magistrates, and answered that his orders were to be under their directions; upon which he was told that the magistrates required him to clear the streets. The people were soon after driven from the square, without any cut or wound being inflicted; and they retreated to the neighbouring streets, in one of which the soldiers of the 14th Dragoons were exposed to great annoyance by being pelted with stones, and being unable to follow the people with effect, as they retreated across the quay to the ships, the lamps having been put out, and it being quite dark. Upon one of the officers of the 14th Dragoons coming in to complain of this, and stating that the troops would be uselessly sacrificed, and asking for permission to fire, one of the special constables offered to go with a party of 25 men, if they could be supported by the soldiers, and dislodge them: but this was given up upon Colonel Brereton's suggesting that, in his opinion, they would soon become quiet, and go to their homes, if they were unmolested, and saying he would be answerable for the peace of the city, and would patrol it during the night.

The magistrates recommended the sheriffs to call out the civil power of the county, and requested Captain Shute, of the Westminster troop of North Somerset Yeomanry Cavalry, to collect as many of his troops as he could in readiness by the next day.

It appears that, during the night, there had been some further insult and violence towards the 14th Dragoons at some distance from the square, which in the result led to a man being shot. Some few persons continued in the square all night: early in the morning they began to collect rapidly, and by 7 o'clock there were many hundreds assembled. Colonel Brereton called at the Mansion-house, and ordered home the few soldiers who remained there; shortly after which, the people commenced another attack upon the Mansion-house, and tore down the barricades which had been fixed during the night, and entered in full force into the house. The Mayor and one of the Sheriffs with difficulty escaped over the roof, and got to the Guildhall. The troops were recalled; and the people again withdrew, but retained possession of the cellar, and drank the liquors. About half-past ten the 14th again returned to their quarters, being followed by the mob, and pelted with stones, which they returned by firing several shots in College-green; notwithstanding which the mob continued to pelt and insult them up to their very quarters. The Riot Act had been read three times by one of the aldermen, who remained on the spot, and addressed the mob, and entreated them to return to their houses; and soon afterwards the alderman, in a conversation with Colonel Brereton, requested the troops might fire; but the Colonel said that the troops would not and should not fire, it would be of no avail, and the mob would be so infuriated that they might overcome the troops, and the city be given up to

slaughter. The Colonel said it would be better to keep the mob in temper until the next morning, when a reinforcement of troops might be expected. Upon the arrival of the Mayor at the Guildhall, a notice was issued, apprising the citizens that the Riot Act had been read, as stated in the Appendix, No. 2, and also a notice, Appendix, No. 3, requesting a meeting of the citizens at the Guildhall, to assist in restoring the peace of the city. The Mayor also gave notice that Sir Charles Wetherell had left the city, which circumstance took place soon after the first attack upon the Mansion-house, Sir Charles having retired from it to a house at some distance, and, by the advice of the magistrates, withdrawn from the city.

About 11 o'clock intelligence was brought to the Guildhall, that the mob were proceeding in considerable force to the city Bridewell, with a declared purpose of setting at liberty some prisoners who had been taken into custody and committed thereto on the Saturday. At this time the special constables (being principally tradesmen of the city) who had been on duty from 8 o'clock on the Saturday morning, had returned to their houses, and only a few of the citizens had answered the Mayor's request by coming to the Guildhall, and those who did attend expressed their readiness to act if they were supported by the troops, but at the same time their unwillingness to risk their lives unless they could be so supported. At this time Colonel Brereton applied to the magistrates for their authority to send the two troops of the 14th Dragoons out of town, stating that the mob were so exasperated with them, in consequence of their having fired, that the lives of every man of them would be sacrificed if they remained. He was distinctly told by the magistrates that they could not authorise or consent to this, and that if he sent them away, he must be personally responsible. He also stated that those troops, as well as the 3d Dragoon Guards, were harassed and fatigued, as well men as horses, and could not render any assistance, or take any duty, for some time. The magistrates remonstrated with him against this proposal, as the city would be left in a defenceless state; and as the Colonel still insisted on the absolute necessity of the measure, he requested the magistrates to point out quarters for the men, at the distance of two or three miles from the city, which the magistrates therefore did, informing him, at the same time, they could not relieve him of his responsibility in this respect, or be considered as sanctioning, in any manner, the proposed removal of the troops. He insisted also on the necessity of refreshing the 3d Dragoon Guards, and it is believed ordered most of them to quarters for that purpose. In a short time after this (the mob having carried Bridewell by force, and liberated the prisoners, and set it on fire, and being about, as was alleged, to proceed to the city Jail for the like purpose), several citizens having by this time assembled

at the Guildhall in pursuance of the Mayor's requisition, and being called upon to give their assistance, stated in Colonel Brereton's presence, that they would not act unless supported by the military. Colonel Brereton was again peremptorily desired to call out the troops immediately, and again gave for an answer that he could not do it, as their lives would be sacrificed, without being able to do any good. The mob proceeded as was expected, and succeeded in getting possession of that prison: two of the magistrates having gone down with such civil force as they could collect, were driven back, the particulars of which, and the conduct of such of the troops as were brought out on that occasion, are detailed in the account furnished by the Sheriffs in the statement which forms the Appendix, marked No. 4.

It appears that, with reference to sending the 14th Dragoons out of the city, the officers and men were very unwilling to go—that they were by no means in a state which made them quite unfit for service, and were anxious to be actively employed: but Colonel Brereton informed them that it was the order of the magistrates they should go, and go they must. The mob having succeeded in liberating all the prisoners from the jail, proceeded for the same purpose, and with the same object, to the prison of Lawford's-gate, situated in the county of Gloucester, but in the immediate vicinity of Bristol, where they effected the same work of demolition and liberation. The magistrates, by this time had established themselves as well as they could in the Council-house; the Sheriff and a party of the citizens remaining at the Guildhall, between both which places a constant communication was maintained, but no sufficient force either of citizens and special constables could be obtained to enable the magistrates to engage in further conflict after the result of the endeavour to relieve the jail. About this time an attempt was made to set fire to the back of the Mansion-house, and there being six soldiers in the square at the front, the circumstance was communicated to them, with the request that they would show themselves at the back in order to prevent it, which they refused, alleging that their orders were confined to keeping the front of the Mansion-house clear. From Lawford's-gate the mob proceeded, in two divisions, to the Bishop's Palace, and the Mayor, with several persons who had with him during the day, and followed by as many citizens as could be collected, went down to the scene of action, having given orders for all the troops which could be brought out to be there. The first division of the mob having entered, were followed by many of the special constables and the soldiers, who formed inside the court, and it was hoped the ringleaders might be secured: but just as the citizens came in contact with them, the main body of the mob were heard advancing. The Mayor, and the few persons who were with him between the two bodies, with diffi-

culty passed through them: and the constables, who had attempted to secure some of the mob, on looking to the place where the soldiers had been posted, in the hope of finding support, observed that the soldiers were gone, and finding themselves deserted, got away as they could, declaring that they would not again venture their lives. The Palace was immediately set on fire and consumed. This was followed by the firing of two complete sides of Queen-square, containing nearly forty houses, including the Mansion-house, the Custom-house, and the Excise-office. During all this time, it will be seen that the magistrates were wholly without any sufficient means of protection or defence, the mob appearing to have had complete possession of the city. There was no interval during which the Mayor and magistrates were out at their post, except for a short time after their being driven from the Bishop's Palace, and retiring to a private house in Berkeley-square, of which notice was almost immediately given to Colonel Brereton, as stated in the Appendix, Nos. 5 and 6. About 4 o'clock, one of the magistrates went to the quarters of the 3d Dragoon Guards, and stated to the officer in command the situation of the square, saying, that the whole of it would be consumed unless military assistance was instantly afforded. He expressed his readiness to attend, but said he could only furnish 24 men. He mentioned, that a letter had been received from the Mayor; this appeared to be the letter No. 6, in the Appendix. The officer at the desire of the magistrates, went with him to Colonel Brereton's lodgings, the door of the military office having been before tried in vain. The Colonel, upon being called up, and the circumstance stated, said it was of no use to take out those jaded troops, they could do no good—what could they do against such a mob? He was, however, strongly and repeatedly urged, and consented to order out the troops: in about ten minutes they were out, and on proceeding to the square, having found in Prince's-street, a warehouse in flames, and a mob of about 600 or 700 persons in front of it, which the troops dispersed by charging up the street. On arriving in the square, the mob, consisting of about 600 more, were just commencing an attack upon the first two houses on the third side of the square, two entire sides being in flames. The mob had entered the corner house with fire, and were battering the windows and door of the next to it. The troops formed in front of the two houses. The mob did not disperse, but continued round the soldiers. The fire in the corner house was extinguished and cleared, and from the arrival of the troops in the square, no attempt was made to attack or set fire to any house.

About 6 o'clock the mob had separated into small parties of 20 or 30, in different parts of the square, which the soldiers were occasionally employed in dispersing. Upon one of those occasions a soldier was wounded by a

shot fired by the mob ; and by a little activity on the part of the soldiers, the streets were ultimately cleared. In the mean time, having sent to Gloucester and other places for assistance, and the two troops of the 14th, having been brought into the city from their country quarters, and Major Beckwith having arrived from Gloucester and taken the command of them, and received directions from the magistrates to disperse the mob wherever they were found to be assembled in force, they were vigorously attacked. By these measures, and the arrival of a considerable number of troops and yeomanry from different parts of the country, the city was soon restored to a state of comparative peace and security.

I have laid before your Lordship, as simply and shortly as possible, an outline of the principal transactions which have taken place in this city, wishing to avoid comment or observation upon them. I believe every fact detailed can be fully verified. If any part of the statement should appear to require explanation, I shall be most happy to afford it, as I also shall be to continue the detail at any subsequent period.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

CHARLES PINNEY, Mayor.

To the Rt. Hon. Lord Visct. Melbourne.

#### APPENDIX.—No. 1.

*Council-House, Bristol, Oct. 27, 1831.*

It being apprehended, from information received through various channels, that some indiscreet persons may be inclined to promote feelings of irritation and excitement on the arrival of the Recorder in this city, the Mayor and Aldermen most earnestly hope that all classes of their fellow-citizens, however they may differ on political subjects, will see the propriety of cordially co-operating to maintain peace and good order; and that they will abstain from manifesting any declaration of their opinions on so solemn and important an occasion as the delivery of his Majesty's jail, in cases affecting the lives of the persons to be tried for offences against the laws of their country. The magistrates confidently trust that they may rely on the good sense and discretion of the inhabitants not to depart from that orderly conduct which has hitherto prevailed in the city; but should any disposition be shown, tending to create disturbance, they feel it will become their imperative duty to use all lawful means for the apprehending and bringing to punishment all persons who may be found committing any breach of the peace or other illegal act.

By order of the Mayor and Aldermen,

LUDLOW, Town Clerk.

#### No. 2.

*Council-House, Bristol, Sunday, Oct. 30.*

The Riot Act has been read three times. All persons tumultuously assembling are guilty of capital felony.

By Order of

THE MAYOR.

#### No. 3.

The Magistrates most earnestly entreat the assistance of their fellow-citizens to restore the peace of the city, by assembling immediately at the Guildhall.

*Guildhall, Sunday Morning,  $\frac{1}{2}$ -past 10.*

#### No. 4.

The Sheriffs of Bristol having been called on by the magistrates to report upon the circumstances of attack upon the jail, have instituted an inquiry into those circumstances, and find that the governor having received information on Sunday afternoon, about 1 o'clock, that the mob had attacked Bridewell, immediately resorted to the Mansion-house, to inform the magistrates of the circumstances of the case, and to require assistance, when he found that the mob had obtained possession of the house, and that the magistrates were gone up to the Guildhall. On his arrival there, two of the Aldermen, Mr. Hilhouse and Mr. Savage, offered to accompany him back, and having collected about thirty of the citizens and constables, they proceeded to the jail, which is a building surrounded by a wall of very considerable circumference, and although high, exposed to be scaled in every direction. The party, on arrival, found upwards of 15,000 persons surrounding the jail, and in front of the portal or entrance, and, on coming round towards the portal, they were attacked by stones and missiles of every description; several of the party severely hurt; Mr. Little, the Under-Sheriff's partner, dangerously wounded with a sledge-hammer; and the whole division scattered; and an entrance was thereon effected at the portal by the mob, who were provided with tools they had obtained on their way to the jail, by breaking open an ironmonger and anchor-smith's shop. That immediately after the mob entered, about twenty-four of the 3d Dragoon Guards came towards the spot, at a slow pace, and, as the troops approached, the mob fled in all directions. The troops moved to the front of the jail; but, as they took no offensive measures, the populace again drew near to it, there being then about 100 persons of the mob within the walls.

The governor, who had taken shelter from the attack of the mob, at a house immediately close to the jail wall, saw the guards approach, and went towards them, when he saw them returning, without stopping at all, or interfering with the mob, and the people cheering them, and some of the soldiery waving their gloves in return. The mob then obtained complete possession of the jail, liberated the prisoners, set fire to the governor's house, which is consumed, and retained possession of the remainder of the jail until Monday morning, when the cavalry having dispersed the people in the adjoining square, the possession of the building was recovered. The sheriffs have also to report that the damage done to the jail itself is inconsiderable, with the exception of the destruction of the governor's house.

## No. 5.

The Mayor of Bristol desires Colonel Brereton to consider himself fully authorised to take whatever steps, and give whatever orders, he, as the military commander of the troops in this city, may think fit to restore and preserve, as far as possible, the public peace. The Riot Act has been read three times to-day. Col. Brereton will have the goodness to consider this order to apply not only to the troops at present under his command, but to any which may subsequently arrive in the city.

Mr. Daniel Fripp's, No. 30, Berkeley-square,  
Sunday night, 12 o'clock, 30th Oct., 1831.

The Mayor of Bristol begs to inform Col. Brereton, that if he should have occasion for the orders of a magistrate, either the Mayor or some other magistrate will be found at No. 30, Berkeley-square, Mr. Daniel Fripp's, the second house on the right hand on turning into the square from Park-street.

Berkeley-square, 12 o'clock, Sunday night.

This communication is made to Colonel Brereton in consequence of Lieutenant Macclesfield calling at the Council-house and requesting to see a magistrate. Colonel Brereton was gone out when a call was made at the staff-station to inform him as above.

## No. 6.

Bristol, 3 o'clock, Monday morning, Oct. 31.

Sir,—I direct you, as commanding-officer of his Majesty's troops, to take the most vigorous, effective, and decisive means in your power to quell the existing riot, and to prevent further destruction of property.

I am, &c.,

CHARLES PINNEY.

To Col. Brereton, or the Commanding-officer of his Majesty's troops.

Mr. Goldney.

Mr. W. Harris, jun.,

Council-house, Bristol, Nov. 4.

My Lord,—I feel it to be my duty, as Mayor and Chief Magistrate of the city of Bristol, to lay before your Lordship a statement of a few facts relating to the unhappy transactions which have lately taken place in this city. Three troops of cavalry had been, upon the application of the magistrates, sent to the neighbourhood, before the 29th of October, in order to assist in maintaining the public peace, on the occasion of Sir Chas. Wetherell (as Recorder) coming here to hold the jail delivery on that day. The public entry of Sir Charles into the city, the reading of the charter at the Guildhall, and Sir Charles's arrival at the Mansion-house, had been effected by about 12 o'clock without having had recourse to the troops; and Colonel Brereton, upon his application soon afterwards for orders, was told to keep them in readiness for immediate service when called upon; the mob

which had accompanied Sir Charles having continued in front of the Mansion-house, and occasionally thrown stones at the windows, and having been in other respects noisy and violent. About 5 o'clock, the constables having gone to the assistance of a man who was in danger at the distance of a few doors, two of them being brought in considerably wounded, and being ultimately driven into the Mansion-house, a violent attack was made by the mob, upon the building; the iron railing in front was torn up, the panels of the doors were forced, and the window frames broken in. The constables being unable to maintain possession of the hall, in consequence of the brick-bats, stones, and pieces of timber by which it was raked, the mob effected an entrance, destroyed all the furniture in the rooms on the ground floor, and, as it appears, had provided and placed a quantity of straw in one of the rooms. Three dispatches were sent for the troops, who arrived about forty minutes after they had been sent for, and relieved the persons in the Mansion-house from their critical situation. On the arrival of the troops, the mob retired from the door, but continued to occupy the ground in front in great numbers, at a very short distance; and as soon as the troops had passed the street, the mob returned again close under the windows of the Mansion-house, but without renewing any attempt to force an entrance. Colonel Brereton was directed by the magistrates to clear the streets, disperse the mob, and preserve the peace of the city. The troops under his direction continued at a slow trot to march round the square, in which the Mansion-house is situate, and the communicating streets. The mob cheered the soldiers, and sung "God save the King"; and it appears that Colonel Brereton addressed them, and shook hands with many of them. The mob continued at intervals to throw stones at the windows of the Mansion-house in different directions; and in a short time, two soldiers of the 14th Dragoons were brought in wounded, one of them considerably. The Riot Act had been read at least two hours before; and upon these acts of violence continuing, the magistrates urged Colonel Brereton to proceed with more effect in getting peace restored. He dissuaded the magistrates from directing a greater degree of force to be used, expressing his opinion that the men appeared to be very good humoured, and that he hoped and expected very shortly to get them away. In consequence of the disinclination he manifested, he was asked if he had any directions from your Lordship which prevented him from acting under the magistrates' orders. To which he answered, "My orders are to take the directions of the magistrates." And, in reply to this, it was stated to him that the magistrates' directions were to clear the streets, and to get the city into a state of quiet.

A charge in the interior of the square was made, which in a few minutes dispersed the mob, and they retreated to a place called the

Quay, to which the soldiers followed them, and were assailed by stones; they had before put out the lamps, and one of the cavalry officers came to the magistrates to know if he might fire some rounds of cartridges down the street, as the mob, by retreating into ships when driven by the cavalry to the brink of the Quay, preserved the means of annoyance, and rendered it impossible for the cavalry to get at them. One of the special constables proposed, with 25 men, if supported by the soldiers, to go and clear the ships; but this was given up, as was any further use of active force, it appearing, upon Colonel Brereton's statement, that they seemed to be peaceably inclined, and that he expected, if they were left to themselves, the city would be quiet. The military, therefore, continued merely to patrol the streets, and, with the exception of one short conflict, during which one of the rioters was shot by a soldier of the 14th, it is believed there was no disturbance until the morning. At day-break the people began again to assemble near the Mansion-house in considerable numbers. About 8 o'clock, and shortly after the soldiers were removed from the house, a violent attack with stones and iron bars was made upon the Mansion-house, which had been barricaded with planks during the night, and made as secure as circumstances would permit; and the mob were upon the point of forcing an entrance, when I, with some others, left the house by going over the roofs. The mob immediately afterwards, entered and took possession. Some time before my leaving the house, Colonel Brereton had withdrawn the troops, having mentioned that the few troops there had no other effect than that of attracting the mob, without being able to render any service, and that they were much harassed and must go to their quarters. Very soon after the troops had withdrawn, the mob entered into the Mansion-house, got possession of the cellars, and became intoxicated, and within 30 or 40 minutes after the troops had been sent to the stables, they were again called for, but, except a small party of the 3d Dragoon Guards, did not stay long, and the mob having followed and pelted the 14th, four or five shots were discharged upon them. Soon after this, I and several magistrates being assembled at the Guildhall, Colonel Brereton applied to us for our authority to withdraw the 14th from the city; stating that they were so much harassed, and had so much exasperated the feelings of the public, that they could not remain, except at the peril of their lives. Colonel Brereton was told in answer, that the magistrates not only could not authorise him to do so, but directed it not to be done, saying that the military had been sent down for the protection of the city, and that the persons and property of the inhabitants could not be protected without them. Colonel Brereton stated that their staying would be utterly useless; they were harassed and worn out, and wanted refreshment, and were altogether inefficient in their present condition,

and that it would be many hours before they would be fit for service again. He was told, if he sent them off, it must be done on his own responsibility, and that the magistrates would not relieve him from it; at the same time, upon the asking where it would be best for them to go, it was stated that the magistrates would not embarrass him if they could not assist him, subject to his responsibility, recommended Brivington as the nearest quarters.

Soon after this, information was brought that the mob was proceeding to Bridewell to release the prisoners, and several of the inhabitants having assembled at the Guildhall, in pursuance of a requisition of the magistrates, they refused to act without the assistance of the troops. Colonel Brereton was desired to bring the troops into immediate service, and some time afterwards was asked, before the citizens, if he had ordered out the 14th, as well as the 3d Dragoon Guards? He stated that he had not, and could not do so; they would be useless, and it would endanger their lives. He was remonstrated with upon this, and told expressly that the magistrates demanded and required their protection. I find that, upon his going to the quarters of the 14th, and desiring them to go out of town, they were unwilling to do so, and expressed the utmost readiness to act, but that they were told by the Colonel it was the magistrates' order, and that they must go. I find also that the horses, at that time, were by no means in a state incapable of service. From this time, up to eight o'clock in the evening, at which time the Bishop's Palace was fired and destroyed, and the mob had set fire to the Mansion-house, (in the mean time the jails of Newgate, Bridewell, and Lawford's-gate, having been fired, and the prisoners discharged,) the magistrates had no assistance from the military, and, as I believe, no effort whatever was made to render any, except that some soldiers marched to the jail when it was first attacked, and might, I believe, have been successfully defended, if the troops had not almost immediately retired; and except also that a few troops went to the Bishop's Palace, in aid of the constables, and withdrew from it when the constables came into contact with the mob; and also except about six or eight men who patrolled near the Mansion-house. Having gone to the Bishop's Palace upon the fire alarm, with several of the special constables, and they having been, as I have understood, in contact with the mob, and having been disappointed by the retirement of the troops, just about the time when a fresh body of the mob were coming up, I went to the house of a friend in the neighbourhood, from which, in the course of the night (first at 12, and afterwards at 3 o'clock in the morning), I sent urgent requisitions to Colonel Brereton for assistance; not only the Mansion-house and Custom-house were burning, but other houses had been set on fire, and by the time the troops were taken down to the spot, through the personal application of a magistrate, two

sides of the square, consisting of nearly forty houses, were burning; but, upon their coming down, the mob desisted from further attempts.

On the Mouday, Major Beckwith, of the 14th, came from Gloucester, and the division of the 14th having been brought back, took the command of the cavalry, and, under the sanction of the magistrates, charged the mob wherever they were assembled in bodies, speedily dispersed them, and, in a great measure, restored peace and security to the city.

I have considered it proper, with the concurrence of my brother magistrates, to submit this statement to your consideration, not intending to make any charge or insinuation against any-body, but thinking it proper that the causes of such an awful calamity as the city has experienced should be inquired into.

I have every reason to believe that the conduct of the soldiers and their officers was entitled to you Lordships' approbation; but I doubt very much whether the military assistance afforded us by his Majesty's Government was employed as it might have been, and as the pressing exigency of the case required.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's very obedient, humble servant.

CHARLES PINNEY, Mayor.

To the Right Hon. Lord Hill, &c.

The following is the notice which a very numerous and respectable portion of the inhabitants of Bristol have given of their intention to apply to Parliament for a legislative provision against the recurrence of those mischiefs with which they have recently been visited:—

"Notice is hereby given, that application is intended to be made to Parliament in the ensuing session for leave to bring in a bill or bills, to establish and maintain an effective police, with stipendiary magistrates, within the city and county of the city of Bristol, and in the several parishes of Clifton, Saint James, and Saint Paul, Saint Philip, and Jacob, and Westbury-upon-Trym, in the county of Gloucester, and in the parish of Bedminster, in the county of Somerset, and for superseding the present system of watching in the said city and county of the city of Bristol; and in which bill or bills provision is intended to be made to regulate the holding of Assizes by the Judges of the Circuit within the said city and county of the city of Bristol; and in which bill or bills provision is also intended to be made for the maintenance of such police and magistracy, and to provide for the loss sustained by the late fires and riots within the said city and county, either out of the property now held for the benefit of the said city, or otherwise, as the case may be.

"Dated this 14th day of November, 1831.

"ESTLIN and BALL, Solicitors,  
Broad-street, Bristol.

## POOR IRELAND.

WE perceive from a letter from Mr. O'CONNELL in *The Dublin Morning Register*, that he has renounced all hopes of benefit from Ministers to Ireland, and that he has not "at present the most remote idea of even approaching, much less accepting (if it were offered), any office whatsoever."

"Some friends of mine," he adds, "thought, and indeed I was almost—though never quite—of the opinion, that I might accept office to aid in the change. I was the more near being of this opinion, because I could, if my principles were not at once put into an active train, be able to fling that office in the faces, or at the feet, of those who gave it me. Such were the ideas floating on my mind, whilst one could reasonably hope for a just and Irish government in Ireland.

Sed Diis aliter visum!!

The day dream is gone by—the hope is faded before it assumed tangible shape or form—the old system is in its vigour—the paltry corporations are unpunished—the Tory Attorney-General, whose dependents, friends, and relatives, *all, all* voted in Meath, as in Dublin, against the Reform, as well as ministerial candidates, remains in office, not promoted off or dismissed. The yeomanry are all *undisarmed*—the police unmitigated—the most violent and the bitterest enemies of the conscientious privileges of the people may be found amongst the County Lord Lieutenants—STANLEY is coming over again—the magistracy ———

"But why should I follow the heart-rending catalogue?—STANLEY, WITH ALL HIS PREJUDICES AND PASSIONS, IS COMING OVER AGAIN. More need not be said—I take this one fact as a declaration by the Ministry of a renewed war upon all that the people of Ireland have clung to of hope or rational expectation.

"Let me only mention one other fact which has come to my ears, and fills my soul with bitterness and indignation. It is this: there is in the county of Sligo—a county out of which proceed three Tory high Brunswick members—voting upon every question, great and small, against the Ministry and against reform. Why, at this very moment, the Irish government are appointing to the Lord-Lieutenancy of that county a Kildare-place Biblical and Brunswick baronet—although they could find in the town of Sligo, or at Ballina, a gentleman whose appointment would be hailed as a boon by every friend of reform.

"I am heartily sick of the conduct of this administration towards Ireland. I do not think the honest Irish members will bear it much longer. Of what value is it to us to have a Whig administration in England, if we are to



be governed in Ireland upon principles more Tory than the Tories themselves? From my heart and soul I pity poor Lord Anglesey, who, probably, means very well, and actually imagines that one time or the other he will do some good for Ireland—that is, provided we 'wait for a while.' Alas! to-morrow never comes; and so Lord Anglesey's 'good to Ireland' will always be in the '*paulo post futurum*.'"

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

So, MELLISH, the butcher, is, according to the *Morning Post*, going to marry another of his daughters to Lord KINNAIRD, with, perhaps, another half-million of money! I should like to see some of the breed of this Mellish: it must be stock of a rare sort. I dare say, however, that it does not, some how or other, like a *reform of the Parliament*. I could, if I would, tell the butcher *why* I do not think he likes the thought of it! I will tell him *when we have got the reform*: and I will tell it him not in a *joking way*. And then it is that I will tell the *loanmongers why they* abhor the thought of reform.

I thank my friends at Lewes, in Sussex, and at ALASSFORD, in Hampshire, for some very fine ears of Cobbett-corn.

I beg Mr. PLASKITT of Great Grimsby's pardon for having, in my last *Register*, said that he sent me 14 ears of corn instead of 21, which he sent. The whole county of Lincoln will grow this corn in a few years. Don't tell me of the "*prejudice*" against it on my account. 'Tis *folly*, 'tis *impudence*, 'tis *roguery*, in some; and, in the *Bull-frog farmers*, it is a fear that the corn will make the labourers *more independent of them*, and will again make small farms. They would, therefore, chop me down with their swords. If I did not know this description of men so well as I do, I should reason with them: as it is, I make short work with them, and tell them that they **SHALL** grow

Cobbett-corn, and they shall **CALL** it *Cobbett-corn* too, though it choke them; and I will go into the markets and *laugh at them*, and poke the name up under their noses. I said, last week, that 14 persons had *grewed* crops near Great Grimsby; but my printers, in the absence of moral knowledge, and by a concatenation of thought, naturally bringing the corn to the tooth with as little intermediate space as possible, put *ground*, instead of *grewed*. They also made Doctor Black call **THE LIAR** a "*friend*," instead of a "*fiend*." I hope they will not, in this or a similar case, omit the *r* another time.

A gentleman has sent me some ears of *American corn*, to show me that it *will not ripen here*. I thank him; but I knew the fact well. Seedsmen (mostly, I hope, for want of knowledge on the subject) have caused, in this way, great disappointment to numerous persons, who, in general, however, have *deserved what they got*; for they wanted the corn, but would not have it of me! And they wanted to prove, too, that my sort was *no better than any other*! After many disappointments, from this cause, the seedsmen will actually sell the "*Cobbett-Corn*," and will be compelled to *call* it by *that name*. But, then, the people *will not believe them*! However, people will buy of their neighbours, whom they have *seen* grow it; and it will be all over the country directly. A thing that will produce, on an average, on *an acre*, in *five months*, **TEN QUARTERS** of corn, each quarter yielding more flour, and better flour, than a quarter of the very best wheat; such a thing *must* be of general cultivation, in spite of *boroughmongering* and *yeomanry cavalrying*. I will **MAKE** the Bull-Frogs cultivate the Cobbett-corn.

I want to rent, for a term not less than 10 years, a farm, in Kent, Sussex, or Surrey, or Hampshire, at not *much* more than 40 miles from Bolt-court. The things I desire are as follows:—

1. From about 60 to about 150 acres of arable and dry meadow.
2. From 2 to 5-acres of coppice.

3. Not stony, not gravel or chalk with 2 feet of surface.

4. Not hungry sand.

5. Not clay, or wet bottom, so as to need *water-farrowing*, or draining.

6. Not much shaded by timber.

7. A common farm-house, barn, stable, &c.

8. Not in the street of a village.

If any friend of mine, even at a somewhat greater distance, should know of any thing that he thinks likely to suit, I beg him to write to me on the subject. I will not go *one inch* to the North of London. My lease is not out here till March, 1833; but I want to enter *next Lady-day*; for I have pledged myself to Mr. Sapsford to ~~pay~~ him, next year, 100 *quarters of corn of my raising*! A farm with some *hop-garden* I should like. The *coppice* may be dispensed with.

#### ERRATUM.

In Tobin's Advertisement, last week, p. 448, 4th line from bottom, for Hunting Frock read Huntingdon Frock.

#### From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

COURTENAY, C. B., Robert-street, Adelphi, bookseller.

SMITH, D. N., Friday-st., warehouseman.

WRIGHT, R., Painswick, Glostersh., clothier.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ALSOP, G., Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, surgeon.

ARCHIBALD, A., Thayer-street, Manchester-square, coal-merchant.

BAILY, E. H., Percy-street, Tottenham-court-road, sculptor.

BASSTON, J. and T., Grantham, Lincolnshire, ironmongers.

BEVAN, E., and M. Gates, Bristol, merchants.

BOTT, T., Hart-st., Covent-garden, farrier.

BROWN, W. J., Gt. Winchester-st., silkman.

CARELESS, J., Sweeting's-al., Cornhill, victualler, and Leadenhall-market, cheesem.

CROSS, W., Old Swan-wharf, London-bridge, coal-merchant.

FRY, A. A., Great Ormond-street and Bridge-street, dealer.

GOODRICK, E., Huntingdon, linen-draper.

GUIVER, J., Enfield-highway, stage-master.

HARRISON, R., Birmingham, druggist.

HAWKINS, W., Lambeth-road, carpenter.

HICKMAN, H., Devonshire-place, Edgware-road, brick-maker.

LAWRENCE, C., and A. Hoggins, Philpot-lane, merchants.

MAYNARD, J., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, draper.

NEWMAN, G., Pancras-la., Cheap-side, agent.

ODELL, G., Northampton, horse-dealer.

SWINDELLS, J., Manchester, mercer.

WATTS, J., Corsley-heath, Wilts, grocer.

WILTSHIRE, W., Frome-Selwood, Somersetshire, inn-holder.

WINTERTON, T., Earl Shilton, Leicestershire, spirit-merchant.

WOODWARD, M., Rugeley, Staffords., mercer.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

STEEL, T., Glasgow, grain-merchant.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

FARRAH, J., Hatfield Hide, Hertfordshire, coal-merchant.

SHOTTER, G. J., Sunbury, Middlesex, shop-keeper.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ASPINALL, J., Giltspur-street, boot and shoe-maker.

BROWN, J., St. Mary-at-Hill, wine-merchant.

BONE, B., Greenwich, cabinet maker.

BOAST, R., Haunslet, Yorkshire, innkeeper.

BEAUCHAMP, R., Holborn-bars, pawnbroker.

CHURCH, W., Mark-lane, wine-merchant.

CROSS, J., Bristol, provision-merchant.

COULTHARD, B., Bolton, Lancashire, bleacher.

CANNINGS, J. jun., Bath, cabinet-maker.

DUNNETT, W., Manchester, silk-ware-houseman.

ELLIOTT, Birmingham, fruiterer.

EDWARDS, E., Holborn, china-dealer.

FARR, W., Bristol, silversmith.

GILLHAM, C., Romford, Essex, wine-merchant.

GREENOUGH, R., Manchester, manufacturer.

JENKINS, H. C., Bridge-house-place, South-wark.

LAVERACK, M. and C. M., Kingston-upon-Hull, corn-factors.

LEIGHTON, J., North Shields, victualler.

MARSTERS, W., Aldenham, Hertfordshire, corn-dealer.

MAURICE, W., Dudley, Worcestershire, printer.

PATERSON, J., Tunbridge, Kent, coal-merchant.

PERRY, T., Hilton, shropshire, tailor.

WATSON, H., Regent-street, Oxford-street, print-seller.

WOODRUFFE, Ramsey, Essex, cattle-dealer.

WOODHAM, P. sen., Piccadilly, corn-dealer.

WRAGGE, F. F., Preston, Lancashire, book-seller.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOVEMBER 14.—Our Supplies, since this day se'night, of English and Irish wheat, English and Scotch barley, and English malt, beans, and peas, have been moderately good; of English flour and Irish oats, rather great; of Scotch and foreign wheat, Irish barley, English, Scotch, and foreign oats, Irish and Scotch flour, foreign barley, rye and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended, both by London and country buyers; the latter appearing, for the most part, to be more on a visit of observation than of business; but, notwithstanding that the supply of every description of newly-arrived foreign grain was exceedingly short, the trade, on account of advanced prices being demanded, was, on the whole, dull; with wheat, barley, rye, oats, malt, and flour, at last week's prices; with beans and peas at an advance of about 2s. per quarter.

Canary seed looked a little upwards. With other seeds the trade was either very dull, at considerably reduced prices, or their quotations are standing merely nominal.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	30s. to 35s.
— fine .....	35s. to 45s.
Pear, White .....	35s. to 40s.
— Boilers .....	38s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	36s. to 41s.
Beans, Old .....	37s. to 40s.
— Tick .....	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoc .....	25s. to 30s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 126s. 0d. to —s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 60s. 0d. to 65s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 100s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow .... 100s. to 102s.	
— Cork .. 97s. to 98s.	
— Limerick .. 97s. to —s.	
— Waterford .. 94s. to 98s.	
— Dublin ... 95s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 60s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Double .. 56s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Single .. 48s. to 54s.	
— Edam ..... 46s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ..... 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish ..... 42s. to 54s.	

## SMITHFIELD—November 14.

This day's supply of beasts was good: of sheep, fat calves, and porkers, rather limited; Prime beef and mutton met with a ready sale, at an advance of about 2d. per stone. The trade with inferior beef and mutton was very dull: with veal and pork somewhat brisk, at Friday's quotations. The stock was of fair

average quality. As the weather was become favourable to slaughtering, and the assemblage of buyers was numerous, but a small proportion of it is expected to leave the market unsold. Beasts, 3,041; sheep and lambs, 15,990; calves, 125; pigs, 190.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 18.

The arrivals this week are large: the market dull; the same prices are obtained for the best samples, all other sorts are 1s. cheaper than on Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	} Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	} 82	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

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4. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

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A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 74.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1831. [Price 1s. 2d.



TO THE

## FARMERS AND TRADESMEN,

### *On the Arming of Persons of Property.*

Kensington, 25th November, 1831.

#### FARMERS AND TRADESMEN,

THE winter before last, LORD STANHOPE said, in his place in the House of Peers, that there was rising up in the country a general hatred of the poor towards the rich; and he suggested the propriety of measures being adopted in time to correct this mighty evil. It was not rising up: it had risen up long before. It is, indeed, an evil far surpassing in magnitude any other that I can conceive: it has led to all the horrible scenes which we have been beholding during the last fifteen months, and yet never do we hear from any persons in power any-thing to make us hope that they mean even to propose any-thing tending to put a stop to this evil, of which they do not appear to have the smallest idea of the real cause.

Totally ignorant of the causes of the evil, they look upon all the discontents of the working people as being unreasonable and unjust: rejecting all the evidence of facts, they attribute the loud complaints and the violent acts of the working people entirely to their bad disposition, to their laziness, their greediness, their dishonest propensities, and, which is very curious, they, at one and the same time, ascribe their violent acts to want of education, and to the reading of cheap publications. The fable of the town in danger of being taken by an enemy tells us that, upon a

consultation amongst the tradesmen upon the best means of defending the town, the tanner said, "If you have a mind to have the town well secured, take my word for it there is nothing like leather;" and we now hear the publishers of the London daily papers, whenever they hear of a riot or a fire, whenever they hear of a workhouse-keeper or an overseer's head being broken, or a tread-mill being demolished, burst out in indignant rage that the poor creatures that commit the violences cannot get a London broadsheet to read. Judging from my own feelings, I should say that it is happy for the grinders and the starvers that the working people do not get these sheets to read, for the effect which the reading of them has upon me invariably is to fill me with revenge and with rage; and to such a degree, that, if I could be induced to set fire, the reading of these at once stupid and atrocious publications would urge me on to the act; and operating on me as the music of Timotheus did upon Alexander, I really am ready, sometimes, upon flinging down their mass of paragraphs, to seize a flambeau, and rush out to burn up the whole of this infernal Wen, this collection of filth, moral as well as physical, this poisoner of the mind and destroyer of the bodies of the whole kingdom; but, above all things, this collection and amalgamation of literary conceit, corruption, and stupidity.

Never looking at the true causes of the evil; brutal enough to believe that the people would have their minds changed and be made as quiet as they were formerly by being generally what these stupid men call educated; being brutal enough to believe this, at the same time that they are making reports which show that, where one working man could read and write formerly, twenty can now; being so stupid as this; but finding that the education, as they call it, does not tend to produce that submission which they teach, they have re-

course to the last remedy known to the minds of such men ; namely, to punishment in all its shapes, forms, and degrees of severity. Jails of a new sort, dungeons of a new sort, hanging in a new fashion and in new places, and in some cases on the tops of the new jails ; the treadmill, the hulks, and an endless variety of new modes of inflicting punishment. The progress has been very curious. As the taxes increased, the working people became poor and miserable. Exactly in proportion to the increase of taxes has been the increase of the poverty and the misery ; exactly in proportion to these has been the increase of larcenies and felonies. The old laws provided imprisonment and transportation for the larger part of these ; but a prison was a paradise compared to starvation and sleeping under a hedge ; and though transportation took a man from his kindred and friends, it took him also to something to eat and to drink and to wear. To the prison, therefore, the dungeon and the treadmill were added, as *improvements of the age* ; and instead of transportation it became necessary in numerous cases to inflict death. To check rioting and poaching, ELLENBOROUGH's act, improved by LANSDOWN, made it death even to strike a man, without doing him any bodily harm, if the jury should determine that the striking was with intent to do him grievous bodily harm. It was upon this act that HENRY COOK, the ploughman of Micheldever, was hanged for striking BINGHAM BARING. Cook was one of a party of labourers who were going about demolishing thrashing-machines. BINGHAM BARING, with a party of his men, went up to the party to which Cook belonged, and seized one of them by the collar, upon which Cook, with a little sledge-hammer, which he was carrying about for the purpose of demolishing machines, gave BARING a blow, which did him no bodily harm whatever, he, Baring, being out on horseback the next day. For this Cook was hanged by the neck till he was dead, prosecuted by DENMAN and WILDE, and sentenced to death by VAUGHAN, the two other Judges being

PARK and ALDERSON, with whom were associated in this Special Commission, DENMAN, WILDE, WELLINGTON, POLLEN, and STURGES BOURNE.

I could enumerate, if I had time, more than three hundred instances, in which the criminal code has been hardened during the time that Sir JEMMY MACKINTOSH has been receiving the praises of the hypocrites and fools for the softening which he has produced in it. At last, the very word liberty, as applied to the state of things in England, has become ridiculous. Peel's new trespass law has made it unsafe for any poor man to set his foot upon any spot of earth except the mere high-way. Suppose an Englishman to be walking along the turnpike road, and, pressed by feelings of nature and of decency, to get over the gate of a field ; slap comes the farmer under Peel's new trespass law, seizes him by the throat and drags him away as a malefactor. To shun the penalties of Peel, he is compelled to set decency at defiance ; but as nature will not be defied, he reluctantly yields to an exposure of the person ; slap comes the informer with Chetwind's exposure act in his hand, and off he drags him to fine and imprisonment. Duly sensible of both these dangers, on he goes carrying with him the consequences of his salutary fears ; and slap comes upon him the surveyor of the highways, who indicts him as a filthy nuisance ; so that of all the slaves that the earth was ever ashamed to bear, the free-born Englishman is become the most perfect.

Yet to carry on the system of pension, sinecure, grant, retired allowance, debt and dead-weight, such abrogation of the liberties of the people was absolutely necessary : it is impossible for a people to enjoy any-thing worthy of the name of civil liberty, and to be made to live upon potatoes at the same time : that is impossible : it is impossible to make English working people live upon potatoes without Peel's new felony-laws, Peel's new trespass laws ; without Ellenborough's and Lansdown's act, and without a standing army in time of peace, as great, or greater, than in time of war. But even these are not suffi-

cient; for in comparison with starvation, English people will set even hanging at defiance, besides which, hanging the parties will not restore that which they have taken away. So that, at last, it becomes necessary to superintend their movements day and night. Hence the half-military police, of which there are now thousands prowling about this hellish and all-devouring wen. Hence the new and monstrous power of swearing in special constables, and thus enrolling beforehand the tradesmen in towns against the working people in the towns. Even this is now found not to be enough; and, therefore, there are projects for actually arming persons of property in the towns; actually furnishing them with arms by the Government!

And FOR WHAT is all this? For what have we now a permanent standing army of more than a hundred thousand men? For what have we yeomanry cavalry corps paid out of the taxes? Against whom are persons of property in the towns now to be armed? The yeomanry cavalry and the volunteering, in the brilliant times of PITT, DUNDAS, and GRENVILLE, men could understand. Fools regarded them as necessary in Yorkshire to keep the French from landing in Sussex and Kent. Fools regarded them as absolutely necessary to keep atheism out of England. Men of experience and sense looked upon the dread of the French as a mere pretence for these armings, and also for bringing the German troops into England and Ireland; but, at any rate, there was a pretence, which there is not now. If you asked the Government then what all that arming was for, why farmers and tradesmen were turned into soldiers, the answer was, "*The French! The French!*" That was the answer of PITT, DUNDAS, and GRENVILLE. But, Lord Grey, I ask you, what this thundering army in time of peace is for? what, have you augmented that army for? what are the yeomanry cavalry for? what are the town armings for? what, for instance, is that of Chelsea for, where the plan, signed by two of your magistrates, is to exclude all men

who are not renters or owners to the amount of twenty pounds a year? What are all these armings for? Against whom is all this arming? You cannot answer: you could if you would, but you will not.

It is certain that the armings cannot be against the Government, because the Government is the object to support which the arming people state that they have in view; and because, in the case of Chelsea, at any rate, the Government sanctions the armings. It cannot be against the middle class, because it is the middle class who are called upon to arm. It cannot be against the nobility, and gentry, and parsons, because they are too few and too feeble of body to be able to make a physical attack on any class of the people. It must, then, be against the working people, or such part of them at least as may be disposed to commit acts of violence. And then comes the question, Is this ill-disposed part of the working people so numerous as to render all this arming necessary? If it be so numerous, pretty perilous is our state. The arming cannot be necessary for the protection of the middle class; and it then must be for the protection of *somebody else*; and who that somebody is may very easily be guessed at. It is very curious, that, during the time of Pitt and Co., the VOLUNTEERS were taken from amongst shopmen, porters, journeyman mechanics, and labourers; and that, even in the corps of "*yeomanry*" there were many carpenters, bricklayers, and other persons, living by their daily labour. But now, MONEY'S WORTH is made the standard of qualification! and we hear hardly a word about *the militia*! The difference is remarkable, and it can be ascribed only to this: that Pitt and Co.'s people were fighting against *atheism*, and in defence of "*our holy religion*," as JOHN BOWLES, of Dutch-commission memory, used to say; and that the Whigs' people are to be prepared to fight against *something*, and in defence of *some other thing else*! Every one had a *soul to be saved*, but every one has not *house, or land, or goods*; so the Whigs' people make a selection in their



armings, a specimen of which we have in the following, which I take from a printed paper :—

SAINT LUKE, CHELSEA, *November 5th, 1831.*—At a meeting of the inhabitant householders of this parish, held in the Board-room, at the Workhouse, on the day above written, by direction of GEORGE ACKLOM and JOHN GEORGE FITZGERALD, Esquires, two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in and for the county of Middlesex, in consequence of a communication from the Commissioners of Police, at which two hundred inhabitants were present, the following regulations were unanimously adopted for the guidance of the special constables who were then sworn in for the preservation of the peace :—That a list be made out of every inhabitant householder between the ages of 21 and 60, occupying a house assessed to the poor's rate, at a rental generally of not less than 20*l.* a year, and who is not disabled by infirmity, or prevented by the nature of his trade or profession, from filling the office of a special constable. That from this list a body of not less than 300 persons be selected, 200 for the Old Town, and 100 for the New Town, which body is to be divided into sections, containing not less than 10 nor more than 15 persons. That each section be composed of persons living near each other, and that the sections severally elect a leader from whom their instructions are to be received. That 10 of the leaders or heads of sections are to elect a captain, from whom they are to receive their instructions. That in case of any apprehended tumult or riot, the captains and the leaders of sections residing in the Old Town, be convened to meet the magistrates at the Workhouse, and those living in the New Town be summoned to meet the magistrates at the Hans Town Board-room, to consult with them in order that such arrangements be made as will render the service of the constables effective. That if the aid of the constables be required, on any sudden emergency, that bellmen be sent about to give notice; and that the constables then assemble, as expeditiously as possible, at the two stations before-mentioned. These regulations are proposed as the ground-work for further arrangements, such as dividing the parish into districts to be patrolled, or taken charge of by particular sections, &c.; if, unhappily, any occasion arise which may render the adoption of such measures necessary: but it is hoped that the good feeling and determination which this meeting has already shown, will, when properly organised, keep evil-disposed persons in control, and convince them that the inhabitants of Chelsea will not submit to lawless riots or tumults, the objects of which are robbery and plunder.

(Signed) GEORGE ACKLOM,  
JOHN GEORGE FITZGERALD.

This speaks plainly. Here we have

the rich against the working people, as clearly as day-light; and this, too, under the recommendation of the magistrates! Nothing can be plainer than this. Let us hope that there will be no need for any-thing of the sort; but if there were to be, dreadful, indeed, would be the scenes! This is what never was attempted before in any country upon earth, except just now at Paris; and this will not long succeed in France; but what, then, is it to do here? In Paris, the literal fact is, that the fundholders and other tax-eaters are armed by the Government against the working people; and, in the country, the present subdivision of land, produced by the revolution, is so complete, that there are scarcely any labourers who subsist on mere wages. Here, in England, the case is just the contrary; the uniting and amalgamating of farms have made all labourers, except one man in a square mile, or thereabouts. So that here there is a country people with wholly different feelings and motives than those which now exist in France, and here, therefore, the conduct of the country-people is wholly different.

Our bright and illuminating newspapers rail against the English CUOP-STICKS, and the working people of NOTTINGHAM, DERBY, BRISTOL, &c., and call them all sorts of vile names, making, at the same time, disadvantageous comparisons between their conduct and that of the French working people! As to what the latter did last year, that was a mere burst to resent a particular affront. To do justice in this case, we must look at what the French working-people did before they got the change, which ridded them of game-laws, tithes, enormous taxes, pension-lists, and a domineering Noblesse. This is the fair way to make the comparison; and before I describe, in the words of ARTHUR YOUNG, who was upon the spot, what the French did, how they began their change, I pray most sincerely that the English working people may never be their rivals in this respect.

"The 27th. To Besançon; the country, mountain, rock, and wood, above the river; some scenes are fine. I

"had not arrived an hour before I saw  
 "a peasant pass the inn on horseback,  
 "followed by an officer of the *garde*  
 "*bourgeoise*, of which there are 1200  
 "here, and 200 under arms, and his  
 "party-coloured detachment, and these  
 "by some infantry and cavalry. I  
 "asked why the militia took the *pas*  
 "of the King's troops? *For a very*  
 "*good reason*, they replied, *the troops*  
 "*would be attacked and knocked on the*  
 "*head, but the populace will not resist*  
 "*the militia*. This peasant, who is a  
 "rich proprietor, applied for a guard to  
 "protect his house, in a village, where  
 "there is much plundering and burn-  
 "ing. The mischiefs which have been  
 "perpetrated in the country, towards  
 "the mountains and Vesoul, are nume-  
 "rous and shocking. Many chateaux  
 "have been burnt, others plundered,  
 "the seigneurs hunted down like wild  
 "beasts, their wives and daughters  
 "ravished, their papers and titles burnt,  
 "and all their property destroyed: and  
 "these abominations not inflicted on  
 "marked persons, who were odious for  
 "their former conduct or principles.  
 "Some gentlemen at the table d'hôte  
 "informed me that letters were received  
 "from the Maconois, the Lyonois,  
 "Auvergne, Dauphiné, &c., and that  
 "similar commotions and mischiefs  
 "were perpetrating everywhere; and  
 "that it was expected they would per-  
 "vade the whole kingdom."—*Young's*  
*Travels in France, in 1787; Vol. I.*  
*p. 160.*

This, observe, was in 1787, just be-  
 fore any thing had been done in the way  
 of making a *legal change*. The practice  
 of the French Chopsticks was, to go to  
 a nobleman's house, first bring out his  
 title-deeds and burn them; next empty  
 the house of eatables and drinkables;  
 next take away clothing and bedding  
 and plate, if any; and, then, *set the*  
*house on fire!* The same was, in many  
 cases, done with large farm-houses;  
 and also in many cases, in cities and  
 towns. So that men ought to be cau-  
 tious how they *revile* the English work-  
 ing-people for not imitating the conduct  
 of those of France. But, what is of  
 much more importance, is, *the causes of*

this furious rage! And of these Mr.  
 YOUNG speaks, in the same volume,  
 page 603, concluding in the following  
 words:—

"It is impossible to justify the ex-  
 "cesses of the people on their taking up  
 "arms; they were certainly guilty of  
 "cruelties; it is idle to deny the  
 "facts, for they have been proved too  
 "clearly to admit of a doubt. But is it  
 "really the people to whom we are to  
 "impute the whole? Or to their op-  
 "pressors, who had kept them so long  
 "in a state of bondage? He who  
 "chooses to be served by slaves, and by  
 "ill-treated slaves, must know that he  
 "holds both his property and life by a  
 "tenure far different from those who  
 "prefer the service of well-treated free-  
 "men; and he who dines to the music  
 "of groaning sufferers, must not, in the  
 "moment of insurrection, complain that  
 "his daughters are ravished and then  
 "destroyed; and that his sons' throats  
 "are cut. When such evils happen, they  
 "surely are more imputable to the  
 "tyranny of the master, than to the  
 "cruelty of the servant. The analogy  
 "holds with the French peasants—the  
 "murder of a seigneur, or a chateau in  
 "flames, is recorded in every newspa-  
 "per; the rank of the person who suf-  
 "fers attracts notice; but where do  
 "we find the register of that seigneur's  
 "oppressions of his peasantry, and his  
 "exactions of feudal services, from  
 "those whose children were dying  
 "around them for want of bread?  
 "Where do we find the minutes that  
 "assigned these starving wretches to  
 "some vile pettifogger, to be fleeced by  
 "impositions, and a mockery of justice  
 "in the seigneurial court? Who gives  
 "us the awards of the intendant and his  
 "*sub-délégués*, which took off the taxes  
 "of a man of fashion, and laid them  
 "with accumulated weight on the poor,  
 "who were so unfortunate as to be his  
 "neighbours? Who has dwelt suffi-  
 "ciently upon explaining all the rami-  
 "fications of despotisms, regal, aristo-  
 "cratical, and ecclesiastical, pervading  
 "the whole mass of the people: reach-  
 "ing, like a circulating fluid, the mos-  
 "t distant capillary tubes of poverty and

"wretchedness? In these cases, the sufferers are too ignoble to be known; and the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied. But should a philosopher feel and reason thus? Should he mistake the cause for the effect, and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compassion for the many, because they suffer in his eyes not individually, but by millions? The excesses of the people cannot, I repeat, be justified: it would undoubtedly have done them credit, both as men and Christians, if they had possessed<sup>\*</sup> their new-acquired power with moderation. But let it be remembered, that the populace in no country ever use power with moderation; excess is inherent in their aggregate constitution; and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in such hands, it is doubly bound in common sense, and for common safety, so to conduct itself, that the people may not find an interest in public confusions. They will always suffer much and long, before they are effectually roused; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but such oppressions of some classes or order in the society, as to give able men the opportunity of seconding the general mass; discontent will soon diffuse itself around; and if the government take not warning in time, it is alone answerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and desolation, and blood that follow. The true judgment to be formed of the French revolution, must surely be gained, from an attentive consideration of the evils of the old government: when these are well understood—and when the extent and universality of the oppression under which the people groaned—oppression which bore upon them from every quarter, it will scarcely be attempted to be urged, that a revolution was not absolutely necessary to the welfare of the kingdom. Not one opposing voice<sup>\*</sup> can, with reason, be raised

"against this assertion: abuses ought certainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could not be done without the establishment of a new form of government; whether the form that has been adopted were the best, is another question absolutely distinct. But that the above-mentioned detail of enormities practised on the people required some great change is sufficiently apparent."

Boroughmongers, look well at this; "Consider it," as Solomon says of the field of the Sluggard. Oh, no! you will not: you will go on just as the French Noblesse did. Observe that those outrages were committed *before the reform was legally begun*; and it was not till the one half of the noblemen's and gentlemen's houses had been pillaged and burned, that the legal changes *began* to be adopted. The French revolution did not *begin at Paris*. It came thither by degrees *from the country*: it was the *starving Choppedicks* who set the Parisians to work: as long as the Noblesse and the swarms of tax-eaters found peace and safety in the country, they laughed at the *canaille* in great towns; but when their country-houses were burned, they fled from the country, and mostly into the service of the enemies of the people of France,

ments of Europe, give such numbers of men a direct interest in supporting, cherishing, and defending abuses, that no wonder advocates for tyranny of every species are found in every country, and almost in every company. What a mass of people, in every part of England, are some way or other interested in the present representation of the people, tithes, charters, corporations, monopolies, and taxation! and not merely to the things themselves, but to all the abuses attending them; and how many are there who derive their profit or their consideration in life, not merely from such institutions, but from the evils they engender! The great mass of the people, however, is free from such influence, and will be enlightened by degrees; assuredly they will find out, in every country in Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, aimed equally against regal, aristocratical, and mobbish tyranny, they will be able to resist successfully that variety of combination, which, on principles of plunder and despotism, is everywhere at work to enslave them."

\* "Many opposing voices have been raised; but so little to their credit, that I leave the passage as it was written long ago. The abuses that are rooted in all the old govern-

who confiscated and sold and divided their estates. Let it be borne in mind, that all this took place, *only because a reform was not made in time!* To men of common sense, experience cannot speak plainer, and to fools it is useless for experience to speak.

WM. COBBETT.

## PARLIAMENT.

What! To meet so early as 6th December! Well, then, I am a false prophet for once! I really should not wonder if this was done on purpose to make me such! No matter: the Parliament is to meet *for work* on that day; and work, it seems, it will have to do; for the rumour is, that there are now to be *three bills* instead of one! That is too much of a good thing! But if the three should not be so *good as the one*: what then? The scheme is, very likely, to carry the *Schedules* and *lose the ten-pound suffrage!* And then to call upon us to be *thankful* for what we have *got*. But this will be no get at all. For I have no hesitation in declaring, that I would rather see *no change*, than an *augmentation of the qualification for the suffrage*. To say, "Take what you *can get*," is a delusion; it is a cheat; it is a gross fraud; for you *get* something *worse* than that which you had before. However, I am in *no hurry* about the matter: I know that *PEEL'S BILL* will bring us a *real change* of great magnitude; and that it may, possibly, be the better for coming in its own good time and manner. It will, when it come, be *RADICAL* in the full sense of the word: it will go to the points of even the smallest fibrous roots of the evil. So that what these Whigs may now do, or attempt, is, with me, more a matter of curiosity than of concern. Being quite sure that the change, the sweeping change, must and will come, it will be an amusement to watch the various turnings and twistings of roguery, hypocrisy, and folly.

## POLITICAL UNIONS.

Ah, ah! These are to be *put down*, though so *strongly recommended* by the Whig-papers only twenty days ago! And though Lords GREY, JOHN RUSSELL, and ALTHORP, were corresponding and exchanging compliments with them, only about six weeks ago! now there is a KING'S PROCLAMATION against them, the language and tenor of which is most singular.

BY THE KING.

## A PROCLAMATION.

WILLIAM R. Whereas certain of our subjects, in different parts of our Kingdom, have recently promulgated plans for voluntary associations, under the denomination of Political Unions, to be composed of separate bodies, with various divisions and sub-divisions, under leaders with a gradation of ranks and authority, and distinguished by certain badges, and subject to the general control and direction of a superior Committee or Council, for which associations no warrant has been given by us, or by any appointed by us, on that behalf: and whereas, according to the plan so promulgated as aforesaid, a power appears to be assumed of acting independently of the Civil Magistrates, to whose requisition, calling upon them to be enrolled as constables, the individuals composing such associations are bound in common with the rest of our subjects, to yield obedience: and whereas such associations, so constituted and appointed, under such separate direction and command, are obviously incompatible with the faithful performance of this duty, at variance with the acknowledged principles of the Constitution, and subversive of the authority with which we are invested, as the Supreme Head of the State, for the protection of the public peace; and whereas, we are determined to maintain, against all encroachments on our Royal power, those just prerogatives of the Crown, which have been given to us for the preservation of the peace, and of the society, and for the general advantage and security of our loyal subjects: we have, therefore, thought it our bounden duty with and by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, declaring all such asso-

ciations so constituted and appointed as aforesaid, to be unconstitutional and illegal, and earnestly warning and enjoining all our subjects to abstain from entering into such unauthorised combinations, whereby they may draw upon themselves the penalties attending a violation of the laws, and the peace and security of our dominions may be endangered.

Given at our Court at St. James's this 21st day of November, 1831, and in the second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Curious document ! It is as Dr. BLACK says, not *law*, and it warns against breach of the law, without telling us *what law*. Men have as clear a right to form these associations as associations for circulating the Bible. But the moment this proclamation appears, DADDY BURDETT dissolves his UNION, and his secretary, GOUGER, sends for a declaration of the dissolution *along with the proclamation* ! So that the Daddy has become the most docile and obedient soul in the King's dominions. He is a day-star of passive obedience and non-resistance ! I had not the smallest doubt of the Daddy having been *set on* to the Union work by the Ministers ; and that he has now been set on to give an example of dissolving them. How the Birmingham people will take this I cannot say. Their position is *awkward*. In fact, all is confusion of mind : no man knows what to think : the state of things is just such as has always preceded some great event : each class is looking at all the others with suspicion, not unmixed with anger : the ruin of the middle class and the misery of the working class go steadily on increasing ; and, without some great, and very great, political change, legally made, the result must be dreadful. Perhaps the Unions, by being open demonstrations, would have been the *least dangerous* of any mode of showing public opinion. The Whigs, however, are " *so wise* ! " The Unions were founded to support *them* and the *King* ; but, *for what* ? Ay, there is the question ! To support them in the doing of that which, may be, they *do not wish to do* ! Before you press a man with offers to be his second, you

should well ascertain that he really *wants to fight* ; for if he have any disinclination to this, he will hate you much more than he will hate his enemy ; and, if he can do it, he will even *destroy you*.

There are two evening London papers devoted to the Tories : it is very curious that both these papers published the proclamation before it was out in the London Gazette. They must have had written copies of it sent them. Think of that, my readers, and *be not deceived*. One of the newspapers tells us that Lord GREY is "VERY ILL." He would do well not to be "ILL ;" I can tell him that ! A man must not be ill under such circumstances ; unless he die, and that, too, pretty quickly. I do sincerely hope that he is not ill ; and that he will come out of this affair with honour. I am, however, in great fear for him : this proclamation looks like a *compromise* with the boroughmongers : it certainly excites great *suspicion*, and great *discontent* ; and any attempt to *enforce* it, will complete the hostile feeling towards the Ministry, in whom, be it remembered, I never expressed *my* confidence ; and I hope that this will be remembered.

## NORFOLK MEETING.

THIS county meeting exhibits all the old tricks of the Whigs and Tories, united against the people. I beg the reader to go carefully through the following *report* of it, given by some *Irish reporting hacks*, hired for the purpose. The meeting was, observe, in the SHIRE-HALL, into which, of course, the people were not admitted. It seems that the *packed crew* of tax-eaters, with DADDY COKE (the Light-house and "Bloody-King" man) at their head ; and the bands of *yeomanry cavalry*, got together from all parts of the country. When I have inserted the *report*, I have some remarks to add.

A public meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of this county, was held on Saturday, the 19th

instant, at the *Shire-hall*, Norwich, to address his Majesty on the Reform Bill. The meeting was convened pursuant to a requisition, most numerous and respectably signed. Amongst the signatures were those of the Dukes of Norfolk, Grafton; Lords Albermarle, Suffield, Stafford, Clements; Mr. Coke, Sir W. B. Folkes, Sir J. Astley, Sir E. Bacon, Admiral Windham, &c.

Amongst those present were Viscount Clements, Lords Stafford and Suffield, the Hon. and Rev. E. Keppell, Sir E. Bacon, Sir J. Astley, Sir W. B. Proctor, Sir T. B. Beevor, Sir W. B. Folkes, M. P., the Rev. Archdeacons Glover and Bathurst, the Rev. P. Gurdon, J. Fisk, R. H. Gurney, M.P., T. T. Gurdon, B. Gurdon, E. Lombe, A. Hammond, W. Windham, Ridley Colborne, E. Bacon, J. Longe, R. Plumtre, T. Havers, K. Harvey, A. Hudson, W. Foster, W. Dalrymple, H. Holley, Esqrs., Dr. Yelloly, Messrs. J. Culley, Leamon, H. Tuck, P. Bullock, J. S. Muskett, R. Muskett, Blomfield, Richardson, Abbott, Shelly, T. Biguold, Brightwell, and many others of the principal yeomanry of Norfolk. The entrance of Mr. Coke, the senior member for the county, was hailed with loud and continued cheers.

In consequence of the indisposition of the High Sheriff, A. Hammond, Esq., took the chair.

LORD SUFFIELD addressed the freeholders, and was received with loud cheers. His Lordship attributed great praise to the present Administration, and to his Majesty, after which he concluded thus:—I now beg to move an address to the Lord High Admiral, now our gracious King, and that the meeting will not separate without a hearty cheer for him and the gallant commander he has appointed to the state vessel. The address was then read. (Loud and continued cheers followed the conclusion of the address.)

MR. E. LOMBE seconded the address. He was a reformer, because he had an opportunity of mixing with the people. He saw the condition of the farmer, and the peasant, and the mechanic—he saw the farmer crawling along, gradu-

ally reduced in his circumstances—he saw him *unable to give the same employment as heretofore*; and the consequence was, the labourers *were starving*, or nearly approaching to that state. He saw trade gradually declining; that of Norwich had greatly declined. When he saw these things, he saw the necessity of reform; and he was convinced that the longer reform was delayed, the more would those evils be aggravated. (Applause.)

MR. RUSH said, that the address stated that the meeting had the same confidence in his Majesty's Ministers now, as they had before the rejection of the late bill. (Cries of "So we have," and "Off, off.") He for one had no such confidence, because he found that there was no ground for entertaining it. (The disapprobation of the meeting was here so loudly and unequivocally expressed, that the speaker could not for some time be heard.) What had Lord Brougham said? He said, that careless of giving offence to any person, he admitted that he was so far moved by some parts of what he had heard, as to be ready to reconsider that which he had before declared that he had made up his mind to. (Here the uproar was renewed, and the noise was so great that not a word could be heard.) Finding the attempt hopeless, he desisted, and concluded by moving that the following be added to the address: "May it please your Majesty, that this meeting, in sending the above address, have put the very best construction they can upon the declaration that has been made upon the subject of reform by your Majesty's Ministers, trusting that what they have said cannot, with propriety, hereafter be brought against them as words that had a double meaning, and as such were intended to delude the people of their rights—rights that they undoubtedly would have re-enjoyed if the bill introduced by Lord Grey had been passed into a law."

THE CHAIRMAN asked who seconded the amendment, but no one appeared, and the amendment fell to the ground, amidst loud laughter.

Sir T. BEEVER said, he did not feel unqualified confidence in his Majesty's Ministers. In some of them he had the greatest reliance. In Lord Grey, for instance, who was an upright, straightforward man, without trick or guile. There were others, too, in the administration, in whom he could repose confidence; but he could not say the same of them all, when he saw amongst them such men as Lord Palmerston, Lord Goderich, who, as Mr. Robinson, in the panic of 1825, talked so much of dispensing prosperity to the country from the portals of an ancient constitution; when he saw such men as my Lord Melbourne, who, when Mr. Lamb, in the House of Commons, was found in opposition even to the milk-and-water resolutions on reform, which were annually brought forward by Lord John Russell; when he saw such men as these forming the Ministry, and when he found amongst them that little Lord who was now looked upon as something more than human, but who, when Mr. Canning's half-liberal administration was formed, withdrew his motion for reform—when he saw men amongst the Ministers who had supported all the acts of Castle-reagh, and who had opposed all reform—he owned he was not inclined to repose much confidence in them, and he repeated, that though he had confidence in Lord Grey, and he believed that it was his intention to act honourably and fairly by the people, still he did not like to see him in such company. (Hear.) Another reason why he had not confidence in the present Ministry was, that they did not act as if they had any confidence in the people. (Hear, and cries of "No.") They told the people that they must have patience, and wait until another bill should be introduced which would be more acceptable to the "order." (Cries of "No, no.") What he should like to see was, the country come to a resolution that it would have confidence in Ministers provided they had sufficient confidence in the people. If this course were at first followed in different parts of the country, he had no doubt that we should not have had such scenes as had occurred at Derby, Nottingham, and

Bristol. (Hear.) In conclusion, the hon. Baronet again said, that he gave credit to many of the Ministers for their good intentions, but the people would not be satisfied with good intentions alone. He had no doubt but that at length we should have the bill, the whole bill, and, if it should be delayed much longer, perhaps *a little more than the bill.* (Hear.)

The address was then put, and unanimously adopted, and

On the motion of Mr. Lolme, it was resolved that Lord Grey and Lord Suffolk be requested to lay it before his Majesty.

Sir J. ASTLEY proposed the next resolution, which was seconded by

Mr. W. WINDHAM:—When they took into account the arduous situation in which Ministers had been placed—when they reflected upon the events of the last twelve months—when they called to mind the lamentable state of Ireland at the period when the present administration came into office—and when they brought to their recollection the difficulties which it had to encounter with respect to our foreign relations—when they called all these things to mind, he was sure that there was no one there who would say that Ministers did not deserve a great share of praise (cheers), and that they were not entitled to the confidence of the country until they had succeeded in carrying the measure of reform.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Hon. and Rev. Mr. KEPPEL proposed the next resolution, "That the thanks of this meeting be also given to the Bishops of Norwich and Chichester, and to those Peers connected with this great county who have hitherto supported parliamentary reform."

The Rev. Mr. COLLIER seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Very Rev. Archdeacon BATHURST observed, that the Bishop of Norwich, at the advanced age of 87, had gone three times the journey between that and London, in the course of three suc-

cessive weeks, to support the cause of the people, and he believed that there had never been an instance before of a Bishop of the Church of England having made so great an effort. (Several voices: "Why did not the rest follow his example?") He wished with all his heart that they had done so.

Mr. CULLEY moved, "That this meeting rejoices to offer its cordial thanks to the representatives of this county, for their steady and undeviating support in Parliament to the cause of reform."

Mr. LEMON seconded the motion.

Sir T. BEEVOR hoped, that before the question was put, he might be allowed to say a few words. Circumstances had occurred which prevented him from meeting the representatives of the county at the last two general elections, and he was now anxious to take this opportunity of putting a few questions to one of them, Mr. Coke, on the subject of his connexion with the Dungeness light-house. (Loud groans and hisses here assailed the hon. Baronet from all parts of the court, and it was some time before he could proceed.)

The CHAIRMAN said that the subject of the light-house was a private transaction. (Cheers.)

Sir T. BEEVOR contended that it formed a portion of the public conduct of one of their representatives, and that as such he had a perfect right to bring it under their notice.

Mr. COKE here came forward amidst great applause. He wished to know, he said, whether the hon. Baronet had any other charges to make against him, for if not, he would be ready at once to reply to that which had reference to the Dungeness light-house. He was willing to give him any explanation he should demand on that point.

Sir T. BEEVOR again rose amidst considerable confusion and uproar, and having at length procured a hearing, proceeded to observe, that as far as he understood the question, it divided itself into two parts—first, as regarded the honourable Gentleman's original connexion with the light-house (groans); and secondly, as to that honourable

Gentleman's own subsequent and comparatively recent conduct as connected with that light-house. (Groans, hisses, and much uproar.) The grant of the tolls of that light-house had been made originally to Mr. Coke's ancestor for what was called a valuable consideration—namely, for supporting and maintaining a light-house there; and though it might have turned out a profitable bargain to them and Mr. Coke, yet, up to the expiration of the patent, he was as much entitled to the profits of it as he was to the rents of Holkham estate, or as he (Sir T. Beevor) was to the rents of his property. If, however, the statement which had been published in the newspapers on the subject was a correct one, it so appeared that in the year 1826, two years before the expiration of the patent, Mr. Coke—he *who had been so repeatedly heard to declare that he was the sworn enemy of taxation*, and that no earthly consideration would induce him *to accept place, pension, or favour*, at the hands of the Government—*memorialized the Lords of the Treasury for a renewal of that patent*, and the patent was renewed to him—not, however, without some consideration, for it was agreed that one half of the profits of the light-house should be paid into the Treasury, and the *other half should be received by him*. He called for an explanation from Mr. Coke as to that point. He begged to ask him whether he had not memorialized the Lords of the Treasury for the renewal of this patent? Whether he had not received that renewal on the consideration which he (Sir T. Beevor) had mentioned? and whether he had not up to *that time pocketed the proceeds of the Dungeness light-house*? If the hon. Gentleman would not answer that question, he (Sir T. Beevor) should be then compelled to *adopt a harsher course towards him*. The honourable Baronet sat down amidst great uproar.

Mr. COKE then came forward, and was received with loud cheers, waving of hats, and other demonstrations of applause. As such an ungentlemanly and unhandsome attack had been made upon him, he was sure that in a very few



words he should satisfactorily explain this matter to the meeting. He came into the possession of the property of this light-house, which had come to him like the property of a turnpike trust, or any speculation of such a description; but he would show that he had asked for no favour from Government in reference to it. He had been fifty-six years and upwards in Parliament, and he had *never asked a favour* from Government for himself or his family, or his connexions, in the whole course of his life. (Cheers.) Under such circumstances he little expected such an *un-gentlemanlike attack* as the present one; and if the quarter from whence it had proceeded *were at all worthy of his notice* he would tell *that individual* that he had *insulted him*. All he had asked of the Lords of the Treasury with regard to the Dungeness light-house was, that if the patent of that light-house, which had been so long in the hands of himself and his ancestor, was to be renewed, *he should get the preference before the Trinity House*. Was he not justified in making that request? This he would say, that the Dungeness light-house was *the best-conducted light-house* in Great Britain. When he came into possession of it, it was not in a condition calculated to save the lives of British seamen; and he applied to the Trinity House for permission to build a new one; and having obtained that permission, he built a new one, at considerable expense, out of his own pocket. The result was, that he received the compliments of the Trinity House. Such was his answer to the unjustifiable attack that had been made upon him. (Cheers.) He was not astonished at such an attack from such a quarter. He was not surprised at meeting with the censure of such an individual. He would not inquire of *what kidney he was, whose sentiments he echoed, and what company he kept*. (Cheers.) But of this he was sure, that no attack of the hon. Baronet could alter the opinion which the county that he had so long represented had so often expressed of his public conduct. (Loud cheers, and cries of "Ah, Sir Thomas, take that to your friend Cobbett.")

Sir T. BEEVOR again presented himself amidst immense uproar, and cries of "*We want no Cobbett or Hunt here.*" After something like order was restored, the hon. Baronet attempted to address the meeting, but each attempt was as it were the signal for renewed confusion. He held in his hand a slip of paper, containing the amendment which he said it was his intention to move, and after ineffectual efforts to obtain a hearing, concluded by handing it to the Chairman. It was to this effect—"That the thanks of this meeting are due to our representative, Sir W. Folkes, Bart., for his general parliamentary conduct, and more particularly for his steady support of the late bill for amending the representation of the people."

Mr. RUSH seconded the amendment. It was then put, and with the exception of the mover and seconder, there were only half a dozen hands held up for it in the Court. The original question was then put, and the *whole meeting rose*, and with *loud cheering*, and *clapping*, and *waving of hats*, it was carried by acclamation.

Mr. COKE then rose amidst renewed cheers, and said that, with the exception of Sir Thomas Beevor, he felt greatly indebted to all present for the expression of their kind feelings towards him. Standing in the proud situation of representative of the first agricultural county in England, he could not but congratulate them on the decisive proof which that meeting afforded, that in the county of Norfolk there had been no re-action on the subject of reform. It was well known that the principal agricultural landholders throughout the kingdom were in favour of the bill. He had had the honour of representing that county in Parliament fifty-six years, and, looking back at the long course of his political life, he could safely say that he had never given one vote against the interest of the people, or in favour of that system which had brought the country to its present terrible situation. On these grounds he thought he had some claim to the thanks of the county. (Cheers.) When the hon. Baronet (Sir T. Beevor) had made such an unhand-

some attack upon him, he had forgot to mention that he had voted for every motion made by Mr Hume for the reduction of the light-house dues. (Cheers.) He had been accused of being hostile to the Established Church; *he was a friend to that Church*; and, as sincerely attached to it, he would declare that the greatest enemies of that Church were the bishops themselves, who, combined with the high Tories, had done more mischief to that Church than any other class of men. (Cheers.) He had the greatest confidence in Earl Grey, and those were not the friends of reform who endeavoured to sow dissension amongst the people. (Cheers.)

Sir W. B. FOLKES also returned thanks, and moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. N. R. Colborne, and agreed to.

A gentleman proposed a vote of censure on Sir T. Beevor, for his conduct on this occasion. This was received with loud cheers and some few dissentient hisses, but there was no doubt that if pressed it would have been carried by an overwhelming majority. Some gentlemen near the proposer, amongst whom we believe was Mr. Coke himself, urged him not to press it, and he did not persevere.

A fellow in the crowd, however, anxious that some unequivocal mark of the opinion of the meeting should be given to the hon. Baronet before he went, shouted out, "Three groans for Sir Thomas." This was eagerly caught up by the meeting, and three tremendous groans followed, mixed with some hisses from a few friends of the Baronet at the lower end of the hall.

Lord SUFFIELD proposed four times four cheers for the King, which were given with great ardour.

Cheers for the Ministers followed. Three groans were then proposed for the bishops, after which the meeting separated.

On the Daddy's insolence to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, and on the baseness of the *tax-eating* and *Bull-frog* crew, who backed the mean Old Daddy, I shall waste no time; and shall merely con-

fine myself to the subject of the Daddy's *grant*. He often repeats to us the fact, that he has been *half a century in Parliament*; but he never tells us that he has been, all that time, pocketing about 4,000*l.* a year of the public money; or 200,000*l.* The fact is, there is a *light-house*, called *Dungeness Light-house*, to which all vessels going in and out of the waters, in that part of England, pay a *duty*. This duty goes into the pocket of the DADDY COKE, he paying thereout whatever is necessary to keep the house lighted, and to keep up the building. The clear profit to the Daddy, the "*independent*" Daddy, was more than 4,000*l.* a year, until about three years ago; when the Government *took one-half of the profits from him*, and when he had the meanness to *ask for the whole, and take a half of it!* This grant was *made by patent*, just as all other *sinecure* grants are made. This was made for a *term of years*, and the term expired in the year 1828. Well, the Daddy got it from his *Whig ancestor*: the Daddy did not *ask* for it: he could not, for, perhaps, he was *not born* then. But what did he do when the term expired? Why, then he *asked for it!* 200,000*l.* sacked by him was not enough to satisfy him: it was too good a thing to lose: and, therefore, he *asked for it*. His account of the matter is, that he asked to have a *preference to the Trinity-house*; that is to say, a *preference to the public*; that is to say, he asked still to have the *four thousand pounds a year sinecure*; that is to say, as much public money yearly as would maintain 160 labourers' families at 25*l.* a year each, which is more than his bull-frog farmers allow them. So here was this *Whig-Patriot*; here was this "live-and-let-live" man asking, and asking the *Tories* too, for as much public money every year, for *another fifty years*, as is given to maintain 800 men, women, and children, allowing five to a family.

The *Tories*, however, were not villains enough to grant the *whole of his request*: they granted half of it; and now he pockets *one half of the profits*, the other half going *into the Treasury*; that is to say, to the *use of the public*,

to which use the whole ought to go. He pretends that this is *not public money*; that it is *not a tax*. What a miserable shuffle for the Old "*independent*" Daddy! It is a tax on vessels carrying goods in and out of the country, just as a custom-house duty is a tax. This may be a very wise tax, because it enables the Government to make the conditions on which *foreign* vessels trade with this country less advantageous than those on which *our* vessels carry on their trade. But, at any rate, it is *a tax*, and every *article that we consume*, and which comes from abroad, pays part of this tax; and every ounce of tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco, that is used by the poor half-starved souls on the Daddy's estates, pays the Daddy *something in this tax!* But suppose it was not a tax, but *an estate*, it still belongs to the nation, as much as the crown-lands belong to it; the income is the nation's, and if the nation had had it here, instead of its being given to this old greedy Whig-Patriot, the nation would have owed *a million less of debt*; for he has had the *interest upon interest* of these 200,000*l.* or more!

And yet the bull-frog brutes *bawled at Sir Thomas Beevor!* The truth is, the brutes have tax-eating or tithe-eating sons and relatives. They are in the same boat with the Daddy, and they will all go down together. One would think that they had now *blaze enough to enlighten them!* And does the Daddy hope to sack this money *after the reform!* If a reformed Parliament suffer him to sack it for a year, that Parliament will be *reformed again*: I can tell him that: ay, and he may think himself *well off*, if he be allowed to *keep what he has got*. Not if I can prevent it, he shall not. He has no ground whatever to justify his ever having touched a shilling of this money. He was never in the public service: he has no pretence of the sort; and yet he has been receiving these immense sums during more than half a century. *He*, indeed, rail against tax-eaters! However, let Sir Thomas Beevor laugh; for the time is not long before he will and must have it in his power to call the Daddy to a

*regular account*; and in a place, too, where the Daddy and his brutal band of oppressors will not be able to *groan* him down, and where the ruffians will *groan in earnest*. The Daddy knows all this; and, therefore, he hates *real reform*: all the faction know it, and they hate too, and they are now shuffling about the cards to see how they can give *the name* without giving *the thing*. They know well that the POLITICAL UNIONS are resolved to support them *and the bill*; and why, then, do they want to put down the Political Unions? What! do they *object to being supported!* Oh, no! They love place as they love life. It is *the Bill* that they do not want to see supported. This is what they are afraid of. They know that the people will be *disappointed*; they know that they do not intend "*the Bill*;" they know that, when the Unions discover this, the Unions will be *against them*; and, therefore, they want to *put down the Unions*. That is plainly the case; and I beg my readers not to believe in any other cause for this putting down. However, the country is *alarmed*; it is *full of suspicion*; and, though trick after trick will be tried, the tricks will all fail at last; a *real reform* will come, and Daddy Coke's sinecure will be amongst the first things to be overhauled, it being one of the grossest and most scandalous abuses that ever was heard of in the long history of the abuses of this profligate system.

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#### LINCOLN COUNTY MEETING.

THE proceedings in this great county are rendered very interesting by the RESOLUTIONS proposed by GENERAL JOHNSON, particularly that relating to *the bishops*. By-the-by, they say, that *he of Winchester is dead!* He was hanged *in effigy*, on the top of the market-place, in my native town of Farnham, which market-place is just opposite (500 yards distant from) *his palace*; and after hanging just about as long as the real body of poor Cook, of Michel-dever, hanged in sight of his other pa-

lace, the effigy was taken down, set fire to, and flung over into one of his gardens. The Bishop of Winchester had three palaces; one at Winchester, one at Farnham, and one at Chelsea. NORTH, some years ago, got an act passed to sell the palace at Chelsea, and to vest the proceeds for the use of himself and successors. If law can be made to sell one palace, why not to sell the other two; and if to vest the proceeds for the bishops and their families, why not to vest them for the public? This is the point. It is the *temporalities* and not the *spiritualities* that are in question now. The law now declares, that Catholics and dissenters are just as fit for all offices of trust as church people are; that they are as fit to be Peers, Parliament-men, Judges, and every-thing else; and, therefore, there can be no reason at all for heaping all this *public wealth* on bishops and other clergy. Sir ROBERT HERON seems to have made a stand for the Right Reverend Fathers; but the reception that his proposition met with ought to teach him, that the day of delusion is gone by. We do not hear who is to succeed him of Winchester. He was far greater than four or five of petty "*sovereigns*" of beggarly Germany put together; those petty things, to whom England has so long been a *milk cow*, surpassing one of my Alderneys at Kensington, and she gives eighteen quarts of milk a day, and makes about ten pounds of butter a week. Read the following report with attention: it is very briefly given; but it will show you that the doom of the "*Church property*," as it is called, is decided.

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At Lincoln, on Friday, another proof (if more were wanting) of the sandy foundation on which the boroughmongering cry of reaction is raised, was given by the freeholders and inhabitants of Lincoln. In pursuance of a requisition to the High Sheriff, signed by several hundred freeholders, a meeting, attended by several thousand persons, was held on the Castle-hill. The original appointed place of meeting was at the Castle; but, as we understand, it being intimated by a noble Lord to the High Sheriff, that if any disturbance took place, the safety of the prison would be endangered, it was thought fit to hold it on the

Castle-hill. During the day preceding the meeting, it was generally rumoured that Col. Sibthorp, who is at Stamford, would be present at the meeting, and the greatest fears of a disturbance were entertained in consequence. Several hundreds of the inhabitants were sworn in special constables, and every precaution taken to prevent disturbance. Happily, however, the Colonel did not make his appearance, and every-thing passed off quietly.

The HIGH SHERIFF (Henry Bacon Hickman, Esq.) took his station on the hustings shortly before one o'clock, accompanied by Sir Robert Heron, the Hon. C. A. Pelham, Sir Charles Anderson, Sir Wm. A. Inghlyb, Sir M. J. Cholmley, C. Tennyson, Esq., M.P., A. Roucheret, Esq., General Jackson, C. K. Tunnard, Esq., M. Allington, Esq., Major Handley, Henry Handley, Esq., Col. Braycroft, Col. King, Major Alix, — Healey, Esq., and several other gentlemen of high reputation in the county.

The requisition being read,

The HIGH SHERIFF requested an impartial hearing for all who wished to address the meeting.

Sir ROBERT HERON then came forward, and addressed the meeting. There had been much deliberation as to the policy of calling a meeting at the present inclement season, but the magnitude of the subject for which it was to be called overpowered all objections, and it was with great satisfaction that he perceived the alacrity with which the assembly had obeyed the summons of the Sheriff. (Cheers.) As, doubtless, there were many gentlemen present who would wish to state their opinion to the meeting, he would endeavour to set them a good example, by consuming as little as possible of the limited time of the meeting. (Loud cheers.) It was utterly unnecessary for him to go in detail into the question of reform; it was one that had so long agitated the minds, and been the object of the hope and fears, of the people, as to render it totally unnecessary for him to give the meeting any information upon it. (Cheers.) It was not till the present Administration came into power, that a measure so beneficial to the interests of the people was attempted to be brought forward. The present Ministry, with all their great experience, and with the utmost anxiety to produce a measure which would be salutary and beneficial to the country, had brought forward one, to which every true-born Englishman looked with delight, and felt that the beam of hope had now gladdened on his path. (Cheers.) He (Sir Robert Heron) should content himself with making a few observations on the grounds which principally actuated the bitter opponents of reform. It had been said that Lord Grey ought to have resigned when the bill was rejected by the House of Lords—the bill was then permanently lost, and that he must and should resign. (Loud cheers, and cries of "We'll have him again if he does.") In his opinion, if Lord Grey were at the pre-

sent crisis to desert his King, to abandon the people to anarchy, confusion, and blood, then he would deserve to lose his head upon the block. (Loud cheering.) It had been also said that Ministers were not sincere, that they had compromised the bill, that the one they intended now to introduce would not be satisfactory to the people. (Loud cries of "It will.") Who among the present Ministry, he would ask, were the men that had done so? Was it Lord Grey or Lord Brougham, or did Lord Althorp wear it on his sleeve for "daws to peck at?" (Cheers.) For himself he had not the slightest doubt that the bill which would shortly be introduced into the House would be a far better bill than the one that had been rejected. (Loud cheers.) It would preserve its essentials, and would probably have lost some of those anomalies, errors, and mistakes, which necessarily accompanied a measure so complicated as the rejected bill. How could it possibly be said that a less efficient measure would be brought forward, when the country had the solemn pledge of Lord Grey and Lord Althorp that it should be as effective as the last? (Loud cheers.) If the meeting would not believe in the honesty of Lord Althorp, neither would they believe one though risen from the dead. (Loud cheers.) The hon. Bart. concluded by proposing the following Address:—

*"To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

"We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the inhabitants of the county of Lincoln, by the authority of our Sheriff duly assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the warmest feelings of admiration and gratitude—gratitude for your gracious desire to grant to us the sacred right of a real and fair representation—admiration of the firmness of purpose with which you have persevered in that benevolent resolution, amidst so many difficulties and against so much opposition.

"We rely with the fullest confidence on the success of the efforts of your Majesty and your honest servants, and we pray that your reign may be long and happy, as we know that it must be accounted glorious by the latest posterity."

C. ANDERSON, Esq., seconded the address. He thought the present meeting would be considered as a sufficient proof that no reaction had taken place in the sentiments of the freeholders and inhabitants of Lincoln with respect to this great and important measure, and that they trusted still in the great talents of the Ministers speedily to pass the Reform Bill. It was utterly impossible to suppose that the people of England would not trust their truly British Monarch, who, from the very first period when he mounted the throne, had been endeavouring to do all in his power for the benefit and happiness of his people. It was impossible to suppose, too, that the people would not trust Earl Grey, who had grown old in advocating this measure—who, on his first entering into power,

had brought it forward—and who, he (Mr. A.) trusted, would live to see its happy conclusion. It was impossible also to suppose that the people would not trust to Lord Brougham—a man whose talents had excited the admiration of the whole country—one who, in a simple hour, did more than ordinary mortals could accomplish in the course of a day. (Loud cheers.) It was impossible, also, to suppose that the country would not trust the Marquis of Lausdown and Lord Althorp—whose very names need only be mentioned to ensure their sincerity. He begged of the meeting to be united and firm, and they would be sure of the Reform Bill being carried. Mr. Anderson concluded by seconding the address. Mr. TENNYSON, M.P., suggested that the word "grant" in the address should be left out, and the word "promote" substituted, as it appeared to imply that the liberties of the people were grants from the crown.

Sir R. HERON accepted the alteration with thanks.

The address was unanimously agreed to.

General JOHNSON then rose: He was extremely glad to see the unanimity that prevailed in the meeting, and though he thought the Address perfectly satisfactory as far as it went, yet he could not suppose that it conveyed the sentiments of that large county, and he should, therefore, with the permission of the meeting, follow it up with one or two resolutions, which he would read:—

"1st. That we the inhabitants of Lincoln, in County Court assembled, feel most grateful to our good King for his assistance in effecting the great work of reform in the Commons House of Parliament. We desire to support his Majesty's Ministers in carrying the bill into a law, imploring them urgently to advise his Majesty to dismiss from official situations under his control all persons who have shown decided hostility to that measure."

"2nd. We reflect with indignation upon the conduct pursued by a majority of the hereditary peers in rejecting the Reform Bill. This conduct we ascribe to faction, to self-interest, and thirst of immoderate power. (Tremendous cheering.) For the conduct of the spiritual peers we entertain a feeling which no language can adequately express. (Loud cheers.) We are firmly of opinion, that in order to secure the right of the crown and the liberties of the people, faction must be suppressed, mal-appropriation of public money be corrected, and ecclesiastics confined to their spiritual functions." (Deafening cheers.)

"We are determined to use our utmost exertions to maintain peace and order, convinced as we are that through them alone can the people obtain redress of grievances, relief from excessive taxation, and such a representation as will insure a wise and cheap Government."

At the first meeting that he (Gen. Johnson) had the honour of attending in the county of Lincoln, he had avowed that his object was then precisely what it was now, and he had

never swerved one single iota from these sentiments; his object was to obtain a cheap government, without which the country never could obtain that reduction of taxation which all were so anxious to see accomplished. (Cheers.) The last resolution brought to his notice a circumstance personal to himself. So long ago as May last, at a public meeting at Stamford, he ventured to predict, that if the Reform Bill was rejected by the House of Peers, and if the people found there was no mode of obtaining reform so urgently sought for, they would have recourse to the expedient of refusing the payment of taxes; that sentiment had been re-echoed by hundreds of thousands. That declaration, he believed, had given great offence in certain high quarters. He would not say whether the formation of associations to resist the payment of taxes was legal or not; he would not even venture to say whether it exceeded the bounds of propriety; but he would say that it was perfectly legal for persons to associate for the purpose of refusing to purchase goods that had been seized for taxes. (Cheers.) He trusted, however, that such measures would not be necessary. He trusted that Lord Grey would have recourse to every legal measure to carry the Reform Bill, for he was afraid that, if he sat still and expected the boroughmongers to come to his side of the question, the country would look for reform in vain. (Cheers.) A great deal had been said about the dreadful evil called the cholera morbus, but, for his part, he did not consider it half so great an evil as the placing of the collar of the boroughmongers around the necks of the people of England. (Loud cheers and laughter.) If he were Lord Grey, he would use every means in his power to purge the House of Lords of the bishops. He would apply to the Royal William to double the number of Peers in the House of Lords, and by that means defy the power of the boroughmongers. Without some strong measures were resorted to, reform would never be carried, and the wishes of the people would be defeated. (Loud cheering.) The gallant General concluded by trusting the resolutions which he had read would be adopted by the meeting.

Major HANDLEY rose for the purpose of seconding the resolutions. He observed, that with respect to the feeling that pervaded all hearts towards the good and gracious King of these realms, there could be no objection to the Address; and all that he wished was, to see it expressed more clearly than it had been. (Cheers.) It would be idle in him to detain for any length of time the meeting in detailing the reasons for reform; the subject had been so much discussed by able persons, as to render it totally unnecessary.

Sir ROBERT HERON said, to the first resolution he could not object; to the third no man could object; but he must object to the second. With regard to the bishops, he at all times should be ready to conciliate the respect of the country for their characters by taking

from them their political functions, in which they always disgraced themselves. (Great cheers.)

The SHERIFF put the question on the resolutions separately; the first and third were carried unanimously, the second by a large majority.

Mr TUNNARD moved, "That this meeting feels the most perfect confidence in the integrity and talents of his Majesty's present Ministers, and in their perseverance in the cause of reform, on the success of which mainly depend the peace and welfare of these Kingdoms."

A. BOUCHERETT, Esq., seconded the resolution.

The HIGH SHERIFF put the resolution to the meeting, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Sir CHARLES ANDERSON moved the following resolution in a short and neat speech, expressing his cordial concurrence in the object of the meeting, and his deep regret at the course pursued by the House of Lords:—

"That this meeting observes with the greatest satisfaction, that in the minority of 158 Lords are to be found the representatives of the greater part of our ancient nobility, the descendants of former patriots and heroes, and feels deeply grateful to them for their noble exertions for the welfare of the nation."

The resolution was then seconded, put by the High Sheriff to the meeting and declared by him to be carried unanimously.

On the motion of Major Handley, seconded by Major Allix, a copy of the resolutions was ordered to be sent to Earl Grey.

Major ALLIX, in a neat and appropriate speech, moved a vote of thanks to the representatives of the county, Sir W. A. Ingilby and the Hon. C. A. Pelham.

HENRY HANDLEY, Esq., seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously, amidst loud and long-continued cheering.

Sir William Ingilby and the Hon. C. A. Pelham briefly returned thanks.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the High Sheriff, who in a neat speech acknowledged the honour done him; and the meeting, after giving nine cheers for the King, three for reform, and three groans for the bishops, separated peaceably.

## M<sup>R</sup>. EAGLE'S PAMPHLET.

I ONCE before strongly recommended this pamphlet, which is called, "AN ARGUMENT, SHOWING THAT THE TITHES BELONG TO THE PUBLIC AND THE POOR." In this pamphlet there is what I never was able to give, namely, *the law* of the case. As far as *history* and *reason* went, I showed this matter clearly enough; but Mr. EAGLE has given us *law* for it, from the first dawn of Christianity in England to the present day, and has

proved that, according to law, the Parliament has the clear right to take all the tithes, and to dispose of them as it thinks proper. I was so well satisfied of the great utility of this pamphlet, that, as my readers will remember, I recommended the author to publish an edition to be sold for 6d. This he has now done, and I have just got a copy from his booksellers, Messrs. Saunders and Benning, No. 43, Fleet-street. But, besides the price, this edition has another great convenience, for, in an advertisement prefixed to it, the author has given the form of a notice, which he recommends all parish officers to serve in writing upon the tithe-owners of their respective parishes, in order to obtain from those tithe-owners the portion of the tithes necessary for repair of the churches and for relief of the poor. I do hope that parish officers will at once act upon this advice. The clergy will not obey, perhaps. Then a subscription of several parishes will bring the matter into a court of law, and then we shall have the matter clearly understood by every living soul. Lord LYNTHURST, in opposing the Reform Bill, and in stating that the bill would *overset the Church*, alluded to this pamphlet as put forth with "*high legal sanction*." His Lordship did not say, nor insinuate, that the pamphlet contained any thing false, or even erroneous. He knew well that it did not: he knew that it was *unanswerable*: but he voted against the bill, because the bill would bring the doctrines of the pamphlet into practice! That it would have done this is certain; and that some other bill, or some event or other, will very speedily do it, Lord Lyndhurst may be well assured. ☉

The copy of the notice which Mr. EAGLE has given, is, the reader will see, addressed to the *Dean and Chapter of Ely*, they being the receivers of the great tithes of the parish of LECKENHEATH, in which he is a landowner. They are also church landowners in the same parish; and, therefore, this notice applies to them in the latter capacity also. But, in general, the notice ought to be served on the Rector, or, where there is a vicar, on him; for it is his

business to seek out the great-tithe owner. In cases where there is neither rector nor vicar, and the parish is left to a poor miserable curate by the lay-impropriator, the notice ought to be given to him. You will find him out at *shearing time*, I'll warrant you.

Mr. O'CONNELL, in a speech recently made upon the subject of tithes, is reported to have said, that he wished that I knew that the tithes in Ireland were collected by the police. I have long known it, and a hundred times state the scandalous fact. They are not collected by the police, but by soldiers, and oftener that way than in any other. But, in fact, is it much otherwise in England? Ask any farmer whether he thinks; nay, ask any parson whether he thinks that tithes would be collected in England, if there were no soldiers. Ask him that! But what surprised me very much was, to hear Mr. O'CONNELL say, that he would suffer the present parsons to have the tithes for their lives! Lives! why, a plenty of them will live for fifty years. Besides, what confusion! This parish would be paying tithe-tax, and the next parish would not. And then, deans and chapters (the greatest devourers of all) never die. And then again, the lay-parsons; what right to take from their sons more than from them. And then, an old lay-parson may sell to a young one. The Duke of Devonshire may sell his tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland to a parson half as old as himself. Oh, no! it must be clean work, or no work at all. There is law for taking away at once; but no law (at least no precedent) for garbling work, like that talked of by Mr. O'Connell. The country wants immediate relief; and, besides, who ever yet heard of a dead parson? It is a saying in the country, that no man ever yet saw a dead parson or a dead exciseman. I never did, at any rate; and I never knew any body that did. ☉ I now insert the advice of Mr. EAGLE to parish officers; and, as I said before, this pamphlet ought to be kept in the hands of every parish officer in the kingdom.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE THIRD  
EDITION.

Since the publication of the second edition of this pamphlet, the bills relating to tithes which were brought forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others during the last session, have been put an end to by the prorogation of the Parliament. Whether it is intended to introduce any measures "quite as efficient" in the ensuing session, I do not know, nor have I thought it worth while to inquire, as the time is, I think not very distant when the right reverend promoters of these ingenious specimens of delusive legislation will themselves become the subject of enactments of a much more efficient description.

With the exception of a trifling addition to one of the notes, I have not found it necessary to make any alteration in the work as it stood in the last edition; there is, however, one point upon which I take this opportunity of offering a few additional observations. I have been asked what course ought to be pursued, and whether, in particular, a bill in equity would lie, to compel the possessors of tithes to appropriate to the poor and the reparation of the churches, the two third parts of the tithes which they hold in trust for those specific purposes. My answer to this is, that the abuse is of too long standing to be remedied by an application to a Court of Equity, and that the proper and usual remedy in such cases is, a legislative enactment, declaring, restoring, and confirming the ancient rule and practice of the law; and that the Parliament should be petitioned and the members of the reformed House of Commons instructed to pass a law to that effect. The law of tithes affords several instances of such enactments, in cases where it has been found necessary to check the encroachments of the clergy. But as some time may possibly elapse before such a statute can be passed, I think that in the meantime it will be advisable that in every parish where the inhabitants are desirous of having the tithes restored to their legitimate uses, a notice or requisition for that pur-

pose should be delivered to the possessors of the tithes, whether such possessors be ecclesiastical or lay persons. The following requisition which is about to be presented from a parish in Suffolk, will show the form in which such notices should be drawn up.

"To the Very Reverend the Dean and  
Chapter of Ely.

"We, the undersigned, occupiers of  
"land and rate payers in the parish of  
"Lakenheath, in the county of Suffolk,  
"being advised that the rectorial tithes  
"of Lakenheath, which have been for a  
"long time past appropriated to the  
"private use of you and your prede-  
"cessors, the former deans and chapters  
"of Ely aforesaid, are not vested in you  
"beneficially, but are received by you  
"in trust, as to one-third part thereof  
"for the use of the poor of the said  
"parish, and as to one other third part  
"in trust for the reparation of the  
"church, and the other purposes for  
"which church-rates are assessed upon  
"the said parish, do hereby request that  
"you will henceforth be pleased to  
"render and pay over two third parts of  
"the said tithes to the parish officers of  
"the said parish, to be applied by them  
"to such religious and charitable uses  
"as aforesaid.

"And in respect to the manor and  
"lands within the said parish which  
"formerly belonged to the monastery  
"of Ely, and which are now in your  
"possession, we farther require you to  
"exercise those duties of charity and  
"hospitality which constitute the tenure  
"and condition upon which the said  
"manor and lands were granted to your  
"predecessors, in the reign of King  
"Henry the 8th; but which duties  
"have been wholly neglected and aban-  
"doned by you and your said prede-  
"cessors."

It may possibly be urged as an objection to the above requisition, that in the case of deans and chapters, it does not go far enough, and seems to contemplate only a partial reformation of abuses, when it is almost universally acknowledged to be absolutely necessary, for the interests of the commonwealth, that deans and chapters and other sinecurists,



and useless and burdensome dignitaries of the church should be wholly suppressed. It should, however, be remembered, that the requisition does not profess to embrace all the measures which are conceived to be necessary for the accomplishment of ecclesiastical reform, but merely seeks a redress of those particular grievances which are discussed in the following argument. With respect to the possessors of tithes generally, I cannot conclude these observations, without remarking, that it appears to me that they will do well to consider, whether, in the present state of public opinion, a ready and cheerful compliance with the just and reasonable terms of the requisition, does not afford the only possible means of averting a total abolition of tithes.

1, Garden-Court, Middle Temple,  
Nov. 17, 1831.

### FEELOSOFICAL QUACKERY.

THE following specimen of this, the worst sort of quackery, I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 23d instant. All that the writer says about the *abuse of tithes* is right enough, and is worth reading: it is with the *first part* of this article that I find fault, but on which I will reserve my remarks till I have inserted the whole article, as follows:—

In an excellent pamphlet, just published, under the title of "Thoughts on Education, Union of Classes, and a Co-operation, suggested by the late 'Riots at Bristol,'" it is observed, that 'the rulers and the heads of tribes'—men possessed of leisure, of knowledge, and of power, 'hearts to plan and tongues to utter wisdom'—have 'either totally or partially neglected the plain and essential duty of furnishing to every human being throughout the country a *well-digested course of instruction, applied to every period of life*. Before long, this point will be seen in its proper light, and the neglect of the public mind regarded with no less blame (to say the very least) than the neglect of public property

"by those entrusted with its care. Why should there be a single district or corner of the country devoid of such excellent institutions as infant and industry schools, schools for mutual instruction, *parochial libraries*, and mechanics' or labourers' institutes, with apartments for reading and lectures? Why are those arrangements left to chance and partial adoption, which, in the loudest and plainest tone, demand universality and system? Why are the poor unassisted by Governments in their endeavours to frame such establishments, and left to struggle for their attainment through destitution and difficulties, without any certain and definite aid? The aid is withheld, and the people are induced to consider the governing classes as the enemies or hypocritical friends of knowledge and improvement. Of what value are the isolated endeavours of a few enlightened individuals? Of much, indeed, every way to their immediate neighbourhood and to themselves, as responsible to God and their conscience, but of little to the nation at large. We may remember what a vast proportion of the incendiaries and rioters in the south last winter were *unable to read*—had not attained the first step towards *mental improvement*. Such a state of things may be comparatively innocuous in a country devoid of the temptations and ideas arising from the glaring inequality of worldly goods which prevails in our artificial or *civilized position*; but how can such ignorant beings comprehend and feel the advantages resulting from the *guardianship of property*, even to him whose sole property consists in his daily labour?"

There are but too many in this country who indulge in the delusion, that one part of society may set an example of heartless injustice, engrossing selfishness and rapacity without bound or limit, while the rest of society will contentedly respect and obey the laws. In the language of the SENATOR OF VENICE, in Mr. COOPER'S *Bravo*, they say, or would say, to the inquiring or disaf-

fectured poor, "Thou art accustomed to  
 "comment on measures and interests  
 "that are beyond thy limited reason,  
 "and thou knowest that thy opinions  
 "have already drawn displeasure on  
 "thee. The ignorant and the low are  
 "to the state as children whose duty it  
 "is to obey, and not to cavil." The  
 day for this language to produce its  
 effect in this country is *gone for ever*.  
 Let us look around in every direction,  
 and we shall see disaffected paupers,  
 unwilling slaves, alienated from the in-  
 stitutions of a society which they think  
 has treated them with injustice. The  
 torch of the incendiary throughout all  
 the agricultural counties of England  
 ought to warn us of the danger of being  
 surrounded by fellow-creatures between  
 whom and ourselves there are no ties of  
 sympathy, over whose minds we cease  
 to possess influence.

The Lord Chancellor has, it is said,  
*a plan for establishing parochial libra-  
 ries throughout the country.* But in  
 England the *public funds* must be ap-  
 plied to such purposes, if we hope for  
 any result.

Now the immense mass of public  
 property in this country, called Church  
 property, *has never been distributed with  
 a view to public utility*, but exclusively  
 to private ends. In Ireland, matters  
 are rapidly approaching to an adjust-  
 ment. No man acquainted with what  
 is passing in Ireland can have a doubt  
 that *a new arrangement of public pro-  
 perty is at hand.*

"Every disinterested man (says a corres-  
 pondent of *The Dublin Evening Post*) of sound  
 sense in Ireland, desires a new settlement of  
 Church property, as indispensable to the future  
 peace and prosperity of the country. *It will  
 never be possible to collect tithe and apply it as  
 heretofore in Ireland.*

"The legislature, in dealing with this sub-  
 ject, should not for a moment leave out of its  
 views the ends and purposes for which this  
 property was originally granted. To these  
 purposes alone, or to purposes intimately con-  
 nected with them, it should be exclusively ap-  
 plied; for when the state, overlooking the  
 rights of individuals or classes, applies to its  
 own general wants, or to the benefits of the  
 people, *en masse*, what was entrusted to cor-  
 porations for the benefit of individuals, or of  
 particular classes of communities, it commits  
 gross injustice, and wastes its own resources.

This was the error and the crime of the French  
 Revolution—it should be the object of a British  
 Parliament to restore, not to subvert or de-  
 stroy.

"Ought, then, 'Church property,' which  
 was intended for the service of religion, be  
 suffered to remain alienated from that service  
 —to become the inheritance of certain families,  
 and to poison the political atmosphere by its  
 corrupt exhalations? Ought the provision,  
 consecrated by the piety of our ancestors to the  
 relief and comfort of the needy and the poor,  
 be left a prey to the rapacity of administrators,  
 who, regardless of the destitution and starva-  
 tion of the actually poor and needy, lavish it  
 on the genteel support, as it is called, of the  
 pride and vanity of families of extraction—  
 ruined, perhaps, by idleness and dissipation?  
 No! the state has a right, and is obliged to  
 interfere decidedly with every such violation of  
 the primitive and most sacred relationship of  
 society. The state has a right, and ought to  
 exert its sovereign power, as a power derived  
 from God, for arresting the abuse which those,  
 whom the law protects in their possessions,  
 have been tempted to make of the property  
 entrusted to them. But the state should not  
 itself be guilty of what it condemns in others,  
 by applying to the general purposes of the  
 empire what was dedicated to certain fixed  
 and ascertained purposes, or what was conse-  
 crated to the special interests of religion and  
 the poor."

But will a reformation be confined to  
 Ireland? Certainly not. Public utility,  
 and not family aggrandizement, must  
 prevail in the distribution of public pro-  
 perty, if we hope to see the population  
 restored to a healthy moral state. The  
 Church swarms with abuses of every  
 kind. The ecclesiastical divisions are  
 any-thing but suited to the present state  
 of the country. One parish is a pro-  
 vince, another consists of a few hundred  
 acres—one contains a population equal  
 to that of the greatest capitals, another  
 contains only a few hamlets. This  
 cannot continue long in an enlightened  
 age.

The author of the pamphlet already  
 noticed by us, observes, that "as yet  
 "the clergy have been, in many in-  
 "stances, the opponents, or the luke-  
 "warm friends, to any considerable ex-  
 "tension of general knowledge." In a  
 letter in the *Times* of yesterday, the  
 causes of their hostility to all improve-  
 ment in the country are ably pointed  
 out. It appears that what influence  
 they possess is all exerted to mischievous  
 purposes:—

"In consequence (it is observed) of their dispersion through the country, their education, the nature of their office, their habits of life, and other circumstances, their influence is very extensive and their opposition proportionably formidable. At all elections they are seen as active agents, if not always at the hustings, yet commonly in their respective parishes, on behalf of the Tory candidates. They are now every-where on the alert, not only because they apprehend that a reformed Parliament might diminish the value of the good things which they covet, but from the well-founded conviction that it would lead to the political destruction of their Tory patrons. All the manœuvring that Machiavellian policy can devise, as well as all the modes of open attack, are resorted to by these powerful allies of the boroughmongers; and they bespatter with every species of obloquy, such of their brethren as conscientiously stand forward as the advocates of reform."

This last paragraph shows a want of knowledge on the subject. The thing cannot be settled in this manner. Tithes must remain as they are, or be abolished. They cannot be exacted for any other purpose, or by any body else, than the clergy. They would not be a *present* made to the landowners at all: the whole of the community would share in the benefit of taking them from ten or twenty thousand families of *idlers*. The land would, then, bear that *sole internal tax*, which I, in my THIRTEEN PROPOSITIONS, propose to lay upon it.

Now for the first part of this article, which closes with telling us that the LORD CHANCELLOR (watch his pranks!) has an intention of proposing the establishment of "*Parish Libraries*" for the purpose of *educating the working people*! Only think of *apartments for reading and lecturing* in every parish! Only think of a village of Chopsticks having *apartments to read in*! By —, these people are mad! They know no more about England than they do about the moon, and the land in the moon. "*Labourers' Institutes*, with apartments for reading and lectures!" It is madness; and not a hair short of it. To propose that sheep and oxen and horses should be taught to fly, as birds do, would not be a bit more sign of madness.

Yet, at bottom, it is *roguery*; it is *roguery* that shows itself in *foolishness*:

the foolishness is so great, that you hardly suspect that there can be any roguery with it; but, at the bottom, the basis is real roguery. The *feelosofers* lay it down as an *axiom*, that *riots and fires* proceed from the *ignorance* of the perpetrators; and that *ignorance* consists in an inability to *write*, and to *read newspapers* and Brougham's stupid stuff called "*Useful Knowledge*." This they lay down as an *axiom*. For want of being able to read thus, they hold that the poor creatures cannot comprehend the "*blessings of accumulation*;" they cannot "*comprehend and feel the advantage* resulting from the *guardianship of property*." No, poor things, they cannot comprehend the advantage that results to them from barns and stacks being kept safe for the use of those who deny them all but potatoes, and hardly a stomach full of them. The poor "*ignorant beings*" cannot comprehend and feel this advantage without the aid of "*apartments to read*" Brougham's *Useful Knowledge*: much less can they comprehend and *feel the advantages* resulting from their being (men, old men, boys, and women) compelled to *starve*, or to draw carts and waggons like beasts of burden. It really does need a "*Labourers' Institute*" with apartments for reading and "*lectures*," to convince that it is advantageous to young women to have their long hair cut from their heads by a brutal hired overseer, and to have their bodies covered with serge with a badge on it; or to be compelled to become *prostitutes*, or to *starve*. Poh! you miserable Scotch quacks! It is the employers that want to be *educated*: the landlords, parsons, and big farmers, want to be taught that it is their *true* interest in the end, to cause the working people to live well, and to possess the means of being well dressed. And this is precisely what *you* do not teach. What a beastly notion, that book-learning is wanted to make a labourer honest, industrious, and contented! Even as to farmers, in nine cases out of ten, book-learning is *an injury*, rather than a good. The best managed farm that I ever saw is in the hands of a man,

who, when necessity compels him to write, can hardly put his meaning upon paper. And is he an "ignorant man?" He understands *his business*, and does it well; and what do you want more of him?

But the *roguery* at the bottom is this! those who put forth this quackery want the present *funding and taxing system* to go on; because, if it stop *they must go to work*. They rail against the *tithes*, indeed; but they want *all the rest* to go on. Now, it cannot go on without starving the labourers. These tax-eaters do not dare to say, in direct terms, that they wish the labourers to starve; and, therefore, they will *never allow* that the riots and the fires are *caused by the pinchings of hunger*. Hence they beat about for causes; and, just at this time, their favourite cause is want of "*labourers' institutes*," in which the labourers are made to see clearly, that it is *reasonable and just* that they who make to come all the meat and bread and beer and wool and leather, to live upon potatoes and water and go half-naked in their bodies and barefooted. Poh! you quacks; you Scotch quacks; establish well-loaded bacon racks in the villages instead of libraries; teach the landlords and farmers to feed and clothe the working-people well; and then they may sleep in safety: otherwise they never will again, though the world be inundated by your miserable roguish quackery.

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### MR. ALDERMAN SCALES.

MR. SCALES was duly elected by a vast majority of the ward of Portsoken. The Court of Aldermen would not swear him in, because, as they alleged, he was *not a freeman*, having been apprenticed a month or two too soon or too late, though they had made him perform *all the duties* of a freeman for *twenty-six years*. They alleged, besides, that he was "*an unfit person*," and that *they themselves were the sole judges of the fitness or unfitness*. 'This the judges of the Court of King's Bench, Abbott,

Park, Alderson, and another, I think, held to be a *good objection to him*. So that it is come to this at last: the free-men of the wards have a *right* to elect any freeman that they please; a *perfect right* to do that; and the Court of Aldermen have a *perfect and absolute right to set the election at nought without cause assigned*! This is, I think, as neat a specimen of the *right of election* as we have ever heard of! I always thought Mr. SCALES wasted his time in any attempt to get amongst such a crew, especially after a reform of the Parliament became unavoidable.

That crew may rest assured, that one of two things will speedily take place, a *reform, or some change of greater magnitude*; and that, in either of these cases, not only will they cease to have the power to *annul the elections made by the freemen*; but, that many and important *past transactions* will be pretty scrupulously inquired into. At present this crew beat the boroughmongers all to nothing; for, if the freemen of any town do happen to elect a person that they do not like, they do not pretend to any right to *set the election aside* upon the mere allegation that *they do not think the person chosen a fit person*. Mr. SCALES should now publish a list of the *names, callings, and other circumstances* of the whole of this crew, so that we may have them *upon record* against the time when the record may be useful.

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### THE REMEDY.

An Ounce of Prerogative worth a Ton of Corrupt Influence.

THE Bill of Reform of the Commons has passed, and is rejected by a small majority in the Lords.

The country is almost unanimous in favour of Lord GREY and his administration.

But how is the bill to get through the Lords? If by secret influence, are we not degrading our noble Premier in suggesting any such means; and should the Lords now pass the bill, or as effi-

cient a one, where will be their consistency?

Why go to the Lords at all? The Commons profess on all occasions respecting election of their members, to be independent of the Peers, then why go to them for their assent to any alteration in the constituency, in which the Peers have no interest or concern? and wherein their lawful privileges are not affected. But this matter concerns only the Commons and Common House of Parliament.

In proof of this there is a resolution of the Commons entered on their Journals at the commencement of every session, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, for any Lord of Parliament, or any Lord Lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the election of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament."

Notwithstanding this, the Commons have taken their bill to the Lords who have rejected it contrary to the advice of Lord GREY, who told the Lords they might possibly have another measure less palatable.

Therefore in conformity with the above resolution, and in order to verify our noble Premier's prophetic admonition, let all our energies be centred in petitioning the House of Commons to come to some resolutions founded on the rejected bill, and take them to our gracious and patriotic King, to whom we will then send up petitions and addresses imploring him to exert his royal powers, by issuing (in accordance with ancient usage) his writs for a new House of Commons agreeable to those resolutions, and thereby insure the only means of restoring SAFETY, PEACE, and HARMONY, to this now suffering and troubled kingdom, and which blessings we shall the more highly prize as being the work of a Sovereign, endeared to us by every tie that can bind to a gracious King a loyal, dutiful and grateful people.

There will then be no occasion for Lord GREY to truckle to the majority of 41 peers and bishops, the Commons will be acting up to their own resolutions,

and we shall have a House of Commons unshackled by any restraint by the Peers which the Commons always profess themselves to be, and at the new Parliament the right of contested elections will be determined by the House of Commons as they now are, instead of applying to the House of Peers for numerous other acts for amendments and alterations of the law; which must be done in every case, if carried into execution by act of Parliament.

Who is to object to this, but the 41 Lords, who may enter their protests? No, they cannot even do that, as they will be no way concerned; but the King and the Commons will accomplish the whole, with the unanimous voice of the people.

Admitting (for argument's sake) that the bill passed the Lords, and a question arose as to the right of voting, as doubtless many will, and the Commons proceeded to try the right, may not the losing party say, that he is entitled under an act of Parliament, which can only be determined by law? If so, and as all law questions must be decided in a court of law, but the last resort is to the House of Peers by appeal, the Commons would be committing suicide on their own privileges by doing that by act of Parliament which should be done by their own resolutions, and the King's writs in pursuance of them, with the approbation of the people, testified in the most decided manner by petitions from all populous places.

From the year 1273, during the reign of Edward the First (the greatest legislator of any English monarch since the days of King Alfred), to that of 1684, in Charles the Second's reign, frequent alterations took place, by discontinuing, restoring, and omitting different boroughs in the representation, as may be seen in Mr. Oldfield's Representative History, which shows the changes that have taken place, being in all 69 boroughs which sent members to Parliament in different reigns, and which are now deprived of that right; among which are Alresford, Basingstoke, Chelmsford, Doncaster, Ely, Farnham, Greenwich, Halifax, Kingston-on-

Thames, Leeds, Manchester, Newbury, Odiham, Pershore, Ross, Spalding, Torrington, and Wisbeach.

The borough proprietors are ever declaiming on the perils of change and innovation, though there have, till within the two last centuries, been both innovation and change by the King's writs; which right, though not always used for the benefit of the people, has never been abrogated. Then, surely, if the King has this right, which formerly was exerted not always for the good of the people, he now has the same to exert it at the request of his people and the majority of the House of Commons; to which the two Attorney-Generals lately referred in different debates in the House of Commons, and who probably would have supported their opinions had they been upheld by the other members of his Majesty's Administration; but who did not support their Attorney-Generals in their well-founded opinions, possibly from a recollection and apprehension of falling into the same error as the late Honourable Mr. Fox did, by asserting, at the time of the regency, that the Heir Apparent was entitled to it; whereby he had all the Tories, with Pitt at their head, against him, who then being in high feather, outvoted him.

Though the Kings with their estates (now denominated crown lands), and the great barons or lords, with the monks, abbots, now archbishops, bishops, and other religious persons, up to the time of the reformation of our religion, between 1510 and 1550, wholly paid the expenses of the Government, with, perhaps, a very small addition from the Customs, and a few wealthy boroughs, the crown estates, in the time of William of Normandy, called the Conqueror, being 400,000*l.* a year, which had, by our kings, from time to time been reduced to 132,000*l.* a year at the time of Queen Anne, in whose reign the whole annual cost of government amounted only to half a million a year, including the above 132,000*l.*, the produce of the crown lands. Before this time the religious houses almost wholly sustained the poor, and entertained at their mansions all strangers and travel-

lers, and the body of the people lived tax-free; whereas they now pay, in Customs, Excise, Stamps, Post-office, and other taxes, more than forty millions a year, as under, besides the sums we annually borrow and take up at interest in Exchequer bills; \* while the great barons or lords, and the bishops, enjoy their revenues free from all attendance on the King in wars, are never called on for subsidies of tenths or fifteenths, nor the latter for repair of cathedrals or religious houses; and the people return no more members to Parliament than they did before the days of Queen Anne; and many of those which they are said to return, are in fact returned by rotten boroughs, under the direction of the aristocracy, who now refuse us any reform, though their burdens are done away with and their revenues remain. Well might a French periodical author remark, that the aristocracy of England have adopted the best mode in the world of appropriating the wealth and earnings of all the middle classes in the country to their own use; and at the same time leaving each to pursue his own mode of industry, when, by taxes of various descriptions, they contrive to gather the fruits of their industry, and divide them among themselves, their families, and dependents; as may be illustrated by the fable of the bees, whom they suffer to gather honey into their own stores without smothering or destroying them, though, to be sure, they leave them a bare sufficiency to subsist on through the winter: so that the drones, being too indolent to

\* A rough sketch of what is yearly paid in lieu of that paid by the barons and bishops, formerly none of which in those days were collected of the people. The present yearly revenue, up to July, 1829, was as under, leaving out odd hundred thousands.

	MILLIONS.
Customs.....	15
Excise.....	18
Stamps .....	6
Assessed Taxes .....	4
Post-office .....	1
	—
	44
	—

Crown lands only 5,500*l.*

collect the honey, employ an army of wasps, who at low wages do it for them; and these are Excise and Custom-house officers, tax collectors, soldiers, and police officers. The first class collect the most, as they make the poor bees pay for every flower they taste or alight on to collect their winter store; the second class come to their hives and demand such a weight of honey; the third class stand ready to enforce the demands made by this second class, while the poor industrious bees give their honey and work hard for more, not considering the more they make, the more will be demanded of them, and when they stand up for reform in these matters, they are called mutinous and sad troublesome bees, whose ale and sugar must be heavily taxed, or they would get so much of it as would render them unfit for fifteen or sixteen hours' labour in the day, which is now required of them to furnish the drones and wasps with honey enough, although their grandfathers and grandmothers did not, fifty years ago, work more than eight hours, and in the large manufacturing towns the cleverest of them used to celebrate four or five saint-days in the fore part of the week, consuming sugar and ale heavily taxed, so as to well aggrandise the queen bee and a numerous aristocracy distributed among the drones and wasps.

Having stated what appears to be the best and only practical mode of bringing that to pass, which is the almost unanimous wish of all not interested in the continuation of abuses which have brought this kingdom to the verge of bankruptcy, I should without hesitation subscribe my name did I imagine, that in so doing it would confer any weight on it, but, as that would neither diminish nor add to it, I shall only say, that having for fifty years been a strenuous advocate for Parliamentary Reform, after having read the late Judge Blackstone's Commentaries, and De Lolme on the British Constitution, and endured the names of a republican during the first American war, then that of Jacobin, and since of radical and other similar names, and during those times had the honour and

patronage of two noble Earls differing widely in sentiments from those I professed; and one of them with that liberality and candour which did him great honour, conferred on me a place of great trust and confidence, though at the very time we were adverse in our politics, and one of whom did me the honour of saying why he was so; viz. that he thought our Parliament sufficiently democratic already, and though I am a native and inhabitant of one of the above-named places, which have not for some centuries sent any member of Parliament, yet having with a tithing thereto, adjoining and forming part of the same town a population of 7,500, while other towns in the same county possessing not half that number return members, I should be without a vote had I not freeholds in three adjoining counties, and therefore am

Nov. 15th, 1831. A FREEHOLDER.

[MAYO, PRINTER, NEWBURY.]

### WAITHMAN AT LAST GASP.

THIS old backbiting enemy of mine seems, at last, to have been fairly brought down to the very dirt. The following is a report of proceedings which took place in the Court of Aldermen on Tuesday last. I beg the reader to go through it patiently: it is as complete an exhibition of mortification at defeat as ever was seen in this world. WAITHMAN sees that he never can be a Member for the City again. His own folly has brought him to this state, and he discovers his rage with more indiscretion than I hardly ever witnessed. His rage makes him turn his back on all decency; and I should not wonder at all to see him openly join in reprobating parliamentary reform. The Lord Mayor touched him very nicely by his "*mixed feeling*." However, this *Cock* has had his day: he has doubled and twisted about for a long while; but, having at last been compelled to show himself openly, he has proved himself to be what I always said he was; that is to say, a conceited, a selfish, and an ignorant man.

A very unusual scene took place in this Court on Tuesday last. The reporter was not permitted to enter, but he collected the following particulars from various impartial sources :—

About one o'clock the Lord Mayor entered, accompanied by Aldermen Thorp, Thompson, Kelly, Wilson, and Cowan, who were followed in a short time by Aldermen Garratt and Copeland. Although there was much business, as well as inquests, waiting, and brokers to be sworn, a Court was not formed till past two.

It is usual, at the first Court of the new Mayoralty, to move a vote of thanks to the late Lord Mayor; but, as the brokers had been detained upwards of an hour before the Court was made, they were first called in.

Alderman THORP then said, that he had great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for his conduct during the past year. His Lordship was fully entitled to their thanks, and he trusted that any bickerings or unpleasant feelings which might have occurred from difference of views during the late election, would be entirely obliterated, and that friendship and good feeling would again reign amongst the members of that Court. He felt satisfied that the resolution would be passed unanimously, as it cautiously avoided all allusion to politics, which might have caused some difference of opinion, as many of his brethren were opposed to the political views of the Lord Mayor. He then moved the vote of thanks usual upon occasions of the kind.

Alderman THOMPSON had the greatest pleasure in seconding the motion, in every sentiment of which he most cordially agreed. Wishing, as he did, that the vote should pass unanimously, he rejoiced that all political allusions had been avoided, and he felt perfectly satisfied that the motion which had been made would be unanimously passed, as there was not one word contained in it in which all could not fully join, however politically opposed they might be to Sir John Key.

Alderman COPELAND said, that he never rose with greater difficulty than he rose on the present occasion; for although he fully agreed with the mover and second that the vote did not contain one word in which all could not fully agree, yet an imperative sense of duty to himself, and the respect he felt for the high and responsible station he held as a member of that Court, compelled him to perform the painful duty of opposing the motion of thanks. He would never consent, while he held a place there, that the rights and privileges of the Court should be frittered away. They had been deprived of their just rights and privileges by the result of the late election. Much had been said about the rights and privileges of the Livery, and of the determination of that body to stand up for them resolutely. But had the Court of Aldermen no rights and privileges, and were they to make no struggle to maintain those rights and privileges? They had

been most unjustly deprived of them; and he should never cease to regret that they had not continued firm in their opposition to such an unjust aggression. He felt ashamed of himself for not having continued his opposition, by voting again at the last election in opposition to his Lordship; but (and he blushed when he stated it) he dared not. He was afraid to vote as he wished. His property and his person had been threatened if he did. He had therefore kept away from voting; but now he would enter his protest against the vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, not out of any personal disrespect to his Lordship, for he had the highest respect for him on all accounts, except that of his having allowed himself to deprive him and his brethren of their just rights. His Worship concluded by moving the previous question.

Alderman WAITMAN rose to second the amendment. He was astonished that Alderman Thorp had introduced the motion of thanks to an individual who, instead of attending entirely (as he ought to have attended) to the magisterial duties of the office, had lent himself to all manner of schemes only for the purpose of gaining popularity, and who, by prostrating all the influence of his office to support the political views of himself and party, had rendered the office altogether a political office. When he (Alderman Waitman) was Lord Mayor, he would have nothing to do with politics, and he had performed the whole of the duties of the office without subjecting himself to reproach. The Lord Mayor had grossly insulted that Court in his letter of the 28th of September, wherein he stated, that if the system of rotation were adhered to, the elective franchise would be a mere farce, and the election would lie in the Court of Aldermen. He, for one, would declare boldly, that any other body had no right to deprive the Court of Aldermen of their rights. As a body, that Court had eternally disgraced themselves by giving way in so cowardly a manner to an attempt to vindicate them. For himself, he should never cease to regret the vote they had come to on the first election. The Livery of London, by re-electing, and the Court of Aldermen, by foolishly giving way, had held out to the world that the Lord Mayor possessed more talent than any of the other members of the Court, and that he had fulfilled the duties of his station more honourably than ever before had been the case. Now he (Ald. W.) would unhesitatingly state that there was not a single duty of any kind or sort to which the Lord Mayor had ever attended; and while a set of individuals had re-elected the Lord Mayor, who had never performed one duty, *they had insulted himself, who had served them for forty years most faithfully.* In common justice they ought to have elected him, who had done so much, instead of the Lord Mayor, who had done less than nothing. With regard to the Court of Aldermen, the Lord Mayor, if he had not himself insulted the Court, had done the same thing, by carrying one person



about in his carriage who had abused them, and by joining himself to a set of persons who were in the habit of abusing that Court, which consisted of men who performed their duties, as he had always stated, with as much talent, honour, and character, as any set of men in the kingdom; and who, however grossly they had been insulted, were *the ornaments of the station they filled*.

Alderman GARRATT deeply deplored that, although no man could have a higher respect for the Lord Mayor's character than he had, or felt a more sincere regard towards his Lordship, yet, as he had made the office a political one, instead of what it ought to be—purely magisterial—he (Alderman Garratt) could not conscientiously give a vote of thanks on that ground alone, and not out of disrespect. He, therefore, would not vote at all, and he hoped the honourable mover would not press his motion.

Alderman HEYGATE would bear testimony that the splendour and hospitality of the Mansion-House had never been surpassed by any former Mayoralty. The kindness which he, as well as every other member of the Court, had invariably received from the Lord Mayor, must endear him privately to all of them; but he (Alderman Heygate) sincerely regretted that the Lord Mayor had made the office political. He did not blame the Lord Mayor for holding the political sentiments to which his Lordship had given utterance. No doubt the Lord Mayor gloried very much in having rendered such essential service, as all must admit he had rendered, to the side of the question he espoused. He (Alderman Heygate) agreed very fully in every word of the vote of thanks; but, as it did not say that the Court of Aldermen disapproved of the introduction of political matter into the business of the Mayoralty, he could not vote at all. He must say that he agreed with Alderman Garratt in hoping that the motion would not be persevered in.

Alderman WILSON stated, that being a stranger to that Court, he had been perfectly astonished at what had fallen from some of his brethren. He had expected to have witnessed kind and friendly feeling; but, certainly, what he had that day witnessed was of a very opposite tendency, and he was surprised to find any of his brethren so far *suffering the mortification of a defeat* as to get the better of their honourable feelings. The vote proposed was to thank the Lord Mayor for his splendid hospitality, his liberal charity, and the urbanity and kindness of his manner. As to his Lordship's hospitality, from all he had heard or seen, it had never been surpassed, if it ever had been equalled. As to the charities of the Lord Mayor, all the charitable institutions in London would bear complete testimony that in that also he had never been excelled; and with regard to his urbanity and kindness of manner, there was not an individual who had the pleasure of his acquaintance who would not bear testimony to it. Accord-

ing to one worthy Alderman's statement, the Lord Mayor did not possess one good quality of any kind or sort whatever. He really was astonished how men of honourable feelings could so far forget themselves, as to suffer any disappointment to induce them to adopt such a course. His Lordship had also been accused of attending to politics, instead of his magisterial duties, and of treating the latter with inattention, in his anxiety to support his principles. Now he (Alderman Wilson) felt bound to state that he frequently had occasion to attend the Justice-room, and he never witnessed the magisterial duties performed more ably, more creditably, or more attentively, than they had been performed by his Lordship, whose attention to the distressed objects who appeared before him did great honour to his heart.

Alderman COWAN did not intend to have said a word; but after what had passed, he could not give a silent vote. He fully concurred in what had fallen from Alderman Wilson, and must bear testimony to the able and attentive manner in which his Lordship had performed the duties of his office.

The LORD MAYOR said, that the time of the Court and of the public having already been wasted nearly three hours, he hoped they would decide one way or the other, and not postpone the motion further. With regard to the remarks which had been made by those whose political feelings were opposed to his, he felt the same respect as if they had joined in the vote; but as for the paltry feeling which arose from an *exasperated disappointment*, he certainly entertained a *mixed feeling*, one part of which was *compassion*. In fine, he hoped the decision would be as speedy as possible.

Alderman WAITHMAN *denied that he had any wish to be Lord Mayor again*. He declared that if the motion were persisted in, he should *count the Court*.

Alderman WILSON was surprised to hear the threat to count the Court, when there was no chance of success for the amendment. There were not thirteen present, and of course, if the Court were counted, the motion must fall to the ground. The Court had been broken up, on Saturday last, by the same worthy Alderman; and if the same plan were now adopted, the public business would suffer considerable impediment.

Alderman THORP and THOMPSON pressed the vote, but Alderman WAITHMAN *counted the Court*, which of course broke up.

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Mr. BINGHAM BARING, if I do not, in a few days, give you a decent as drilling as ever was laid on with a *pen*, I will suffer the jailor, Becket, to bring me out, and have me hanged as poor Cook was. Your lying, shuffling, whining

*pamphlet* deserves this. After the pretty scene about the *Committee*, I was resolved to stick to you; so that this empty attempt at a *defence* will only serve to hasten a little the performance of the duty, which I intended to perform without it.

The murdering of people to *sell their bodies* is now become common in our "*highly-civilized state!*" It will, indeed, require "*Parish Libraries*" to so "*educate*" the labourers as for them to *love a Government* that cannot pass a law to *punish villains* who *PAY other villains to bring them dead bodies*; but that can pass a law to punish men most severely for buying the dead body of a wild animal of any but a person *legally* authorized to sell it.

COBBETT-CORN.—Numerous samples, from several counties, have come to hand. I expect more to-morrow. I thank those gentlemen who have sent the samples: they are a sight beautiful to behold. The poor FOOL-LIAR is roughly handled by them; especially by one of his *old neighbours in Hampshire*, who relates a curious fact about his treatment of a poor man. I shall, in next Register, publish the details relative to this important matter; a matter of more importance, in a *national* point of view, than any that ever was before addressed to the attention of a people. The bull-frogssay, that it will "*never answer.*" Answer or answer not, I will *make them grow it*; that's one thing, at any rate. I say that they *shall* do it: and so they may as well begin at once. In the new edition of my CORN-BOOK, which will be published on the *first of December*, I shall give all the information which experience has now taught me, with regard to the *application of the fodder*, and also with regard to *preserving the corn*, when the cultivation is *upon a large scale*. The bull-frogs shall pay 5s. for this book, if they have it; and if they do not have it, nor buy my *Register*, they will not know how to grow the corn. So that I have them both ways. The chopsticks know how to grow it by reading the *TWOPENNY-TRASH*; and in a new edition of *Cottage Economy* I

have given the instructions. But, as to the bull-frogs, though it will go to their very souls, they shall give 5s. for the corn-book.

A new edition of my SPELLING-BOOK has been published about a fortnight; and I have sent a copy to Sir JEMMY MACKINTOSH, with my most earnest request that he will read it with *great attention* before he attempts to put pen to paper again; for it is really painful to see a member of Parliament and great lawyer writing such infernal nonsense as we find in *every* page of his "*History of England*;" at least, it is painful to me to see this; and therefore I do pray, if he have any *feeling* for the credit of the country, to read this little book; which, indeed, I wrote more for his benefit than for that of any other person or persons.

THE OLD LADY has, I am told, *cannons planted in her interior!* She has long been defended by foot soldiers; but now, having become so *prodigiously rich*; having got *such heaps of gold*, nothing short of *artillery* is deemed sufficient! At any rate, she seems resolved to pay her assailants, when they come, in a "*metallic currency*," whatever may be her intention with regard to the rest of the world. The Old Girl need not be afraid; she is invulnerable *as long as the boroughmongering system shall last*; and nothing short of the immediate interference of omnipotence itself can preserve her one year beyond that. So that she may make herself quite easy, till she hears that *the bill, or a better bill*, has passed; and then let her hasten to make up *her account*, for it is a pretty long one!

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From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1831.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BALAAM, F., Bedford-row, Holborn, board and lodging-house-keeper.  
 BANNER, H. and F. G., Cripplegate-buildings, plumbers.  
 BURFORD, C. R., Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, paper-hanger.

CHRISTIE, J., South Sea-chambers, Thread-needle-street, & Tonbridge, Kent, coal-mer.  
 CROWE, W., Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, cutter.  
 DUCKER, J., Barnham, Lincolnshire, cattle-jobber.  
 FERNLEY, W., and T. Buckley, Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinners.  
 GOODRICK, M., North Frodingham, Yorkshire, grocer.  
 GRACIE, W., Sunderland-near-the-Sea, Durham, printer.  
 GRAVES, H., & W.S. Gooding, Strand, tailors.  
 HUGHES, J., Birmingham, crown-glass-dealer.  
 JACKSON, A. C., Darlington-place, Newington-causeway, bill-broker.  
 LAWRENCE, C., Osna-burg-street, Regent's-park, oilman.  
 LEE, A., Mitcham, Surrey, music-seller.  
 LINSELL, J., Wootton-Bassett, Wiltshire, linen-draper.  
 PARKER, J. J., Manchester and Salford, cotton-spinner.  
 PHILLIPS, J., Dudley, Worcestersh., currier.  
 POPE, W., Portwood, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.  
 POTTS, J., and A. Beloe, Lad-laue, silk-warehousemen.  
 PRENDERGRASS, J., Lloyd's Coffee-house, and Park-pl., Upper Baker-st., underwriter.  
 ROSE, B., Sheffield, grocer.  
 RYLEY, J., Nantwich, Cheshire, mercer.  
 SAWERS, M. E., Sloane-st., Chelsea, milliner.  
 SHEPHERD, S., Strand, silversmith.  
 SKELTON, S., King-st., Holborn, jeweller.  
 SMITH, D. N., Friday-street, warehouseman.  
 THORNELLY, T., Hadfield, Derbyshire, cotton-spinner.  
 VINCETT, H., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, grocer.  
 WILLIS, J., Vauxhall-road, Picnic, draper.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BLACK, D., Dundee, merchant.  
 SPREULL, S., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

GUNTON, J., Cheltenham, confectioner.  
 WRIGHT, T., Chaddeley Corbett, Worcestershire, blacksmith.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WOOD, J., Manchester, manganese dealer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, R. and E. F. Maitland, Waterford, Hertfordshire, chemists.  
 ANDREW, C. and W. Bailes, Compton-street, Clerkenwell.  
 CHALLINOR, C., Liverpool, merchant.  
 DITCHMAN, J., Goldsmith-place, Hackney-road, builder.  
 FORBES, J. and D. Russel, Mark-lane, wine-merchants.  
 HARRIS, G. W., Cheapside, hotel-keeper.

HALL, W., Hanley, Staffordshire, maltster.  
 HELSBY, T. sen., J. G. and T. jun., Liverpool, watch-case-manufacturers.  
 HOLT, D., Chorlton New Mills, Manchester, cotton-spinner.  
 JONES, J., Liverpool, joiner.  
 JONES, E., Welsh Pool, Montgomeryshire, wine-merchant.  
 LOVELL, T., North Petherton, Somersetshire, draper.  
 MATTHIE, W. G., Liverpool, merchant.  
 PALMER, E., New Bond-street, Bath, iron-monger.  
 REES, J., Shrewsbury, Shropshire, wharfinger.  
 RINDER, F., Leeds, Yorkshire, butcher.  
 RUCKER, D. H., J. A. and H. J., Wormwood-street, West India merchants.  
 SIMISTER, J., Oldham, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.  
 THORNE, J., Shirley Common, Surrey, baker.  
 THORNTON, G., Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, Yorkshire, common carrier.  
 TWEEDALE, J. and J., Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOVEMBER 21.—Our Supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat and malt, Irish oats, and Scotch barley, good; of English flour and barley great; of each kind of foreign corn, English and Scotch oats, and Irish barley, as well as pulse and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by buyers, but as the holders of foreign grain were still disposed to hold for a reduction in duty, which is expected to take place speedily, on their wheat and some other articles, to the amount of from 2s. to 4s. per qr.; and the sellers stiffly aiming at a pretty general advance, the trade was throughout very dull: with wheat and barley at, in most instances, a depression, beans at an advance of about 1s. per qr.: with oats, peas, rye, malt, and flour, at last Monday's quotations.

The circumstance of there having been for several weeks past a decreased quantity of grain sold at the lower rates, owing to improvement in quality, arising from most of that which was damaged in harvesting being sold, has already enhanced the averages so as to lower the duty to nearly the above amount, without any advance on the higher quotations. The lower quotations of wheat and oats are for out-of-condition parcels only.

Linseed, hempseed, rapeseed, and coriander seed, continue to be in limited demand at last week's prices; but, notwithstanding the limited state of several past weeks' supplies, the quotations of other seeds stand next to, if not quite, nominal.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	29s. to 35s.
— fine .....	35s. to 44s.

Peas, White .....	35s. to 40s.
Boilers .....	40s. to 50s.
Grey .....	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Old .....	40s. to 42s.
Tick .....	41s. to 45s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	25s. to 30s.
Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 125s. 0d. to 127s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 6d. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast .... 100s. to —s. per cwt.	
Carlow .... 100s. to 104s.	
Cork .... 97s. to 98s.	
Limerick .. 98s. to —s.	
Waterford.. 94s. to 98s.	
Dublin .... 95s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 60s. to 84s.	
Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 65s.	
Gloucester, Single.. 50s. to 54s.	
Edam ..... 46s. to 52s.	
Gouda ..... 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish,..... 62s. to 70s.	

SMITHFIELD—November 21.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great: of sheep, calves, and porkers, rather limited; the trade was throughout very dull: with beef at a depression of full 2d. per stone: with mutton, veal, and pork, at nearly Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,900; sheep and lambs, 17,100; calves, 132; pigs, 170.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 25.

The arrivals this week are large; the market dull; and the prices are 1s. lower than on Monday for the best samples. The inferior samples are without buyers.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 83½	

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OF

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 74.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3RD, 1831. [Price 1s. 2d.



## ARMING THE RICH AGAINST THE WORKING PEOPLE.

### TO DOCTOR BLACK.

Bolt-court, 1st December, 1831.

DOCTOR,

I SHOULD take no notice of bloody old TIMES, of stupid and sickly GLOBE, or of the still more stupid and sickly COURIER; but when YOU, who have sense and sincerity, and whom I have actually dignified with the title of Doctor; when you become the serious and strenuous advocate *for arming the rich against the working people*, I really feel alarmed, being sure that, if your efforts prevail, our country must become a scene of desolation and of blood. Therefore, I beg you to reflect well and long before you determine to pursue this course.

I notice, in your paper of to-day, a letter, pretended to have been written at Manchester, containing great praises on the *military association* which has been formed at Salisbury. On this letter, and on this military association, you bestow great praises, and, indeed, you recommend similar associations to be formed all over the kingdom; or, in other words, that there may be a general arming of the rich against the poor in towns, equivalent to that arming which consists of *yeomanry cavalry* in the country: you want a town foot-yeomanry, to be ready to fight the working people in the towns! And yet you find fault with the working people for entertaining feelings of hostility towards people of property, and you pass a sen-

tence of execration upon every man who represents the heaping up of masses of property, as a national evil, and as injurious to those who create all the property.

This letter, dated from Manchester, was written by a man who never was at Manchester; and I will bet you ten sovereigns to one, that, if I be furnished with the means of calling what witnesses I please before a competent tribunal, I will produce clear proof that Brodie himself wrote the letter; which, besides its bad grammar and inherent stupidity, and the praises which it bestows upon Brodie, all the facts and circumstances that are stated and alluded to, prove it must have come from some resident of Salisbury; while the endless praises of the Printer-Banker-Lieutenant-Colonel, form a strong presumption that the letter was written by the Printer-Banker himself. I shall now take the letter bit by bit, remark upon it as I proceed, and show its baseness and insolence, and also the mischievous tendency of it.

Manchester, Nov. 25, 1831.

SIR,

I was in Salisbury on the 2d of November, when your paper of the 1st, containing a letter from "An Inhabitant" of that place, was put into my hands. It happened that this was the drill day of the corps of *Volunteer Infantry* therein alluded to; and being much pleased with the observations contained in your paper, and having been myself *formerly in the army*, I strolled out in the afternoon, to see what sort of *stuff* this corps was composed of; and I must confess, that if I was *astonished*, in the first instance, at the military appearance they presented, I was much more so at the extraordinary facility with which they performed their movements. No man seemed to me to be at a loss. Every one knew his place, and I was particularly struck with the manner in which they performed the difficult manœuvres of street firing, and with the wonderful order they preserved in charging with bayonet in line. In fact, I have never seen a regiment of regular soldiers preserve better order. I was surprised to find that this corps had not been embodied much more than nine months, and that they had never had an adjutant to instruct them. I learnt, on further inquiry, that their Lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Brodie,

though he had never been in the army, had a *natural taste* for military tactics, and that he had, during the last war, been an officer of volunteers, and that there was an intelligent serjeant-major; and that by these two, and by a few serjeants and corporals, who had been formerly members of volunteer corps, the battalion had been brought to its present extraordinary state of perfection. I must not omit to add, that I was further informed, that the exertions of these persons have been rendered the more successful by the great zeal of the parties whom they had to instruct. The battalion, I was told, consisted principally (both officers and privates) of tradesmen—that the mayor elect even was a private—that many other privates were *wealthy men*, or the *sons of wealthy men*—and that the remainder were artisans, but *all respectable*, and all having a strong *esprit de corps*. My informant added, that the formation of this little battalion had *done more good than any one thing he had ever recollected to have taken place in Salisbury*: that it had united “for a good purpose,” men of different political opinions and of *different grades in society*: and that he was quite sure that, under *all circumstances*, every member of the corps would do his utmost to preserve the *public tranquillity*.

As to the buttering of Brodie, the knife and the loaf were in his own hands, and also the lump of butter; so that it is no wonder that he laid it on pretty thickly. “*His natural taste*” for military tactics was so likely to be found out by a *Manchester traveller*, who happened to have been in the *army*; so likely to see Brodie and his tame battalion, and who “*strolled out*,” to look at it! This is all so likely, that we will not, for a moment, question the truth of it; nor will we doubt that the famous corps consists of comparatively rich people; but with regard to the information which this inquisitive Manchester gentleman picked up; namely, “that the formation of this little battalion had *done more good than any one thing that he ever recollected to have taken place in Salisbury*,” as to this piece of information, which is conveyed to us in a sentence which a chambermaid would have been ashamed to construct; as to this piece of information, I would, if I had been the Manchester man, have asked Brodie WHAT GOOD this band of swaggering blades had accomplished? The FIRES in the county of Wilts are three times as numerous as they were before the yeomanry were called out,

and before this battalion existed! If Brodie's battalion could fly through the air, carrying waterspouts with them, they might, indeed, do *some good*; but what good are they to do by swaggering about the streets of the little tranquil city of Salisbury? They are, it seems, under all circumstances, “to preserve the *public tranquillity*.” Yes, as long as that tranquillity is not disturbed; but only let a real disturbance come; let a couple of thousand chopsticks be got together, in hostile array; let them enter the city, and let one single flint stone come, *whizzing* within a few inches of the head of Brodie, away goes all “*his natural taste*” for military tactics, and away scamper the members of the corps, each to his counter, his desk, or his taxing office. It is the FIRES, “which, as the writer of the *Brighton Guardian* eloquently says, “*is the plague of plagues*,” and this horrible plague, which has been *augmented* by the calling out of the yeomanry, must, of necessity, be brought into the towns by the establishment of corps of defiance like that of Brodie. The working people are the millions after all! the order of the world requires that they should be so: and, what does the very sight of one of these yeomanry or volunteer corps (called out in time of peace) say to these working millions? Why, it says precisely what we shall find Brodie himself saying in the next extract.

I have been thus diffuse about this corps, because I am convinced that, with such a force, Salisbury is secure from all riots and disturbance. Had such a body of men *existed in Bristol*, that city would have been saved from the disgrace which must henceforth ever attach to her name. Now let me come to my *grand point*. You pertinently remark in your paper of the first of November, that “were there any thing like a *general ferment*, the military alone would be found inadequate to the demands of them.” Was there ever a remark more just, and could I have supposed that a month would have elapsed without Government calling on the inhabitants of, at least, the *larger towns* to come forward to enrol themselves as volunteers, particularly as they must have known, or ought to have known, the good effects produced by the *existence of such a corps at Salisbury*? Are they afraid to arm the middle classes? or, are they afraid that the haughty Tory aristocrats will call

them to account for doing so? Let me give them one word of advice. Let them be wise while they can. If they are desirous of saving this yet happy country from all the horrors of the first years of the French Revolution, when from the contempt on the part of the nobles towards the middle classes, the government of that wretched and devoted country was vested in the very scum and dregs of society. If, I say, they are desirous of saving their country, let them, at once put their trust in all those who have property to defend; let them place confidence in them, and I will answer for it that their power and influence will be sufficient TO KEEP THE REST IN SUBJECTION.

*Subjection* means to throw down under, or, to be thrown down under; it fairly means, in this case, to trample down, or to *put down and keep down by force*. Brodie need not have taken the pains to tell the people this in words; for he tells it them much more convincingly by the mere exhibition of his corps of tawdry fribbles, with guns in their hands, hairy caps on their heads, and a parcel of belts strapped round their bodies; which arms and accoutrements would, as Boileau said of the Dutch, only serve, in case of need, to retard their flight. One may say of Brodie and his corps, as the French ambassador said to the chief of a Swiss canton, who had boastingly shown him the arsenals of the republic:—"All that you have to do now is, to pray to God to preserve you from the folly of attempting to use it." The very sight of Brodie's corps tells the working people, "we mean to keep you IN SUBJECTION: we mean to have your labour, and to give you so little for it, that you shall have nothing but potatoes to eat and water to drink: we mean to compel you, by these bayonets, to live upon the price of a gallon loaf and threepence a week for food and clothing!" This is what the bare sight of Brodie's corps says to the working people of the great, fruitful, and beautiful county of Wilts, where you find an ancient church in every mile, and where scores of villages have been nearly totally depopulated by that more than infernal system of ACCUMULATION, which Brougham and his society have published a book to applaud to the skies, which book the beastly and bloody old

*Times*, and the nasty stinking *Globe*, puff off as the sure means of putting a stop to the fires, and which even you, Doctor, have condescended to praise: this is the language of the sight of Brodie's corps. And, what is the natural effect of such language? Why, to make the poor hate the rich, and entertain towards them unquenchable animosity. Human nature must be totally changed: defiance and contempt must excite feelings of conciliation and love, before these broad and insulting threats cease to excite hatred and revenge. How many lights have we all seen produced by a word of defiance, or by a holding up of a fist. The bare sight of Brodie's corps, is the holding up of a fist to the working people of Salisbury; and, now, coming to this writer's "GRAND POINT," do you think, Doctor, that it would be wise to raise such corps in the great towns? Do you think that it would be wise for a corps like Brodie's, consisting of a handful of soft-handed manufacturers and clerks, to be exhibited, in the way of menace, to the working people of Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and the like? That is the grand point you and your correspondent are aiming at; and, from attempting to carry that point, God preserve the people of property in those great towns. This insolent and empty-skull scrawler has the ignorance and impudence to say that "SUCH a body of men" would have prevented the ruinous proceedings at Bristol! The stupid creature never saw either Manchester or Bristol. The presumptuous simpleton thinks that every town in the kingdom, except London, is like Salisbury; a quiet little place, with about seven or eight thousand inhabitants, the broad and convenient streets of which, when you go from the WEN, and happen to be in them in a week-day, are so still and so free from people, that until you have reflected, you think that all the folks are gone to church. This ass really seems to think that this silent place, lying in a valley surrounded by immense plains, is like Manchester or Birmingham; and that, therefore, would keep the working people



in complete subjection! And *Bristol!* Does the insolent beast recollect that that city is inhabited by a *hundred thousand people*; that within a few miles of it there are more colliers at work under ground than would make up, three times over, the population of the city of Salisbury; and that the sailors, the bargemen, and other persons employed upon the water, far exceed the whole of the population of Salisbury? Does the insolent and stupid creature know that the working men at either Birmingham or Manchester, each having either a gun or a sharp spindle always within his reach, exceed, five-fold, the whole of the population of Salisbury, all ranks, ages, and sexes included? Far from me the thought of saying this in disparagement of Salisbury, which is a beautiful city, and just what a city ought to be; which has five little rivers, which become one at or near it; and which has every circumstance in and around it to make it a scene of happiness, were it not for the existence of those causes out of which the corps of this Brodie has arisen, over and above *that brilliant cause, Brodie's "natural taste" for military tactics.*

Our next extract has more sense in it; that is to say, if this scrawler be right in his premises.

Do not let it be supposed, that when the Reform Bill shall have been passed (which it will be), *all things will go on quietly.* No: the lower orders, the uneducated, and the unreflecting, still struggling with difficulties, will be disappointed because immediate relief is not afforded them. There will be *tumults, dreadful riots, and bloodshed*, such as it sickens the heart to contemplate. Yes, I repeat, there will be, *if the middle classes are not armed.*

Very true, hero of Salisbury: the Reform Bill alone (which you say will be passed, and which I say will not) will not make things quiet; and there will be tumults, though not so bloody as you seem to apprehend. There will be these, unless the Reform Bill exchange the accursed potatoes for bacon; but this it would do, if it were passed in its original form and fairly act upon. But, Brodie, you are certainly misled "by your natural taste for military tactics," if you really suppose that arming the

rich against the poor would prevent these tumults and their natural consequences: it would produce just the contrary effect; and if any-thing could produce bloodshed in England, it would be this very measure which you are now recommending, with so much insolence and so much malignity.

What has been the language of the rich to the poor? What has been the language of farmers to their labourers? What has been the language of manufacturers, miners, and coal-masters, to their workmen? Why, this: "We wish you to be happy: we give you every farthing that we can afford to give: but we ourselves have so much to give in taxes and in tithes; and you, on your part, have so large a portion of your earnings to give in taxes on what you consume, that it is out of our power to give you that which you ought to receive." This has been the language of the people of wealth, to the working people. Aye, my dear Doctor, and this has been *your language, too*, for the last year and a half, during which time you have been incessantly accusing the boroughmongers of causing, by their extortions, the half-starvation of the working people. What, then! do you now recommend bayonets to be raised against the working people in order to keep them in a state of *subjection*; that is to say, kept down by force in that state of half-starvation! Is this what your justice and humanity suggest? When you inserted this villainous letter, and sent it forth with a stamp of your approval, I hope that you had not read it.

I do not mean that they should arm themselves without authority from his Majesty's Government, but I do call on that Government most earnestly, without loss of time, to institute corps of volunteer infantry in all the principal towns of the kingdom. Let them be entirely under the control of Government—let judgment and discretion be exercised in the choice of the commanding officer in particular, and of the other officers, and let no man be admitted, even as a private, who cannot (as I understand has been the case at Salisbury) bring good testimonials as to his character. With such a force, under the control of the King and his Government, *the nation will be safe.* Without it—Reform or no Reform Bill—the nation will be ruined, and the lower

orders, like the angry lion, who lashed himself to death with his own tail, destroy themselves, and, in doing so, will destroy us of the middle class, and all those who rank above us, even to the monarch on the throne.

Well said, beast! But after this: after your insolent advice shall be adopted, you will not, I hope, pretend that we do not live under a military despotism: you will not pretend, I hope, that Englishmen are living any longer in a state of freedom and of law. In short, then, "*the nation will be safe*" enough; safely enough living under the commands of the bayonet, only that it could not live so for above half a year; at the end of which time, or thereabouts, every man who had taken up arms in this way, would be stripped as naked as a callow mouse. In short, here is a proposition, not for *civil war*, but for producing general plunder, devastation, and bloodshed; and I should like to hear, Doctor Black, any arguments, not that a puffing, purse-proud, insolent beast like this has, to offer, but that YOU have to offer in opposition to this opinion.

One more extract, and I consign this scrawler over to the detestation of my readers.

I hope, Mr. Editor, that the whole of this letter will be admitted into your most valuable and patriotic paper; and still more do I hope that the advice contained in it, however badly I may have expressed myself, will be followed, and speedily followed, by his Majesty's Government, and by that class in society which it so seriously concerns. I say to the Government, "Call on the middle classes to arm themselves—offer them arms—you have hundreds of thousands of muskets rusting in your magazines." To the middle classes, that is, to the people, I say, "Answer the call with one simultaneous voice—accept the offer of arms, and learn the use of them." Government—"Be jealous, be afraid." People—"Be supine." Then farewell to the Government, *farewell to the people*, and let them prepare themselves for such scenes as took place in Paris in 1792 and 1793, and to sing "to triumphe," to anarchy and confusion.

I shall leave this place to-morrow on my way home, where I shall hope to find your paper with this letter in its columns, and God grant that my advice may be followed.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ONE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

You and I, Doctor, who know the trickery of this species of scrawling, should want no more than this last little paragraph to convince us that this effusion of stupidity, insolence, arrogance, and want of feeling, was never written at *Manchester*, never came from Manchester, but was written at Salisbury, either by Brodie himself, or by some patron of the gallon-loaf-and-threepenny system, sent up to London in a coach parcel, and dropped into your office, along with a flattering note to yourself, by some double-distilled devil of a pettifogger, who lives upon the crumbs that roll down the fat jowles of the inhabitants of Salisbury-Close; and I challenge you, Doctor, to say, that it came to you with a Manchester post-mark. One more remark; the scrawler says, that if his advice be not followed, "*farewell to the PEOPLE.*" The people, beast! What, are they all to be killed? Is there to be one general scene of mutual slaughter, and is "darkness to be the "burier of the dead?" Some would survive, to be sure! Aye, and it is only by acting upon advice like yours, that can cause any bloodshed at all. Here the comparison with regard to the scenes at Paris, coming directly after your "*farewell to the people*," shows what a stupid beast you are, and how thoughtless it was of Doctor Black to speak with approbation of your blundering and atrocious stuff. Did the *people* perish at Paris in the years 1792 and 1793? Did the *people* of France suffer in those years? Was not France better cultivated, and the *people* better off, and the name of France more honoured in 1792 and in 1793 than it and they had been for seven centuries before? Others suffered, indeed; the nobility and the clergy were stripped of their all. In the height of their rage against their country's oppressors, they unjustly and cruelly put to death the king and all his family that they had within their reach. But the *people* did not suffer; they drove the nobility and clergy away, and sold and divided their estates; and, every one knows, that the soil of France is now better cultivated, and that her population

is now greater than they were at the epoch to which you refer.

These old stupid Pittites and Foxites are always trying to terrify the people by ripping up the scenes of the French revolution. If they were as great fools as they are profligate knaves, they would shun all mention of that revolution, as a mad dog shuns water, or as a wheat-rick would shun fire if it could. At any rate, Doctor, I hope you will, in future, scout their balderdash; and in that hope,

I remain your friend, patron,  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

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## COBBETT-CORN.

Kensington, 1st December, 1831.

I NOTIFIED, a week or two ago, that I should publish a new edition of my Treatise on this Corn on the 1st December. This is the 1st December; and the book is *published*. I should deem it unfair to make it necessary for any one, if I could avoid it, to purchase this book *a second time*. It is absolutely necessary that all those who plant the corn upon a scale extending even to half an acre, should possess the *addition* which I have now made to the book; and yet I am very unwilling to put any one to the expense of another five shillings on account of it. I therefore insert here every word that I have now added to the book; and if the readers of the *Register* go through this piece of writing, they will find it *more* deeply interesting to the nation than any one that ever before came from the pen of

WM. COBBETT.

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### ADDITION.—FIRST PART.

THERE never was a subject of so much importance as this, presented to the attention of any people in the world; for, if I be correct in my opinions, here are the means pointed out of doubling, at the east, the quantity of food, which the land

of this country can be made to produce without the cultivation of this corn. My eldest son, to whom belongs all the praise due to the introduction of this article of food, urged me to the undertaking, on the ground that the introduction of the plant into general use would have such prodigious effect; and the impression made upon my mind by his calculations and his reasoning, induced me to yield to his request.

It is to speak greatly within bounds, to state, that, on an average, this corn would produce, at least, *ten quarters* of grain to the acre, which is *more than three times as much as the average crop of wheat* throughout the kingdom. It stands upon the ground but five months; and admits of a crop of tares or of cabbages during the other part of the year. The *fodder*, as I shall further on prove as clear as daylight, is worth eight pounds an acre, to speak greatly within compass. I shall prove, from incontestable evidence, that a bushel of this corn produces *more flour* than a bushel of the very best wheat. I shall also prove, that, in point of *real utility*, it is of *more value*, pound for pound, than wheat flour; and if I do prove all this, is not the introduction of this corn the greatest and most laudable undertaking of which mortal man ever had to boast? And what a wonderful effect is here from a cause the most trifling in itself! My son brought three little miserable ears of this corn to England in the year 1826, neither of them longer than my middle finger, and neither of them bigger round than a common mould-candle. I have plenty of ears from several parts of the country, seven inches long and some ears approaching the *weight of half a pound*. The corn goes on increasing in size as well as in goodness of quality. I can show a bushel of ears equal, even in size to the average of the corn-ears of the general run of crops in Long Island; and, as I shall prove before I have done, our crops are four times as great as their crops, while the quality of our corn is, beyond all measure, superior to theirs. This, therefore, I scruple not to say, is the greatest thing that individual ever did for his country; and such it must be acknowledged to be, if I prove

the truth of the assertions I have here made.

But it is, first of all, necessary to prove that this corn will come to perfection in this country; and that I am now going to prove, in a manner which would close up the gainsaying jaws of any one upon earth, THE LIAR only excepted. In giving an account of the corn which I have received from the several counties, I shall begin at the NORTH, come on towards the SOUTH, and then go into the EAST; then go to the WEST; and then into the four SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF SURREY, KENT, SUSSEX, and HAMPSHIRE, ending with a very particular account of what has been done in the parishes round about BATTLE, and in the little bunch of HARD PARISHES in the north of Hampshire.

From Mr. DUNCAN ANDERSON of PAISLEY, I received two very fine ears of corn that were gathered in the month of September: they were not ripe, nor anything like ripe, nor was the season come for their being ripe even in the south of England; but Mr. ANDERSON had a friend coming from PAISLEY to London; and he gathered the ears a month before the time in order not to lose that opportunity. Paisley is, I believe, four hundred miles to the north of London. I have received a large bunch of very fine ears of corn; not so long nor quite so large as some others, but perfect in form, and perfectly ripe, growed, this year, by Mr. BLAKEY, at *Morpeth*, in NORTHUMBERLAND, for which I am very much obliged to that gentleman. At *Preston*, in LANCASHIRE, Mr. WILCOXSON, the editor of the *Preston Chronicle*, to whom I sent a bag of corn in the spring for distribution, informs me that several persons to whom he gave the corn have had very fine crops at and near that place, where it seems eight or ten persons have cultivated the corn.

In LINCOLNSHIRE, at and near *Great Grimsby*, the corn has been growed with great success. Mr. JOSHUA PLASKITT, of that place, has sent me twenty-one samples of corn, growed in and near it, all ripe, sound, and perfect, and marked with the names of the several growers, amongst which I have the pleasure to see that there are those of some labouring men.

Mr. PADDISON, of *Louth*, in the same county, has sent me a fine sample of corn growed in that neighbourhood. He cannot speak to the amount of the crop, but says his corn is as fine as any that he ever saw of my growing, which indeed it appears to be, from the sample which he has sent. Seven other persons in his neighbourhood have growed the corn, and have had very fine crops. Doctor SNAITH, at *Boston*, in the same county, tells me, that he himself has had a fine crop; that the ears are generally finer than those that he received from me; that he has received eight or ten samples from those to whom he gave the corn; that all who have cultivated it have had good crops, excepting one person; that the whole neighbourhood is delighted with it, and that several farmers have applied to him for information about it.

From NORFOLK I have not received any specific information, nor any samples; but from SUFFOLK, I have received from Mr. ROBERT CHILD, of *Bungay*, samples of very fine corn, growed this year in several parishes of the eastern part of that county. From Mr. Clouting of EYE, in Suffolk, I have received two ears of beautiful corn. He tells me that the corn amounts to twenty coombs per acre; that is to say, *ten quarters* per acre; and he tells me, that he has seen Mr. KENT, of *Stanton*, who tells him that he has growed, this year, full twenty coombs upon an acre, and that the shelled corn weighed 234 pounds the coomb, which is fifty-eight and a half the bushel. This falls a little short of my weight, which I shall have hereafter to state. From *Ipswich* I received a very fine sample of corn, and it was the first I received this year; but I mislaid the letter, and beg pardon of the writer for not having answered it.

I now go towards the WEST. In BERKSHIRE I have only to speak of some samples of very good corn raised by Mr. BUDD of *Burghclere*, Mr. GRAY of *Newbury*, and Mr. FORSBURY, who lives, I believe, at *Newtown*. In WILTSHIRE some beautiful corn has been growed at and near *Malmesbury*. I ought to have accounts from *Pewsey* and that neighbourhood; but they have not arrived,

The corn has been growed at *Fisherton*, near *Salisbury*, by Mr. *BARLING*, and by others, to whom he gave some of the corn sent by me. There is no better situation in the kingdom for the growth of this corn; but the farms in *WILTSHIRE* have always been large, from the very nature of that fine and beautiful county. The labourers have worse gardens than almost anywhere else; and they have been brought down closer to the infernal potato level.

From *GLOUCESTERSHIRE*, I have received a letter from Mr. *DANIEL CROOME* of *Berkeley*, and twenty ears of his own crop of most excellent corn. This gentleman distributed eighty-eight ears of the corn that I sent to him to an equal number of persons in the parish and neighbourhood. He tells me, that he finds that the corn has been very productive, and ripened well; and that he finds that the leaves, and *even the stems*, of the corn-plant, are *very good food for horses*, which I well knew before, and which I have amply experienced this last summer. From Mr. *RICHARD ISLES*, of *Fairford*, I have the following account, which I am compelled to give in abridgment; namely, that he has had, on three quarters of an acre and nine rods, an average of sixty-eight bushels of shelled corn to the acre. He having encountered many disadvantages not to be expected to be experienced in the ordinary course of things; but here, under all these disadvantages, Mr. *ISLES* has *eight quarters and a half* of shelled corn to the acre, which is *more than double* the average amount of a crop of wheat upon regular *wheat-land*; and, observe, always when the wheat is seven shillings and sixpence a bushel, the corn will be worth six shillings the bushel. From Mr. *GOMME*, bookseller, of *Gloucester*, to whom I sent a bag of the corn for distribution, I have a letter, in which he tells me that he gave the corn to fifty-seven persons, nearly all labourers; that they have all had excellent crops, and that next year, as he believes, the planting of the corn will become very general.

I now return to the *SOUTH*. At *Farnham*, in *SURREY*, some very fine corn has been growed by my nephew, who is a

schoolmaster there; but it was small in quantity, and his land is exceedingly good. There is a part of that extensive parish called the *Bourne*, which in some sort resembles the seat of the *Benedictine Monks* in the times of the ancient and desolating wars; it is a wild common, covered with heath, with here and there a green dip, lying between the innumerable little hills; at least, such was its state when I was a little boy; and there I spent many a day, digging after rabbits' nests, rolling down the sand-hills, and whipping the little *ests* that crept about in the heath. But this scene is quite changed; the land being generally too poor to attract the rich, this common has escaped enclosure bills; and every little green dip is now become a cottager's garden or field, appropriated on the principles of the law of nature; and, the Bishop being the Lord of the Manor, while the herbage is hardly worth looking after by his tenants, these appropriators have been suffered to go on, till they have formed a grand community of cottages, each with its plat of ground and its pigsty. Humble as are the dwellings of the "*Bourners*," they have not, it seems, wholly escaped the viper tongue of slander; but, though I do not pretend that their community, like that of the ancient fathers of Saint Benedict, is, to quote the beautiful description of Mr. Southey, absolutely "a green OASIS amidst the desert;" and that, "like stars in a moonless night, it shines upon the country round with a tranquil ray;" though I do not pretend that the *Bourners* are equal to the Benedictines, either in learning or in piety; though I do not pretend, that the *Pourne* is that "Goshen of God, which "enjoys its own light amidst darkness and "storms;" I do pretend that this community of cottages, "*trespassers*" as the occupants are, is *a good thing*, seeing that it gives bacon to hundreds who, without it, would have to live upon the soul-debasing potatoes. And if I live till next spring, and can possibly find the time, I will go down, and make all these *Bourners* cultivate my corn; and I hereby, to save postage (and not run the risk of losing a letter to Farnham, as I lost one from it), request my nephew to

rent for me twenty or thirty rods of pretty good ground, in the Bourne, on the side of the Bourne towards the town, or on the flat; to give a good rent for it, and to have it dug up deep, and laid rough, as soon as he can. Standing upon their pristine privileges; like the exemplary mistress of the unfortunate ABE-LARD,

“Scorning all laws but those by nature made;”

being *stronger* than I, and seeing the corn to be a good thing, the *Bourners* may perhaps come and exercise on it *le droit du plus fort*: in plain English, take it away; at which I shall not repine, if they observe but one condition; namely, *not to take it till it be quite ripe!* The mode in which I intend to proceed is this: to carry down a bag of corn, and to go to every Bourner that has got a pig or a fowl, show him an ear of the corn, and then toss it down to his pig or his fowl, letting him draw his information in at his eyes. They will all soon hear that I have planted a piece of that corn; and when they see the crop, the business is done, whether they see me take it away in a lump, or whether they themselves take it away in detail. Now, quitting the Bourners till the spring, I go to *Chilworth*, in the same county, which lies on the south side of *St. Martha's-hill*, near *Guildford*, where Mr. Rowland's son tells me that he gave some of the corn to a labouring man, who brought him, the other day, a sparib, weighing ten pounds and a half, from a hog fatted, as Mr. Rowland understood, with the produce of the corn. At *Redhill*, near *Reigate*, in the same county, Mr. Clarence had twenty rods, which produced nine heaped bushels of corn in the ear, and from six to seven bushels of shelled corn; but he says that a great part of his corn did not ripen; and that he used part of it in the green state. He is of opinion, and so am I too, that it will not answer to grow it in considerable quantities, without the assistance of a *kilu*; and that is what I am going to show most clearly before I have concluded this paper. As Mr. Clarence says nothing about the *fodder*, I suppose he did not think of using the leaves and tops in that way; this is the worst account of the corn

I ever received; but it is right that I should give the bad as well as the good; but here are *eight quarters* to the acre.

From KENT I have received beautiful samples of corn, raised by Mr. Fish, brewer, at *Maidstone*; and from *Tonbridge* a very good account from Mr. KIPPING, who says that the crops are large and well ripened, and who sends me some very beautiful samples.

In SUSSEX, I skip over Battle and its neighbourhood for the present, and go to *Pevensey* and its celebrated Level, whence Mr. THOS. PLUMLEY writes to me, that he had destined forty rods of ground for the corn, which he planted in May, one part a little later than the other; that early in June, a flock of forty geese got in, and pulled up all that was out of the ground; so that he was obliged to transplant, and not having plants enough, he fell ten rods short; a part of his ground was planted on the 28th of May; and the plants were not out of the ground when the geese got in. He had therefore but thirty rods of ground in corn; and he says, that he shall have twenty bushels of shelled corn, notwithstanding the injury his crop received. He says that his corn was neither topped nor bladed. He sends me six ears, which he says were taken from the plants planted on the 28th of May, and gathered about the 12th of November; so that this crop was upon the ground from the putting in of the seed to the gathering of the corn, only a *hundred and sixty-eight days*. Mr. Plumley says, at the close of his letter, “I have had one sack ground; it weighed two hundred and forty-eight pounds, which very much surprised me, not thinking it would weigh so much.” The six ears sent by Mr. Plumley are amongst the finest that I ever saw; and one of the ears is the very largest and heaviest that I ever saw of the Cobbett-corn. Being here, just upon the edge of the water, I will step over to GUERNSEY, whence I have received a box of most beautiful corn. I thought it exceeded every-thing till I saw that of Mr. Plumley; and Mr. Plumley surpasses it only in one single ear. Some of my own is, I think, equal to the Guernsey-corn; but not quite equal to the corn of Mr. Plumley. It is truly

surprising that this corn never should before have been cultivated in Guernsey and Jersey, though it has *for ages and ages* been cultivated at Brittany, where it is still cultivated, but in a miserable way. The gentlemen who send me these samples of corn from Guernsey are full of expressions of gratitude for the good that I have done their country.

Strange thing! The land is the same, the climate the same, that they always were; the corn has existed in the world always; its qualities have always been the same; and yet it never was cultivated even in these southern islands, until I put pen to paper on the subject. If the whole of the Whig Ministry were to live to the age of Methuselah, they would not do so much good in the world as I have done to these little islands alone. If this should reach the eye of any of those gentlemen who have corn *to sell*, this is to inform them, and everybody else indeed, that Mr. SAMPFORD, corner of Queen-Anne and Wimpole streets, will *purchase any quantity* at three shillings for a *bushel of ears of sound and dry corn*. Thus, we have the corn ripening to perfection from the island of Guernsey to Paisley in Scotland! Coming back now to Sussex, I have received, through Mr. GEORGE ROBINSON of Lewes, a sample of very fine corn, grown by JAMES COLLINS of *Isfield*, which, Mr. ROBINSON tells me, has been very much admired by many farmers and gentlemen. From *Lodge farm*, in the parish of *Worth*, Mr. SAMUEL BRAZIER sends me a very fine specimen of corn, and also a specimen of Swedish turnips, grown from my seed, one weighing nine and a half pounds and one seven pounds. Endless are the *lashes* which these letters lay upon the back of THE LIAR. It would be almost repetition to insert the passages describing his baseness; but I cannot help inserting the words of Mr. BRAZIER, so truly rustic and apt are they. "I can say nothing *'about Hunt, as he holds with the hounds and runs with the hare!'*" BRAZIER knows the fellow of old, and he *knows Brazier well!* From *Chichester*, in the same county, I have received a great many samples of very fine corn, the ears all ticketed, and the names of the growers

put to them, and accompanied with the following letters.

*St. John's-street, Chichester,  
Nov. 21, 1831.*

"Dear Sir,—With great pleasure I assisted Mr. Gray in the distribution of the Cobbett-corn, which you kindly sent to Chichester, in order to be planted last spring.

"We now send you some samples of the corn. The ticketed ears are the growth of the respective growers; on which tickets a few remarks are made as to the quantity planted and as to the goodness of crop; the quality of the corn will speak for itself. The unticketed ears are mostly the growth of *labourers* living in different parishes in the neighbourhood of Chichester, who planted patches in their gardens, and who in most instances used a great part of it in its milky state, and the remainder of the corn has since been given to their pigs or poultry, but who in every instance have made a reserve of some of the corn to plant again; regretting they have not more ground to plant it in. Now, Sir, you may rely on it that in every instance where the corn was planted, it more than realised the expectations of the grower; and depend upon it that numbers of others will plant the corn next spring. I aspired to the honour of being your host had you reached Chichester when on your tour from Lewes to the west, an honour which I still hope to have. With sincere wishes for your health and happiness,

"I remain, dear Sir,  
Your obedient and humble servant,  
"RICHARD COSINS."

*"Chichester, Nov. 21, 1831.*

"Dear Sir,—Immediately on the receipt of your parcel of corn last April, I took the whole to our mutual friend Mr. R. Cosins, who being a *retired farmer*, and having leisure, I thought would do the thing better than I could, to whose annexed account I refer you, which, together with the parcel of corn sent by the bearer, our friend, Mr. Adams, of our town, will be enough to make Hunt blush, if his skin is not too thick. Hunt did not send me one of his circulars.

"Mr. Cosins has no objection to his name appearing in print, if you think proper. *I think if his letter appears in your publication*, it may do good, as he is much looked up to as an upright man, a *consistent politician*, a good farmer, and well known through west Sussex and east Hampshire. At any time you may command my services, I shall be proud to oblige you in any way.

"Your humbleservant,  
"JAMES GRAY."

I now go into HAMPSHIRE, beginning at Portsea, whence I have received, through Mr. BIGWOOD of Queen-street,

fifteen samples of very beautiful corn. He executed my request very punctually, and has taken great pains in rendering me an account of the result. His indignation against the LIAR is too great for him to express. One of the samples of corn sent by Mr. Bigwood was accompanied with a letter, which is of so interesting a nature that I cannot refrain from inserting it here.

*Elm Cottage, near Kingston Cross,  
Nov. 21, 1831.*

"Sir,—This year I planted a piece of land with corn in open ground in rows three feet eight inches apart. On the 18th of April, when the corn came up, I found that some had failed. I then transplanted and made good the rows, and seeing they looked wide apart, I planted a row of York cabbage between each row; I cut the cabbage and hoed the corn, and then planted brocoli in the same rows, which is now growing. The ear I have sent you is a fair sample, there being from two to three on a stalk, and on some I had four. Now, Sir, I sowed at the same time a piece of land with barley equal in size to that the corn was on. The produce of the corn was half as much more in measure and weight than the barley. I had a loaf made of half corn and half wheat last year, and it was very good bread. But Mrs. King keeps the corn for poultry, finding they fatted quickly and firm, and laid much finer eggs than with barley feeding. I find it has the same effect with pigs as with poultry. I gathered several ears of corn, quite ripe, on the 2d of September, and all was gathered in by the middle of October.

"I remain your humble servant,

"WM. KING."

I cannot sufficiently thank Mr. BIGWOOD for the pains he has taken; but he is a really "public-spirited man, and requires no thanks; with him to do good to the country is to do good to himself, and that is the case with every man who communicates with me on this most interesting subject. From *Lymington*, Mr. JOHN TEMPLER writes me, that the corn has succeeded everywhere. I have received ears from a lady living in the neighbourhood of *Lymington*. Mr. TEMPLER adds, and "yet Hunt calls the corn "that you gave away a *fraud*! Why, "what an impudent brazen LIAR the "fellow must be! And this is the use, "is it, that the fool makes of the power "of franking given to him by the people "of *Preston*!" At *Alton*, in the same county, I saw some as fine corn as I ever saw in my life, last summer. From *Old*

*Alresford*, from a Mr. Roberts, who is I believe both a miller and a farmer, I have received a bunch of ears of corn as fine as ever grew from the earth; not quite so large, so long, nor so heavy, as some of mine, as the *Guernsey-corn*, and as Mr. Plumley's of *Pevensey*; but certainly rather exceeding all the other samples, except perhaps one which comes from *SUFFOLK*, in which county all the corn appears to have been exceedingly fine. From Mr. Blount of *Up-Husband* near *Andover*, in the same county, I have a little box of very fine corn. Mr. Blount planted twenty-two rods of ground, and he says that he had twenty bushels of prime ears, which is at the rate of eighty bushels of shelled corn to the acre, or thereabouts; that this was *not half the produce*, the rest being brought in, stalks and all, and tossed down to the cows, pigs, and poultry. He says that his crop of corn was *plundered by the boys*, who found out that the ears were good to eat when green; just, I suppose, as the Disciples did, when they were going up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. This is a sort of instinctive taste, that will require LORD BROUGHAM's "*parish libraries*" to correct; for Mr. BRAZIER, of *Worth*, tells me, that the *hop-pickers' girls and boys* took a good deal of his corn in the hop-picking time.

Here, at *Up-Husband*, I am within a few miles of the bunch of little *hard parishes*; but I must skip over to *BATTLE*, in *Sussex*, and come back to the hard parishes again. Always when we are thinking about doing good to the country, we, in spite of ourselves, have some particular part or parts of it more immediately in our eye than the rest. When I first contemplated the gratuitous distribution of the corn, I had just been in *Hampshire*, and I had gone from *Winchester* to *Bullington*, to see and console the widowed mother of those two excellent young men the *Masons*. I could not see that bunch of parishes without feeling a desire to do good to the labourers there, reflecting, as I could not help doing, on the proceedings of the recent *SPECIAL COMMISSION*. I promised the widow, that I would return in May, to plant for her a piece of ground to fat a pig or two,



which I afterwards did by Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, shoemaker of Sutton Scotney, who was so kind as to be my agent in the business. Returning home my ideas expanded. In getting the parcel ready for Mr. DIDDAMS, it came into my head to send a number of ears to be distributed by him to labourers in all the parishes round about. From that came the notion of sending corn to other persons for distribution; and hence the general spread of the corn over so many counties. But next, after the hard parishes, came into my mind, the little town of *Battle*, in *Sussex*, and the good and true and virtuous people of its neighbourhood. Mr. JAMES GUTSELL, at Battle, who is a tailor, with a great deal more sense than one-half of the law-makers that I have ever known, was my agent in the distribution; and he has now sent me samples of corn, ticketed with the following names, which I record to his and their honour. He sends me two ears from each grower. But I must first insert his letter.

"To Mr. Wm. Cobbett.

"*Battle*, Nov. 23, 1831.

"Dear Sir,—The ears of Cobbett-Corn which accompany this are the produce of the seed sent by you for distribution. They are not the *very best* that were grown, but may be taken as an average specimen of the crop in the neighbourhood. In collecting the ears I made it a point to collect also the opinions of the growers, as to its uses and advantages over other grain. There is but *one opinion* of the advantages which a cultivator of it would obtain in point of production, though there is a difference respecting the probable amount of an average crop. Some think that 100 bushels to the acre would be a fair crop; others, particularly Messrs. Graw and Gibson, appear confident of a bushel to the rod, that is, with skilful management. The *labourers* are very proud of it; they hang it up in their windows as an ornament. I have often thought of the "*fraud*" when I have seen it. I heard yesterday, that Mr. Plumley, of Pevensey, has this year grown 40 bushels on a quarter of an acre; the land there is richer than it is here. I have received some written opinions of some growers, one of which (Mr. Gibson's, school-master) I send you; and I must add, that he is not the only one who thinks it would make good malt; the same thing had been stated to me before by men who are better capable of judging of the matter than I can pretend to be. You ask 'what use the labourers make of what they get.' They give a little of it to their hogs by way of experiment; and they tell me 'the hogs are crazy for it.' A

few have had some ground, and made a loaf or two; they like it better than any other substitute for wheaten flour, and they think it would be a most excellent thing in times of scarcity. Some of the specimens which I send have been grown under great disadvantages, being stuck under the shade of a tree, or squeezed in between potatoes or beans. Another year we shall see it planted pretty generally in the labourers' gardens; they keep a great quantity to distribute to their neighbours; next year it will share the ground with the potatoes, and will, I have not the least doubt, eventually supplant them, except as a vegetable. The answer I got from nearly every one that I questioned as to its principal good was, 'hog-fattening.' A few of the *small farmers* intend trying it next year. Even your greatest enemies think there is *some good* in it.

"Your most obedient servant,  
"JAMES GUTSELL."

I shall now insert the names of the growers, observing that some of the tickets appear to be rubbed off. Mr. Gutsell had not the means of making the collection so extensive as he would have done if I had given him time to send or go into all the villages; but, short as the time was, the reader will see that my endeavours have been attended with great effects in this quarter of this good, honest, spirited county. The following is a list of the names of the growers that Mr. Gutsell has been able to collect samples from.

John Archer, shoemaker, Seddlescomb.  
James Plumb, labourer, Battle.  
Mr. Gibson, Robert's-bridge.  
James Britt, labourer, Hollington.  
Henry Hades, labourer, Battle.  
James Child, Battle.  
Mr. Henry Reace, Seddlescomb.  
Samuel Britt, labourer, Battle.  
Mr. John Weller, farmer, Westry.  
John Waters, gardener, Robert's-bridge.  
Edward Cox, labourer, Battle.  
James Crowhurst, labourer, Battle.  
Robert Parkes, farmer, Battle.  
Spencer Tollhurst, labourer, Brede.  
Mr. Biner, Seddlescomb.  
John White, labourer, Battle.  
Mr. Pearson, Battle.  
William White, labourer, Battle.  
John Crouch, millwright, Battle.  
Ransom, labourer, Battle.  
James Pepper, wheelwright, Seddlescomb.  
Colshurst, labourer, Seddlescomb.  
Samuel Simcock, shoemaker, Saddlecomb.  
Grown in Battle Park, under the direction of  
Lady Webster.

Mr. Gutsell, if he had had time, would have sent into the parishes more distant

from Battle, to *Burwash, Crowhurst*, and all round about. However, through his kindness, through his real goodness and public spirit, here is more good done than would be done in a whole lifetime of the great, gaping, stupid LIAR, if his life were to begin again, and if his intentions were as benevolent in the new life as they have been malignant in this. I shall keep this box of Battle corn, and the box from the hard parishes, to plant next year as seed. Generally speaking, it is not equal, in point of size of ear, to some of the corn that I have mentioned before; but it is all perfectly sound and good. I shall have bags made to hold these samples of corn from the different counties; and what a convenient thing one of these bags, when a third part full, would be to lay about the head of the great and stupid LIAR! He would take it quietly, I will warrant him. Let him now go and show himself in any of these counties, let him go to that "*estate*," of which he told the poor Prestonians, the other day, that he had "*just received the rents*!" Is "*Charley*" PEARSON his receiver I wonder?

I now come back to the *hard parishes*, in the north of Hampshire, to which, as I related before, I sent a parcel of corn to be distributed by Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, shoemaker, of Sutton Scotney, which is a hamlet, belonging to the parish of Wuust-ton. Mr. DIDDAMS has not had time to collect samples from more than five or six parishes out of perhaps twenty, in which the corn has been growed. I shall insert the list of names, occupations, and parishes, as I did in the case of Battle. But I must first insert Mr. DIDDAMS's letter. I saw Mr. Diddams's crop in the month of August, I am sure that he had not a *rod and a quarter* at the utmost; and he has, you see, *nine gallons of shelled corn*, which is at about the rate of *twenty quarters to the acre*; and I am certain that this is to be done upon a whole field of good land with skilful cultivation. I insert the letter to Mr. Diddams's honour, and the list to the honour of those who cultivated the corn.

"*Sutton Scotney, Nov. 23, 1831.*

"Sir,—I shall send off a box to-morrow morning with all the ears of your corn I could

collect of the men I gave it to last April. Most of them put the ticket to their own corn themselves; as you will see. All the corn has ripened excellently, and most of it was gathered by the 11th of October. I planted about one rod of ground, and I have got nine gallons of shelled corn. Mr. Shrimpton of Down Hurstbourne, planted three rods of ground. He has three bushels of corn. William Hunter, of Longparish, planted about one rod; he is sure that he has quite a bushel or more of shelled corn to the rod of ground. And a man of the name of Froom, of Longparish, planted seven or eight rods of ground. He sent word to me, he had about one bushel to the rod. He had his corn shelled and ground, and then gave it to his pigs; and so did Hunter, which is the reason I have not sent you an ear or two of corn from them. You will see two ears marked Francis Ray, of Bullington, and Jacob Ray, of Sutton; both of whom planted about a rod of ground, and had a good crop. You will see some corn marked THOMAS BYE, of Stoke Charity, who planted about one rod of ground, I think the best crop I ever saw. Mrs. Mason's corn is particularly good. *I gave corn to about 70 or 80 persons*; they generally planted a row or two in their gardens, except Lovell and Smith, at Northington, who planted a considerable piece of ground each. When I saw them, some weeks ago, they told me their crops were excellent. There was some planted at Stratton and Micheldever, but I have not had time to go there; I hear it ripened well, and indeed in no one instance have I heard it fail. You will see two ears marked Samuel Phillips, an old Chopstick, which I would wish particularly to notice; he is a good old man, having bred up a large family by hard labour, and now his work is not quite done. He was the first man I applied to for the corn. I told him my instructions from you to give him 6d. for two ears. He said, 'No, I planted 24 corns, and I have these bunches of fine ears. I have put some short ones by for seed and Mr. Cobbett, God bless him, he is welcome to the whole of them if he wishes it.' I will give you more particulars about the corn when I write again. Please to write to me as soon as convenient.

\* "I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ENOS DIDDAMS.

"Wm. Cobbett, Esq. London."

Enos Diddams, shoemaker, Sutton Scotney.  
Thomas Malt, labourer, Bullington.  
John Diddams, carpenter, Barton Stacey.  
Thomas Bye, labourer, Stoke Charity.  
James Croucher, labourer, Sutton Scotney.  
George Forde, labourer, Bullington.  
James Diddams, shoemaker, Barton Stacey.  
William Shrimpton, Down-Husband.  
Jacob Ray, labourer, Sutton Scotney.  
Isaac Farmer, labourer, Barton Stacey.  
Widow Mason, Bullington.  
Anthony Anthony, tailor, Barton Stacey.

Richard Withers, labourer, Sutton Scotney.  
 John Hoar, Sutton Scotney.  
 Thomas Webb, bricklayer, Barton Stacey.  
 Mrs. Tarrant, Barton Stacey.  
 Thomas Melsom, Sutton Scotney.  
 Mr. Jacob Cotton, Barton Stacey.  
 John Basten, labourer, Bullington.  
 Samuel Phillips, an old worn-out chopstick,  
 Sutton Scotney.  
 George Ball, labourer, Barton Stacey.  
 William Bye, labourer, Sutton Scotney.  
 Francis Ray, labourer, Bullington.  
 William Goodhall, labourer, Barton Stacey.  
 William Lock, labourer, Barton Stacey.  
 Daniel Harmswood, Sutton Scotney.  
 Widow Ireland, Sutton Scotney.  
 John Twinney Cooper, Sutton Scotney.  
 Richard Cleverly, labourer, Barton Stacey.

William Shrimpton writes me a letter himself, and tells me that he sent me two very fine ears by *the guard* of one of the coaches, but that the guard told him he *had lost them on the road!* A very good hint never to trust to *guards* again; for, though they may be very good guards of other things, they do not seem to have much ability in guarding the ears of corn. Shrimpton, who lives very near to the spot where *THE LIAR* used once to swagger about as *lord of the manor*, relates, at the close of his letter, a very pretty fact concerning *THE LIAR*; which fact he will relate to the Liar's face, if he dare to show that face in Hampshire again. I hope that I have not omitted to notice any communication that I have received upon this subject. I very much wished to insert the whole of the details expressed on the tickets of the various parcels; but I found it impossible to do this within the space that I have at my command. I have done this in the cases of *Battle*, and of the *hard parishes*, for several reasons: in the case of *Battle*, because the excellent people of that town and neighbourhood acted so just and manly a part in the case of *THOMAS GOODMAN*, and, by acting that part, blowed to atoms that foul conspiracy against my liberty and life, in which the bloody old Times was a conspicuous actor; in the case of the *hard parishes*, because from them those two excellent young men the *Masons* were taken and sent from their widowed mother for life: and, in both cases, because the cultivators of the corn have been almost exclusively *labouring men*. I am equally obliged by the kindness of those gentlemen

who have sent me ticketed corn from other parts; but I trust that they will see the reasonableness of the motives from which the distinction has arisen.

Now, then, we have it incontestably proved, that this corn will flourish in all the soils and in every degree of climate in this kingdom. I have samples from *Bungay*, in *Suffolk*, to *Berkeley*, in *Gloucestershire*; and from *Pevensey Level* to *Paisley*. I have it from all soils; marsh, loam, gravel, clay, sand, and chalk. The ears are longest and biggest upon the fat land; but there appears to be no better, closer, or sounder corn than that grown in the hard parishes, which is a flinty soil at top, and chalk at bottom.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

## SECOND PART.

EXPERIENCE has dictated to me to make this addition to my treatise on the cultivation of the Cobbett-corn. This addition will relate solely, as was stated in the advertisement, to the matter contained in Chapters VII. and VIII. Chapter VII. gives instructions for the *topping of the corn*, and with regard to the mode of *stacking* the tops. The time for topping is about the first week in September. The tops and blades are full of juice: we never have sun at that time of the year, to dry them sufficiently for stacking, to be used as *dry fodder*. I have found it impossible to do it; and, what is more, I have found a more advantageous use, to which to apply the tops and blades. I never had a fair opportunity of making this experiment in a minute and exact manner, until this summer of 1831. I had a hundred and twenty-three rods of ground in corn. I had two cows and a horse to keep. I began topping the corn (in the manner described in Chapter VII.) on the *thirty-first of August*. The horse had the corn-tops and blades *instead of hay* for one month from that time; and the two cows lived *wholly* upon the tops and blades for exactly *two months*. At the end of that time, I got eight *Somersetshire ewes*, and there were corn-tops

enough then left to feed them, in place of giving them hay, for fourteen days. By this time the blades were become withered. The ewes had other things to eat; but this remnant of the corn-tops served them instead of hay for a fortnight. My horse increased in flesh, and my cows in milk, when they were fed upon these tops, the cows having before been kept upon fine-loaved cabbages.

Now, then, look at the value of these tops and blades. If the cows and horse had had hay instead of these tops and blades, the cows would have required four trusses a week each, and the horse two, at fifty-six pounds to the truss; so that, reckoning forty trusses to the ton, there would have been required two tons and two hundred weight of hay, besides what would have been wanted for the ewes, which would have made the whole not less than two tons and a half. Meadows, on an average, do not yield above a ton and a half to the acre. A third part of the times, this is more than half spoiled by the wet; so that an acre of tops and blades, which never can be spoiled by the wet, are worth more than the whole produce of the best meadow land in the kingdom, take one year with another. The very best hay is not equal in quality to tops and blades; and such hay can no where be bought under three pounds a ton of 2240lbs. weight: then they are worth seven pounds ten even at that rate. They are brought into the yard as tares, lucerne, or any other green food is. I will, by-and-by, speak of the distances whereat to plant the corn, in order to render the carting of the tops not an inconvenient work.

We now come to the *stalks*, as fodder. In paragraph 117 of the book, there is a plate representing the stalk with the ears left on. After the ears are taken off, there remains merely the stalk; and even the stalk is eaten by cattle in America. I had no idea that they could be applied to this use here. After my tops and blades were gone, my cows were living upon the *leaves and crowns of mangel wurzel*; and these things never should be given to cattle or to sheep

unaccompanied with *dry food* for one meal in the day. We therefore were about to get some hay on the Monday; but, somehow or another, people always, I think, put off purchases as long as they can, when the article is to be got only with ready money: however, be the motive what it might, we missed the *hay-day*, and could get no hay till the Saturday. Having a great repugnance to the buying of hay by the single truss, and yet valuing highly the health of my cows, I told my man to go and cut off a *bundle of stalks* with his knife, and to *toss them into the cow-crib*. The work of topping and blading is never performed with such complete neatness as not to leave some few blades to wither along with the stalk; and I told my man that the cows would pick off those dead blades, and might get along in that way till Saturday. The bundle of stalks was tossed into the crib at their full length, for they had been cut by a knife from the ground. I went into the yard in about an hour after, and saw the crib perfectly empty, and asked, what the stalks had been flung out for? In short, I found that the cows had eaten them up every morsel! This was on *Thursday, the 3rd of November*. Then I began to repent of what I had done; for I had gone on in this way: as fast as I gathered the corn, I had dug up the stalks and brought them to *bed the yard with*; so that I did not make this discovery until I had thrown down, as yard-bedding, more than three-fourths of my stalks. The stalks become by the month of November, pretty dry. In America they become dry enough to house, or to put up in great stacks; they will not become dry enough for that in this country, unless you let them stand out till the middle, or latter end of the winter, and then they become mere sticks; but they will be better than hay all through the month of November and the half of December; and if you catch a dry day, and tie them up in small sheaves, a small circular stack of them with a hole left in the middle, with some straw thrown over the top, and a hole run down through the straw into the ground, I am persuaded this would

keep them fresh and good till spring. The correctness or incorrectness of this opinion I shall ascertain next March; for I have made a little stack of this sort for the purpose.

Here, then, is at least another thirty shillings an acre added to the value of the fodder. But we have not all yet; for there are the husks. They will make paper, the finest part of them, and also excellent mattresses and beds. I should have made the fine parts of mine into mattresses, or sold them to upholsterers, this year; but in my little squeezed-up farm-yard I had no room for either sorting them or saving them, and in they went to the cow-crib also, and eaten they were like all the rest of the plant. Ten shillings worth of hay would make but a very poor figure if it had to face an acre of husks in the more than alderman-like presence of the mouth of a cow. Nor have we done yet with this affair of the fodder; for having corn to thrash out for Mr. Sapsford, and having no hole or corner wherein to deposit the cobs, the common-council-like stomachs of the cows here presented themselves as a last resort. Two bushels at a time were flung into the crib, and they disappeared with all convenient dispatch. I have said that an acre of corn fodder is worth *eight pounds* in any part of England; and if these facts, which I could verify if necessary upon the oath of one or two persons, be true, every farmer will say that this fodder is worth more than ten pounds an acre; so that even if the corn were *not to ripen*, this would be better than any other crop that you can grow upon the ground; for, observe, if the corn ears were *soft*, they would make the fodder *twice as good* as it would be if the ears were to be ripened and taken away.

So much for the alteration that experience has suggested with regard to matter contained in Chapter VII.; and now for the alterations to be made in the matter contained in Chapter VIII.: namely, the harvesting of the ears, the husking of them, the mode of keeping them, and the separating of the grain from the cobb. I must first speak of the

mode of *keeping the ears*. We cannot, in this country, keep the ears in any quantity without a KILN. Do not be frightened, farmer; you cannot keep hops without a kiln; and yet you often follow that gambling trade. The Americans dry their hops in the sun. We cannot; and yet we grow hops, and better hops than they. But, oh! the *expense* of a kiln! Very heavy, to be sure; yet it may be borne. I found it necessary to have one upon my little farm this year: I stuck it up in one corner of a cart-shed. It cost me 6*l.* 15*s.*, to be sure; but, unless friend Swing, or the devil of carelessness, were to assail it, it would last half-a-dozen life-times like mine. My fuel has cost me fourteen shillings to dry more than two hundred and twenty bushels of ears; and have not *seed-growers* kilns? and could they raise, on an average of years, kidney-beans, and many other seeds, without a kiln? And do not the farmers very frequently go upon their knees to my Lords of the Treasury, to get the permission of their highnesses to incur all the expenses of carrying their wheat several miles to a malt kiln, there to have it dried, and then to bring it home again? Is there any farmer that would not, many times in his life-time, give his ears to have a kiln to dry his beans upon, instead of letting them tumble out in the field, and there lie growing on the top of the ground? And does not Mr. Tull tell us of a sensible farmer in Oxfordshire, who built a kiln upon his farm, bought *cold* wheat at the market, carried it home and dried it, then sold it again, and thus made a considerable fortune in a very few years? And in this climate of everlasting drip, ought there to be any considerable farm without a kiln? besides which, in the hop-growing counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Worcester, have they not the kilns already, in two cases out of three? The difference in the price between forty bushels of dry wheat and forty bushels of *cold* wheat, would more than defray the annual expenses of the kiln. The heat ought never to be above eighty degrees upon the cloth or the tiles; twice turn-

ing in about thirty hours, the corn being in the ear, and without the husk, takes all the moisture out of the cob; and then the ears, in any quantity, may be flung in a heap in a granary, and there kept till you wish to have them shelled.

Now, I am to speak of taking in the ears and of the husking of them; but, it will be the best way for us to go regularly to work, and to follow the process all the way through. Suppose we have a field of ten acres. To carry on our operations upon such a piece, we must have space to go between the rows with a cart. Plant the corn always in rows from north to south, as nearly as possible. Put two rows together, a foot apart, and the plants at eight inches apart in the row, the plants of one row standing opposite the middle of the intervals of the plants in the other row: then leave a clear interval of five feet, plant another two rows in the same manner, and thus go on throughout the field; you have thus just as many plants as if the rows were all three feet apart, and all the plants will have more air and more sun, and bear a greater crop and ripen sooner, and bear better corn, than if the rows were only three feet apart throughout the field. This gives you, too, fine room for inter-cultivation by the plough. When the time for topping and blading comes, have a light cart with wheels four feet apart from outside to outside, with movable side ladders, and head and tail ladders: it goes along the interval, and you fill it from the rows and the sides, and it brings in its load, as quickly as it will lucerne, tares, or any-thing else.

In Chapter VIII. I have recommended the pulling off of the ears as they do in America, husk and all, and husking them on a barn's floor or some such place. I now recommend the stripping of the husk downward, leaving it upon the plant, screwing off the ear, tossing it into the cart, and bringing home the ears to the kiln at once. This work might be done just in the same manner as hop-picking is. The gatherers, each furnished with a bushel-basket and a peck-basket, the big one for the hard ears, and the little one for the soft ears,

might go on through the day, gathering by the bushel, and overlookers standing at the receiving-bins to see that all the work was properly done, and the cart, as in the case of the hops, come and carry home to the kiln the result of the day's work. In case of wet weather, you must *halt*, as in the case of hop-picking: only that, in the case of the corn, the wet will be a matter of less consequence, seeing that it would only have to lie a little longer upon the kiln without receiving any damage, as the hops do. This work comes, too, after the hop-picking, and after all the summer and autumnal work for women and children is over, which, to all the other advantages of this crop, is one of no small value to be added.

There only remains to speak of the shelling of the corn. In Chapter VIII. of the treatise, paragraph 136, I spoke of the various tedious methods of getting the corn off the cob; but at the same time I said that I had written to America for a *thrasher*, which would do the business with great celerity, and much better than by hand. To write to my friend at New York, was something like Burdett's famous, profound, and philosophical observation, namely, that "*to have was to have*;" for here, *to write was to have*. I got it, gave it to my neighbour, Mr. Judson, at Kensington; he has made others by it, which he sells at a very reasonable price; and he has given me one, which I call a thrasher, and not a machine, for reasons best known to myself and my friends in the hard parishes. This thrasher, working in company with a man and a boy, will knock you off ten sacks in a day, and give them time to sift it and measure it. You have the corn in the ear lying in the granary, and there you thrash it as you want it, either to use or to sell; and thus I conclude my instructions with regard to the raising of this corn and the bringing of it to market, there only remaining now for me to prove, that, bushel for bushel, it is, in every family, worth more than wheat; and this I shall do in a manner, not to leave the fact in dispute amongst any, but the most perverse of human beings.

The propositions I mean to maintain are as follows :—1. That our crops of the Cobbett-corn will be more than double in amount than American crops, acre for acre. 2. That, that the Cobbett-corn is greatly superior to that of America, both in weight and in quality ; 3. That, in weight of grain, the Cobbett-corn is, at the very least, three times as great as that of wheat, acre for acre ; 4. That a bushel of Cobbett-corn produces more flour than a bushel of wheat ; 5. And lastly, that the flour is, in the generality of families, of more value than the flour of wheat, pound for pound.

The *quantity of crop* of the Cobbett-corn, compared with the American, the former grew in England and the latter in America, is settled at once ; because the fact is notorious, that twenty bushels of shelled corn to the acre is the average crop in the United States of America. If the reader will look into my *YEAR'S RESIDENCE*, he will there see the fact incidentally stated, and he will see that the statement was made upon the authority of a well-known farmer of Pennsylvania, and as relative to the old and well-cultivated farms. He states the average of corn to be twenty bushels, and the average of wheat to be sixteen bushels : and it will be borne in mind that the *Year's Residence* was published at New York, concurrently with the publication of it in England. So that this fact relative to the American crops, is unquestionable ; and with regard to the amount of the crop of corn in England, leaving my crops out of the question, there is the testimony and experience of Messrs. Clouting and Kent, that they are growing at the rate of ten quarters to the acre ; there is the testimony of Mr. Isles, that he has growed at the rate of eight and a half quarters ; of Mr. Blunt, that he has growed still more ; and of Mr. Plumley, that he has growed twenty bushels of shelled corn upon thirty rods of ground, which is a hundred and six bushels to the acre, which is thirteen quarters and two bushels. Now, these are all *farmers* ; they speak with great caution, and are by no means disposed to exaggerate in favour of the

corn ; my own crop, I am not able to state the amount of with accuracy. Owing to my squeezed-up place, I have been compelled to gather by slow degrees, and to apply by slow degrees. I began by sending three barrels of bags of corn in the ear to VAN DIEMEN'S LAND. What part of this world will there be for which I shall not have done something before I come to the close of my labours ? The fleeing from Sidmouth's dungeons (which dungeons he shall find that I have not forgotten) carried the culture of the Swedish turnip and mangel wurzel to the United States of America, and also carried a breed of the beautiful Sussex hogs. But as to my crop of corn, on my hundred and twenty-seven rods of ground, Mr. Sapsford has had four quarters and a half of shelled corn ; so that here are five quarters of shelled corn, including more than a sack, or coomb, that went to Van Diemen's Land in the ear. Here would be crop enough in all conscience ; but I calculate that I have more than nine quarters besides this. "To have is to have," as profound Burdett most convincingly remarks, and I have it not all ; for the pigs and fowls have had some. However, exclusively of a pretty large parcel eaten by the rats, some upon the ground, and some which they carried under a strawrick, to the amount of four or five bushels of corn in the ear, I am convinced that I have growed, upon the hundred and twenty-three rods, fifteen quarters of shelled corn. Mr. Diddams speaks of several crops of a bushel of shelled corn to the rod ; and that is at the rate of twenty quarters to the acre of shelled corn. Mr. Diddams is a man of sound judgment, and of perfect veracity ; but Mr. Diddams speaks of the produce of small quantities of land. Upon the whole, however, every man must be convinced, that, upon the average of fair corn-land, in good heart, and well cultivated, the average crop of Cobbett-corn in England will be ten quarters to the acre. Arthur Young, after an actual survey of the whole of the kingdom, states the average wheat-crop at three quarters to the acre ; so that here are three times as much in

bulk of corn as in wheat; though corn is only five months upon the ground, while the wheat occupies the ground the whole year, and in some parts of the country is actually standing upon the ground more than a whole year. I have frequently seen one piece of land with the wheat three inches high, while wheat was standing uncut in the adjoining piece.

But, besides the bulk of crop, there is the weight of the crop; and in this respect the corn exceeds the wheat, bushel for bushel. Next, the corn exceeds the wheat weight for weight in produce of flour, which will appear, and indeed be incontestably proved, by the following statements, which I have from Mr. Sapsford, and which relate to the American corn as compared with the Cobbett-corn, as well as to the Cobbett-corn as compared with the wheat. These statements come from a man who has been in the flour-trade and the baking-trade all his life-time; a man of great minuteness in his calculations and observations; a man who understands the whole of the matter, from the transactions at Mark-lane to those of the baker's shop, and his statements are as follows. Until this year, there was no Cobbett-corn that had been, except by myself, turned into flour; and I, as well as Mr. Sapsford, had no idea that the corn grew here would be quite equal, bushel for bushel, to the American corn, in produce of flour. The statements will show how completely and agreeably we were disappointed in this respect; to these statements I now request the reader's particular attention.

	POUNDS.
Sack of Cobbett-corn .....	244
Flour .....	215
Offal (sold at 3s. 6d. a bushel, of 56 lbs.) .....	21
Waste, in grinding .....	8
	244

	POUNDS.
Sack of American Corn .....	224

Flour .....	170
Offal .....	43
Waste, in grinding .....	11
	224

But let me not wrong the Yankees. The American corn, of which this is the account, was bought at Mark-lane; and as it was the finest that Mr. Sapsford could find there, it would not be doing Jonathan wrong if I were to let this pass as his best corn; but, in order to show him my determination to meet him fairly, I will give him an instance of his very best. In 1829, a merchant of the city ordered from New York, for Mr. Sapsford, fifty quarters of the finest American corn that could be got. In order that it might come without any possible injury, it was put into oak casks that cost eleven shillings each in America. I saw it after its arrival, and it was the finest sample of corn that I had ever seen in my life. There was not a single defective grain to be seen amongst it; yet, you will see that it fell, in point of flour, thirty pounds short (in a sack of four bushels of the Cobbett-corn), though it was ground by the same miller (Mr. Death), and dressed in the same manner. The statement is this:—

	POUNDS.
The sack weighed .....	232
Flour .....	185
Offal .....	37
Waste .....	10
	232

The difference in the gross weight of the sack is only 12 lbs.; but here, you see, are thirty-seven pounds of offal, instead of twenty-one, and ten pounds of waste instead of eight. Besides which, Mr. Sapsford says that the American corn will not make so much bread, pound for pound, as the Cobbett-corn; that the former is, in fact, a *coarser* thing than the latter; and that it is like what is called *steely* wheat, compared with fine plump rich wheat.

We now come to a comparison of a more important nature still; namely, a comparison between the produce of a



sack of Cobbett-corn and the produce of a sack of *English wheat*. Mr. Sapsford, wishing to be very accurate as to this matter, applied to Mr. Symonds of Reading, for an account of the produce of some grindings of wheat, Mr. Symonds being a very celebrated dealer in flour. He got from him, a week or two ago, the following statements of two grindings; one of the very best white wheat and one of red wheat. The wheat was not ground until the month of July last, so that it was old and dry; and, as will be seen, the sack weighed precisely as much as my sack of Cobbett-corn. The statements are as follows:—

	POUNDS.
WHITE WHEAT.—Weight of the sack ..	244
Flour, including <i>fine</i> , <i>seconds</i> , and <i>sharps</i>	202
Offal, pollard and bran.....	36
Waste .....	6
	244
RED WHEAT.—Weight of the sack ....	228
Flour (including as above) .....	176
Offal (as above).....	44
Waste .....	8
	228

So that you see the Cobbett-corn exceeds even this finest white English wheat, 13lbs. upon the sack in produce of flour; and the red wheat exceeds it by 39lbs. upon the sack in produce of flour; and, observe this, that the offal of the corn is worth 3s. 6d. the bushel. Mr. Death, who is a farmer as well as a miller, takes it at that from Mr. Sapsford, and I should be very glad to have it; for having seen a sample of it, which, by-the-by, I carried with me to Winchester when I went to meet Jephthah Marsh and the Barings, to show to the farmers, I would give more for it than for any barley-meal that I ever saw, bushel for bushel. I forgot to state that Mr. Symonds's grindings of wheat were in great parcels, and that, therefore, they had the advantage over the single sack of Cobbett-corn, particularly in the article of waste. Mr. Kipping, whom I have mentioned amongst my

obliging correspondents upon the subject of the corn, tells me, that a neighbour of his questions the accuracy of the comparative statement lately published in the *Register*, and that he intends to furnish me with his observations upon the subject. He will now have ample means of doing this, and I shall be very happy to receive his communication. Mr. Kipping tells me that even his turkeys, fowls, and pigs, call, by their conduct, with regard to the corn, *THE LIAR* by his proper name. When the pigs were thus sensibly acting, perhaps Mr. Kipping might have been reminded of his kind offer to give me a *bour* of that breed. When he can do it, and a *white* one if convenient, I shall be very much obliged to him. Every-thing is now settled, except the value of the corn flour compared with that of wheat, pound for pound; and I know well that the corn flour is, in any family of considerable size and of moderate living, a great deal the more valuable of the two. Of itself, it will not conveniently make *bread*; because it is not adhesive to the degree that wheat flour is; but mixed, one third with wheat or one-third with rye flour, and it makes *better* bread than wheat flour or rye flour will make of itself. Mr. Sapsford makes and sells the bread, one-fourth corn flour and the rest wheaten. He sells it at the same price as the wheaten bread, I believe; and, the only thing he has to complain of is, that he cannot get corn flour enough. I buy the bread, in preference to the wheaten bread; and every one finds, after eating the Cobbett-bread for some time, that the return to the wheaten bread is unpleasant. In puddings it is better than the wheaten flour; it is as good without eggs as the wheaten flour is with, and then it admits of all the variety of uses mentioned in my treatise, and to which I beg to refer the reader.

I have made this addition to my book much longer than I intended; but I could not well make it shorter. It remains for me still to say something to those gentlemen who intend to plant corn, relative to the *procuring of the seed*. The

best way is to get it in the *ear* from those which the planter has *seen* grow it. Then you cannot be deceived. Not to purchase of a seedsman on any account; for, without any impeachment of his integrity, there is his ignorance of the matter. There are fifty sorts of corn, and more too; and it is impossible that he should know one from the other. Yet if you get a wrong sort of corn you have no crop; and this has been the case in hundreds of instances. I have saved a great part of my this year's crop, to sell for seed; and I have it hung up in the rooms at Bolt-court, being a sight worth riding a thousand miles to see, and which may be seen by any gentleman for nothing. I have had it tied up in bunches of ears four in a bunch; and I sell it according to the following table—

#### COBBETT-CORN.

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.		
	s.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre .....	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre .....	1	0	0

Mr. Diddams tells me that he has six hundred and sixty-five sound ears, besides fifty soft ones, upon his rod and a little more of ground; so that here are one hundred and forty-one bunches, which, at my price, would bring Mr. Diddams seven pounds one shilling! A pretty money-making concern, the greedy loanmongers will exclaim: and what must *mine* be, then, who have thousands of bunches! Faith, I must take care, or the Barings will begin to think me their rivals. The truth is, however, that I do not care a straw whether I sell it or do not, except that the sale of it would be a proof that a good many persons are going to plant it. After all, even at my most extravagant price, it is cheaper seed-corn than wheat, acre for acre; after this next year, it will be to be gotten in every part of the kingdom; and I have now, indeed, pointed

out persons enough of whom it may be bought. It ought to be kept in the ear, until you are ready for planting. This is not absolutely necessary, but it is best: the corn comes up quicker and stronger, and so it would be with wheat and all other grain.

I now quit the subject with no intention of ever writing upon it again, with a view to urge people to cultivate the corn: I look upon the thing as done; I anticipate the general cultivation of it, and the abolition of corn bills for ever and ever. I look upon England as the best country in the world even for this corn. Arthur Young, in his *Travels in France*, says, that the growth of corn is the characteristic of good living and well-being in that country. He says that the cultivation of it is a sure mark that the people are well off, as far as nature is concerned: and he deeply laments that it *will not ripen in England*, but still he recommends it to be planted for the purposes of fodder. Poor Arthur Young turned *Methodist* before he died; and most likely repented of having suggested the means of sustaining the body, deeming that detrimental to the sustenance of the soul; a principle upon which the pious teachers of that sect always proceed; and they, finding their followers difficult to be restrained from indulging their fleshly appetites, and failing in assistance from any other source, to make short and sure of it, they get into their houses and eat up the victuals themselves. My last words upon this corn subject I address to the labourers, and they are these:—God has sent you this corn for you to eat, as the reward of your labour in raising it: give it to the devil, rather than to a canting thief, who would make you believe that it is *God's pleasure* that you should be half starved, while that lazy thief is as fat and as sleek as a buck in July.

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 25th November, 1831.

## LYONS.

As if for the express purpose of showing the stupidity of Brodie's malignant stuff, on which I have commented in the preceding pages, and the inutility of his swaggering corps of unstrapping attorneys and tax-eaters, as applicable in the case of a population like that of Manchester, comes this affair of Lyons! I shall give an account of this affair in the words of the Paris papers; and when I have inserted these accounts, I shall have to add some remarks. This is a very important affair. It may, before it be over, upset the government and dynasty of Louis PHILIPPE. It is hardly in nature that that government should last long; but this grand affair may lead to something that will settle it at once. The last intelligence is, that the working people, whom the insolent wretches in this country, who live upon the fruit of their toil, call the "lower orders," the "peasantry," and the "mob," were masters of the city, and had demanded a million of francs; or fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a ransom! Oh, the Devil, that Brodie's battalion was not there! There were six thousand regulars, it appears, and God knows how many regiments of national guards; the "lower orders" beat all these; but what would they have done against Brodie's Salisbury-corps? However, let us now hear the details.

[From the *Moniteur* of Friday, Nov. 25.]

## OFFICIAL PART.

"Ordinances of the King Louis Philip, King of the French.

"To all present and to come greeting.

"We have ordained and ordain as follows:

"Art. I. Our beloved son, the Duke of Orleans, and the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, our Minister of War, shall immediately repair to Lyons. The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia is authorised to give all the orders that circumstances shall require.

"During the absence of our said Minister, the functions of Minister of War shall be performed *ad interim* by Lieutenant-General Count Sebastiani, our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"II. Our President of the Council, Minister of the Interior, and our Minister of War,

are charged each, as far as he is concerned, with the execution of the present Ordinance.

"Given at the Palace of the Tuileries, Nov. 24, 1831.

"LOUIS PHILIP.

"By the King,

"The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL.

"Minister of the Interior,

"CASIMIR PERIER."

## NON-OFFICIAL PART.

PARIS, Nov. 24.—We announced yesterday, from a telegraphic dispatch from Lyons, dated the 22d in the morning, that serious troubles had taken place on the 21st in that city. The Government has to-day received two reports by an ordinary courier, both dated the 21st in the evening—one from the Prefect of the Rhone, the other from Lieutenant-General Count Rouquet, commanding that division. The following are the facts that result from these reports:—"On Monday, the 21st, at seven o'clock in the morning, the silk-weavers, who inhabit the commune of the Croix Rousse, rose in a rebellious manner, and barricaded the quarters which they occupied. They first assaulted several manufacturers; they disarmed some National Guards, and prepared to march against Lyons. This movement was announced only by loud menaces against persons and property. The authorities, being warned, immediately took measures, and sent troops against the rioters. All endeavours to disperse them by persuasion having failed, it was necessary to have recourse to force. The troops of the line and the National Guards prepared to repel these criminal aggressions; the Prefect repaired to the spot; the workmen then desired to parley.

"The Prefect and General Ordonneau, desiring to stop the effusion of blood, in fact advanced towards them, but they had scarcely approached these madmen, when they were seized and made prisoners.

"At the same time General Roquet, who being sick had caused himself to be conveyed to the Town-hall, directed troops to attack and surround the Croix Rousse; and, in fact, all the rioters were driven back into that commune. The armed force remained masters at all points, and occupied all the advances.

"Fresh overtures having been made by the rebels, General Roquet declared that the Prefect and General Ordonneau must be immediately set at liberty. The Prefect, in fact, immediately returned to Lyons, but the General was detained. Affairs were in this situation on the 21st. In the evening, troops, which had been sent for from Bourgoin and Trevoux, were expected in the night of the 21st. Amidst these serious troubles there are several misfortunes to be deplored. National Guards, officers, and soldiers of the line, and several manufacturers have fallen victims to their courage. Among the latter M. Schirmer is mentioned.

"As for the 22d, the state of the atmosphere has not ceased to hinder the communi-

cation, the Government having received only that which was published yesterday in the *Moniteur*. The director of the telegraphs writes to-day to the President of the Council, 'The telegraphic correspondence with Lyons is stopped by the state of the atmosphere at the post of Semur. The fogs are very tenacious at this season of the year, especially when there is no wind. The fog exists at this moment at the post of Saffres, which is six leagues beyond Semur.'"

This news has been affirmed to-day on 'Change, by a bulletin which the Government caused to be posted up. Letters of the 22d in the evening were spoken of. Nobody could have received any, for no extraordinary courier had arrived. The Government itself only received by the ordinary courier this news of the 21st.

Mr. Prunelle, Mayor of Lyons, has set out to-day for that city.

*Paris, Nov. 25, four o'clock in the morning.*

P. S. The President of the Council has received, at midnight, an estafette, which a person high in office at Lyons has succeeded in dispatching to the Government. His letter, written on the 23d, at one o'clock in the morning, announces that the revolt of the workmen has recommenced—that they have made themselves masters of the bridges, and intercepted the communications. The troops were defending the town-hall, the arsenal, and the powder magazine. General Ordonneau had been given up by the rebels.

The writer opened his letter again at five o'clock in the morning of the same day, to say that the Town Hall had been evacuated, after an obstinate resistance, and that it seemed that the authorities and the troops, as well to avoid a further effusion of blood as to combine their union with forces which they expected from several points, had retired by the Fauxbourg of St. Clair.

Such are the only accounts that have reached the Government up to this hour. There is every reason to hope that the reports of the Prefect and the General will arrive to-day.

The National Guards and the troops of the line have done their duty with equal courage and devotedness. This revolt, accompanied by threats of burning and pillage, is directed only against property and industry. In such a case the issue cannot be doubtful, for it is a matter which concerns all citizens as well as the Government. The Government has immediately taken further measures. The Council met this morning at three o'clock, at the hotel of the President.

Orders have been dispatched to send troops to the department of the Rhone. The Prefects who were at Paris on leave of absence have been ordered to return immediately to their posts. His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans sets out for Lyons this morning, accompanied by the Marshal, Minister of War.

*(From the Messager des Chambres, dated Saturday, Nov. 26.)*

PARIS, Nov. 25.—The post from Lyons had not arrived at eleven o'clock this morning; we have, therefore, not received either the journals or our private correspondence from Lyons, Grenoble, Nîmes, Montpellier, Marseilles, and the whole line.

*(From the Gazette de France, dated Saturday.)*

PARIS, Nov. 25.—After quoting letters from Lyons, in the *Quotidienne* and the *Constitutionnel*, the *Gazette* adds:—

"All the letters from the banking houses at Lyons agree in the following details:—

"For these three days we have been in a state of siege, the whole quarter of the Terreau, the Capucins, and the environs, are closed.

"Five P.M.—The cannon have been firing for these three hours on the people; and the people return the fire with advantage, because they are masters of the heights. M. Schirmer, partner in the house of Dessouilly, was one of the first killed; also several artillerymen. M. Armand is dangerously wounded.

"The weather has been very gloomy, and it has rained almost the whole day, so that the telegraph will hardly have been able to work. If the same weather continues to-morrow, these particulars will reach very opportunely.

"Seven P.M.—Forty of our National Guards are killed; above 150 wounded. Despondency has filled every heart. When will this frightful carnage cease? The insurgents cry, 'Long live Napoleon, Chief of the Republic!'

"The General and the Prefect have been eight hours prisoners in the hands of the insurgents. They were not released till three cannon belonging to the National Guards were employed.

"Two of these cannon have fallen into the hands of the insurgents.

"At the departure of the post they were masters of all the heights that surround Lyons."

*(From the Constitutionnel.)*

PARIS, Nov. 25.—Private letters arrived to-day from Lyons, dated the 21st, are not so consolatory as the two official publications. Most of them agree with the dispatches received by the Government, in saying, that the insurrection of the workmen has no political object. We read, however, in one of these letters, that the cries of "*Vive Napoleon II.*" were heard; and in another, that the working classes are excited and directed by a faction of the Congregation, which is very powerful in the city. The presence of a person in the city who rendered himself notorious in the sanguinary re-actions of 1815 has been looked upon as an inauspicious sign. It is said that the Magistrates had previously received information of attempts to bribe the working classes, and this information was imprudently neglected. The narration of the events on

the 21st is sufficiently afflicting. It is unfortunately too true that the blood of Frenchmen has been profusely shed by their countrymen; and, what is more to be deplored, all the murders committed on this terrible day were not done with arms in the hand. Three assassinations are spoken of, committed at the houses of three citizens.—According to a letter which we have not ourselves seen, disturbances have broken out at Grenoble. Persons corresponding with Lyons did not yesterday receive their letters. The following is an extract from a letter written by a young artilleryman, the truth of which is guaranteed to us:—“We are in an important crisis—since 8 o'clock this morning, Nov. 21, the drum is beating to arms throughout the town. The workmen of the Croix Rousse have displayed the intention of coming down into the quarter of the Capuchins and the Terraux, to require the execution of the new tariff. In fact, since eight o'clock this morning, masses of workmen have descended armed with pikes, muskets, and stones, on the side of St. Sebastian. They encountered there a detachment of the national guard, who prevented their proceeding further. Threats were used on both sides, and the workmen very soon began to fire, and hit several national guards. It is said that the number of wounded is 150, and of the killed twenty. Probably the latter number is too much by half. Several attempts have been made to force the barricades which the rebels have formed in their quarter, but without success. A shower of stones compelled the national guards and the troops of the line to retreat. We left our quarters with our guns and lighted matches. It was quite necessary to establish a regular siege, but the impossibility of using guns was soon acknowledged. For those who knew the paths which lead to the Croix Rousse, it is demonstrated, that it is impossible to force them. On yesterday (Sunday) there was a review by General Ordonneau, appointed General of the national guard at Lyons. He wished this morning to satisfy himself of the disposition of the working classes; he was accompanied, it is said, by the prefect, but they were surrounded by several hundred workmen, and made prisoners. It is now seven o'clock, and the place of contest is tranquil—each party has kept his ground. The workmen are still masters of their entrenchments and of all the Croix Rousse. To surround such a place we require two or three regiments, and we have only one. The whole of the national guards did not comply with the call, only three or four thousand men repaired to the appointed spot. The artillery is placed at the arsenal. We have just heard that M. Schirmer, the associate of M. Depouilly, is killed. Capt. B. is dangerously wounded. We expect a tranquil night, but anticipate a terrible morning. The Magistrates have wanted prudence. For several days it was known that the workmen were arming, and yet the authorities were in a manner surprised. Nothing was prepared,

and even ammunition was not forthcoming till late, and then only in small quantities.” It may be seen from this that the business was not over on the night of the 21st, and reports are in circulation, that letters dated the 22d have reached Paris, announcing the recommencement of the contest.

(From the *Journal des Debats*.)

PARIS, NOV. 25.—It is with the deepest pain that we yesterday received the confirmation of the unpleasant reports that were in circulation concerning Lyons. The movement has no political features. For some time agitation has prevailed among the workmen, but the tariff for the wages of the silk-manufacturers was the only cause. On Sunday, the 20th, numerous mobs assembled at the Croix Rousse, but they dispersed without force being necessary; but in the evening the Magistrates were informed that great preparations were making for the following day. In fact, on Monday, from 10,000 to 12,000 workmen, mostly armed with muskets, and a great number dressed in the uniform of the National Guard, assembled at the Croix Rousse, and came down into the town. The drums immediately beat to arms, and the National Guard, headed by its chiefs, went to meet the insurgents. The Prefect of the Rhone and the Commandant ordered the garrison under arms, which, unfortunately, was at this moment not very numerous; the detachments of the troops of the line were distributed among the National Guard.

It seems certain that the first shots were fired by the workmen at a company of the National Guard, posted at the end of the *Rue des Capuchins*. Two National Guards were mortally wounded. All the efforts used to persuade the rioters to disperse were fruitless. After the legal summonses, several charges were made, and they succeeded in driving back the insurgents into the old suburb, now the town of Croix Rousse. That is their central point of union, and that is situated on one of the hills which command Lyons. The workmen carried on the contest there with more boldness, and the firing was twice resumed. A detachment of National Guards, commanded by Gen. Ordonneau, supported by a company of the 66th, mounted the hill by a street that is very steep, and is almost wholly occupied by the houses of workmen. They had hardly reached a certain height before a thundering discharge was made from almost all the windows. Taken between two fires, and not having much ammunition, the troops were obliged to retreat, but not without leaving some dead and some wounded. At this moment some of the workmen having demanded a parley, the Prefect and General Ordonneau, willing to stop the effusion of blood, went in the midst of them, unaccompanied. They began to speak to them and persuade them to return to their duty, when they were surrounded, made prisoners, and

confined in a house. The Prefect was threatened to be hanged if he did not, before ten o'clock, deliver powder to the insurgents.

Lieutenant-General Roquet caused the men who came to demand a parley to be instantly arrested, and sent a demand that General Ordonneau and the Prefect should be immediately set at liberty, otherwise he should shoot his prisoners and set fire to Croix Rousse. The General and Prefect were speedily set at liberty; the former is said to have received a blow with a sword on the head. Among the victims are M. Schirmer, a partner in the house of Depouilly, and an artist of great talent. Some other manufacturers have perished, and persons of great mildness have been wounded by paving stones, when they went among the workmen. It is hoped, however, that they will recover. On the side of the insurgents it is supposed that the loss has been greater. The grenadiers of the 66th, on seeing the officer fall who commanded them, made a terrible discharge. A great number of arrests have taken place.

(From the *Journal du Commerce* of  
Saturday, Nov. 26.)

PARIS, Nov. 25.—No letters from Lyons having been received to-day, as appears by the official notice posted up on 'Change, we have no details of what passed on the 22d, and even the events of the 20th are not perfectly known.

We have received the *Courier de St. Ain*, which gives an interesting but evidently softened account of the transactions of that day. This article concludes as follows:—

“The dispersion of these workmen by force will, doubtless, cause numbers of them to retreat into those parts of the Department of the Ain which are near Lyons. The gendarmerie is going to send all the men that can be spared to reinforce the brigades at that point; but the national guard especially is interested in the maintenance of order and respect to property, which the appearance of these bands may endanger.

“Orders have been given to all the mayors of the Cantons of Montuel, Trevoux, Meximieux, immediately to take such measures as are required for the public safety. We learn that the mayors of most of those communes had anticipated these orders at the first news of the troubles, and have stationed posts on all the roads; their zeal and foresight are very commendable.

“The manufacture of silks, drawn from Lucca by civil wars; from Vienna by heavy taxes; had been fixed for many years at Lyons, and seemed to be for ever attached to that great city. Such events are the signal for its ruin. It is a branch of commerce that is leaving us, and by which Switzerland, Prussia, and England, are acquiring riches. Their competition already crushes us, and what is passing at Lyons is, properly speaking, a revolt against the necessity of exportation, and against

an inevitable change in the condition of his manufacture.”

PARIS, Nov. 25, ELEVEN AT NIGHT.—We are happy to be able to give more satisfactory accounts from Lyons. The city was tranquil on the 23d in the afternoon, at the departure of the mail, which the insurgents suffered to leave the city, not to prolong the alarm which it was justly presumed must be felt in the capital.

The mail arrived this evening a little before nine; beyond Melun it met the Duke of Orleans and the Minister of War. The Duke alighted from his carriage to make some inquiries respecting the situation of Lyons, from a merchant in the mail, with his wife. He was able to learn, as we have done, that on the 23d, about three in the afternoon, the insurrection had not taken any political character, the workmen were formed into regiments, and their chiefs had announced the penalty of death against any individual guilty of burning or pillage. It is said they even wanted to have this proclamation sanctioned by the Prefect, who remained in the city; that magistrate had answered that his authority had ceased, but that he recommended them to content themselves with incarcerating the malefactors.

Deplorable excesses had taken place before this resolution was agreed on. Several magazines had been cleared, and the goods carried into the streets and burnt. At the house of Mrs. Guereu, widow, all the household furniture was thrown out of the windows. A coffee house, on the Quai de la Saone, had been plundered and demolished. Serious acts of violence had been committed on several persons. The number of killed on both sides is estimated at 600. At first it was said that workmen from the neighbouring towns had come to join those of Lyons. This does not seem to be the case.

The troops sent for from other places had not yet arrived. All the authorities had in fact left the city, except the Prefect, who remained as a private individual, and whom the workmen respected, doubtless because he was favourable to them on the establishing of the Tariff.

These are the facts we have collected at the post-office, and from a merchant who arrived this evening.

We may add, that on the road from Lyons to Paris, all was tranquil, but uneasy. It is hoped that the mail, which was to leave Lyons on the 23d, will arrive to-night at the usual hour.

That which arrived this evening has brought the bags from all the roads that led to Lyons, and those of that city. They are all untouched. The letters will be delivered to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. It is said that there are only about 50 letters written from Lyons itself, and that none of them are addressed to the ministers.

(From the *Messenger des Chambres*, dated Sunday.)

There is no description of alarming accounts that has not been circulated to-day at Paris, in the Bourse and elsewhere. One account was that Toulouse, another that Grenoble—now that Strasburg, then Montpellier, were in a state of insurrection. At the hour that we are going to press, no dispatch has arrived to confirm these reports. We affirm that they are invented by malevolence.

On Sunday, the 20th instant, the report became pretty general that the silk weavers were about to make a violent attempt for the establishment of a scale of wages. Nothing was very distinctly stated as to the precise or special motive for this attempt, but sinister expressions were frequently uttered, and were calculated to excite the serious attention of the authorities, who were, from other sources, it is said, informed on the subject for several days.

Orders were, in fact, given to the National Guards, who were to assemble on Monday morning, to preserve public order under all circumstances. We are uninformed why it was that the Guards had not appeared under arms to an imposing extent until towards eleven o'clock—a period when the weavers had already completed the organization of the insurrection, and had made themselves absolute masters of the Croix-Rousse, where the labouring classes principally reside.

From the first discharges, there were, on both sides, several persons killed, and a great number wounded. Even women and infants were shot, and nothing was wanting that could strengthen the horror of this catastrophe. The workmen who descended into the city when the contest took place returned to Croix-Rousse, the National Guard of which district they had on this morning disarmed. The workmen had also seized on the two cannons belonging to the National Guard, pointed them towards the city, erected barricades, and, in fine, fortified that faubourg as a military position.

This position is naturally very strong, and they have continued, up to the present evening, the *fusillade* of the respective out-posts. Towards two o'clock, a detachment succeeded in turning the position, and in commanding it, by taking possession of the height. We are informed, but we can scarcely credit the statement, that an order extorted from Gen. Ordonneau, and signed by him, forced the Commandant of this detachment to abandon the position which he had taken.

It is also said, that at four o'clock the deputies from the workmen presented themselves armed to the Municipal Authorities, and that they laid aside their arms at the Council-room, but upon the express condition of their being restored to them on their departure. We are not aware what propositions these deputies were the bearers of, but it is said that they declared, in the name of those who sent them, that the General and the Prefect should not be

released unless they signed bonds for the furnishing of a certain quantity of arms and ammunition. Every condition was refused.

On Tuesday, the 22d, the fusillade commenced in the streets which bordered on Croix-Rousse, and continued during the day. The working population of Britteaux, of the Guillo-tienne, and Saint-Just, put themselves in motion in the morning, and towards ten o'clock General Roquet, who had planted a battery at the Gate Saint Clair to prevent the passage of the bridge Moraud and the bridge Lafayette, gave orders to fire on Britteaux, from which place the workmen kept up a constant fire along the quays of the Rhone. In the course of the day barricades of boards and thick planks were erected on the quays of the Saone and the Rhone, on the bridges of the Saone, in the streets, &c.

The shops of three armourers were broken open and plundered. In the evening, the military, and what remained under arms of the National Guard, were shut up in the Place des Terreaux, and in the Hotel de Ville, where the authorities of the city and of the department were assembled. The powder magazine of Serin, and the arsenal established at Anai, were carried towards the night.

To-day, Wednesday the 23d, at two o'clock in the morning, the earnest requests of the civil authorities induced General Roquet to quit the city with the troops which he commanded, consisting of the 66th Regiment, and several battalions of the 40th and 13th Regiments of the line. The workmen had a post at the barrier St. Clair, and it attempted to intercept the retreating column. A general discharge, and which it is said left only a few living among the workmen, opened a passage for the troops. We understand that General Roquet is encamped at Moutessier, an elevated position, which commands Croix Rousse, and is about a league from Lyons.—*Precursur.*

We have received the Lyons journals, from which we make the following extracts:—

#### THE DAYS OF THE 21ST AND 22D NOVEMBER.

The dykes have been broken, and the popular torrent has inundated every part. We write in the midst of general disorder, and an uneasiness which is momentarily increasing. The impressions which we receive are terrible; and we cannot yet foresee the issue of the sanguinary drama which is being performed before our eyes.

It had been for several days announced that the silk-weavers, exasperated at not seeing their condition ameliorated, as was expected, had formed, for the purpose of obtaining the enforcement of a scale of wages, an offensive coalition, which was to burst forth last Sunday. Nothing, however, occurred, and the day passed in the most perfect tranquillity. The National Guard, which was reviewed in the morning, on the occasion of the installation of General Ordonneau as its Commander-in-Chief, had not the least excess to repress.

Notwithstanding, however, sinister rumours

were circulated of a *coup de main* for Monday. The authorities were informed of them, but they did not take any decided precautions for the maintenance of order. On the morning of that day, the *generule* was beaten in every part of the city. The National Guard took up arms, and, towards eleven o'clock, went in great numbers towards the Croix Rousse, where the workmen had assembled in great numbers, had erected barricades in a position to sustain an attack, and had already obtained advantage over some detachments of the National Guard, who, in their anxiety to hasten to the spot, had forgot that they were not sufficient in number to act against their opponents.

Being repulsed with stones, they beat a retreat, but not before several of them were severely wounded.

(From the Gazette de Lyonnais.)

The courier from Paris has not arrived at Lyons. He was stopped on the Faubourg de Vaise by the workmen.

From the first of the morning, it was easy to judge that the struggle would be terrible. New troops had arrived—the 13th, and the whole, or part, of the 40th of the line. The military authority had made its arrangements. On their part the workmen had not remained inactive, at least as far as it is possible to judge by the results of the second day.

At eight o'clock, and even before, the firing recommenced in the direction of the Croix Rousse. It was kept up with vigour. Discharges of grape-shot killed or wounded a great many people. At one time a report was spread that the workmen, forced in their positions, were retreating by the new fortifications of Montessier, and that they would disperse in the country. It appeared, in fact, that the display of a considerable military force could not fail of bringing about this result. Suddenly the news of important advantages obtained by the workmen circulated from mouth to mouth. The noise of the firing came nearer the interior of the city, so as to leave no sort of doubt upon the subject.

It was known that the workmen had obtained possession of the barracks of the Bon Pasteur, and had disarmed the artillerymen who occupied it. Almost at the same instant they made themselves master of the large establishment of M. Brunet, in the quarter St. Vincent. From this advantageous position they for some time kept up a heavy fire upon the troops of the line intrenched in the Rue de l'Annunciade. There were twenty other places of contest in different parts of the city.

On every side barriers were raised, and the streets and quays were unpaved. It was announced that the posts occupied on both sides of the Saone and Rhone by the national guards were in the power of the workmen; some of them fell a prey to the flames, and in others a sentinel was placed.

Towards the Pont St. Vincent the military chests of the line were stopped, in the midst of a heavy fire.

The tocsin was sounded in the faubourgs and at St. Paul.

A part of the 13th of the line, it is said, laid down their arms, and a similar report was spread respecting the 40th.

It was announced, that at the gates of St. Clair a piece of cannon was taken by the workmen from a detachment of cannoniers of the national guard. The latter having made resistance, five of them were killed. While this piece was fired in the direction of the Quai St. Clair, that of the workmen of la Guillotiere swept the avenues of the Pont Moraud. We are assured, but hope the information is not correct, that this bridge has been cut away.

The bridges du Concert, de la Guillotiere, de l'Archeveche, and several others, are strongly fortified with barricades formed of carriages and paving-stones.

The Corps de Garde of the Place Belcour is in flames.

It is stated that several posts of the line have been disarmed.

We may say, that everywhere (and the people generally have had the same opportunity of seeing and learning as ourselves) the workmen have found an echo. Even women and children act and speak in the most hostile manner against the authorities.

It is said that a band, composed of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty individuals paraded several quarters, crying, "*Vive la Republique!*"

Some workmen, unconnected with the city, arrived in the night of this morning. They state that they are to be followed by a great many others. A report is current, that the town of Tarare is completely in a state of insurrection, and that some gendarmes, the bearers of dispatches addressed by the authorities of that town to the general commanding the division, fell into the hands of the workmen who guarded the dispatches.

Several couriers, who had been sent in different directions, experienced the same fate.

This afternoon, at three o'clock, a Proclamation, signed by the Prefect, the General, and, it is said, the individual filling the office of Mayor, has been placarded in the quarter not in possession of the workmen.

This morning General Roquet published a proclamation of a different tendency. It is said that his wounds, which were beginning to heal, have broken out again, and that he was forced to return to his hotel.

The noise of cannon and musketry only ceased at night.—According to the information which we have been able to obtain, the following is the present position of the combatants:—

The workmen are masters of all the faubourgs the streets which lead from the Terreaux to the Croix Rousse, and the entire city, with the exception of the large square comprised between the place de l'Herberie, and the rue Neuve to the south, and the streets parallel with the place des Terreaux to the foot of the Croix Rousse on the north. This



square is occupied by the troops of the line, who are also masters of the Quai St. Vincent, the adjacent streets, and the powder magazine, a post for the preservation of which the most incredible efforts have been made.

The greater part of the houses situated near the Hotel de Ville, where all the authorities are assembled, and in the quarters which we have just described, are occupied in a military manner by the troops of the line.

The number of victims of this frightful day is not known; but would it be an exaggeration if the number of dead and wounded were to be estimated at 1,000 or 1,200?

May the official documents diminish the gravity of the statements of the multitude, and, above all, may the workmen of Lyons and the soldiers become convinced that they ought to cease a war of extermination.

P. S. General Ordonneau was, at three o'clock this morning, set at liberty. We have heard that a large sum was paid for his ransom, as well as for that of the Prefect.

At seven o'clock in the evening, the workmen, exasperated by the firing from the windows of the place des Terreaux and the vicinity, set fire to two or three houses with lighted fagots; but we have not heard the consequences of these incendiarisms. This quarter is unapproachable.

It is truly curious to observe how exactly the newspaper-men in France chime in, in cases like this, with the newspaper-men in England! **FIRST**, There is nothing political in the motives of the insurgents. **SECOND**, The insurrection is caused by the *want of education* in the insurgents, who, if they were properly educated, would be quite sensible that their distress did not arise from *any of the measures of the Government*, nor from any want of justice and liberality on the part of their employers. Complete, however, as was the absence of all political motive, the working people did, it seems, advance to the charge, and defeat their opponents, under the cry of "*Long live the Republic!*" The want of education does seem, indeed, to be a cause more founded in *reason*; for who can deny that it requires no common portion of education, and that possessed in no common quantity, to make a working man clearly perceive that the Government does not at all contribute to his distress by taxing every-thing that he consumes in order to get money, to

heap more than a million a year on *Louis-Philippe* and his family, and to pay the interest of a debt contracted by the Bourbons to pay the holy alliance for putting those Bourbons upon the throne, and for giving immense sums to the old Noblesse, whom the Republicans drove out of the country. To make a working man see that this does not tend to augment his distress, his *EDUCATION* must, I confess, be of a character singularly refined. Then, again, when he sees his employers living in splendour; not at all complaining of the taxes; seeming to say that all is as it should be, while he and his family are starving, though working sixteen hours in the day; when he sees this, a very *powerful education* is certainly necessary to make him believe that neither his employer nor the Government is in fault! The disease in both countries is one and the same; it is the weight of the taxes, doubled in both countries, by a *lessening of the quantity of money*. The diminution of the quantity which has taken place here must have been accompanied with a proportionate diminution of the quantity of money in France, and in every other country in the world. This is only one cause, however, of the sufferings in France; for the positive pressure of the taxes there is very great, though not so great as it is here. At Paris, the *NATIONAL GUARD*, as it is called, are the *fundholders*, of whom *Louis-Philippe* is the greatest; but Paris is not to France what London is to England. The resources must chiefly come from the country; as long as that debt exists, there can be no tranquillity in France; and when the debt shall cease to exist, *then will come the Republic!*

It is singularly perverse in Doctor Black, particularly, to protest against holding out to the working people any hope, *that the Government has the power to better their lot*. Why not hold out the hope, Doctor? You are, every day of your life, telling your readers that "*boroughmongers have got their hands in the pockets of the people*." This is a figurative expression, by which you

mean to tell us that the boroughmongers *tax us*, and apply the taxes to their own use, which makes them wallow in wealth, and makes some of us half starved. Well, then, Doctor, if we were to jerk, or rather if the Government were to jerk, the hands of the boroughmongers out of our pockets, should not we be better off than we are; and would not the labouring man, who must now pay 9s. 6d. for a bushel of malt, be better off, if he could get that malt for four shillings a bushel? I put that question home to you, Doctor. Well, then, it is a monstrous piece of impudence to say that the Government has not the power to take off the malt-tax; and, therefore, it is to tell a falsehood or to be a driveller, to say that the Government has not the power of relieving the working people. In France, as here, all is *usury* and *monopoly*; both of which are upheld by the systems which the governments pursue: these evils go on producing greater and greater effect every day: the working part of the community always suffer more in degree than the other parts; the working part consists of the millions; they will endure only to a certain point, and when they will endure no longer, the whole fabric of the system, after rocking to and fro for a while, comes tumbling down upon the heads of its upholders, disappears from our sight, and (to be bombastical), "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaves not a wreck behind."

Doctor, do you remember that, at the making of the peace of 1815, the *Courier* and the bloody *Old Times* suggested the necessity of compelling France to have A GREAT DEBT, in order that great numbers of people of property might be interested in upholding the Bourbons; and in order that France might be unable to go to war to disturb her neighbours? If you do not remember this, I do, and can turn to the passages at any time. The scheme succeeded; for awhile the two banks and the two governments were united in the bonds of marriage. When Charles was shored down, Louis-Philippe came and perched himself upon the stool. But it is now over; the French debt will be

swept away; and in all human probability it will end in creating a REPUBLIC, that horrible spectre, to lay which for ever we contracted in debt, dead-weight and poor-rates, perpetual obligations to the amount of eight hundred millions, in addition to what existed before the war began. If that frightful spectre should rise up again, and that too before a reform to satisfy the people be made, those who plotted the debt of France in 1815, will feel, in right earnest, the consequences of their hellish policy.

But, Doctor, why tell the people that they cannot receive relief from the Government? *Why tell them this*, if you think that reform will bring them *no relief*; and at the same time call upon them to form Political Unions; call upon them to strive at elections; call upon them to fight as for their lives, in order to get that very reform, which, according to you, can do them no good? This is as bad as the Liar, who called upon the people at Preston to vote unanimously, that the Reform Bill *would have done them no good*; while, in the same breath, the stupid oaf *boasted that he had voted for the bill*! Come, come, Doctor, adopt my thirteen Manchester propositions; tell your readers that the bill would have effected all that; and then you may lament the loss of it (for you will never see it again!) with perfect consistency at any rate.

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#### DADDY BURDETT.

I ALWAYS said, that this daddy put himself at the head of the *National Political Union*, in order to prevent it from producing any real effect in furthering the cause of reform. And, I now understand, that, finding he could not keep it under his control, he has *withdrawn his name from it*! This fellow appears to be resolved to make good *every word* that I have ever said against him; but, to say the truth, none but most besotted creatures have adhered to him since the year 1818, when I made a full and fair exhibition of his conduct and character.

A new edition, with very great additions, of my CORN BOOK is just published, price five shillings. \*

Also, No. 8 of the HISTORY of GEORGE IV., price sixpence. This Number contains an account of the curious intrigues of 1813, relative to the *Princess of Wales*; and it shows to *young men* that Cocky Waithman has not at all *changed*, but is now just the same man as he was then.

Also, TWOPENNY TRASH, for December, 1831.

I have no room to insert an account of any part of the fires that are blazing throughout the country; but I cannot refrain from addressing one word to the farmers, and that is this: Be you assured, my friends, that this plague of all plagues, this terror of all terrors; this curse, which makes England a sort of hell upon earth, is never to be put a stop to, until the labourers have an exchange for their labour, good victuals, good drink, and good clothing; by the using of any other means, you will only harass your lives, and finally effect your own ruin. The yeomanry cavalry swords are of no use; their carabines are of no use; their menacing attitude is of no use; even the gallows, or, rather, the chance of the gallows, is of no use; nothing can put a stop to these fires but *conciliation*; and a hungry belly knows of no conciliation.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

FULLER, C., Bridge-town, Barbadoes, and Paradise-row, Islington, merchant.

THWAITES, J., Euston-square, merchant.

#### BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

PRENTICE, W., High-st., Southwark, ironmonger.

THOMAS, R., Glynn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, J., and A. Kettelty, Fenchurch-st., tailors.

BATEMAN, J., Southampton-builds., agent.

BATTAMS, W., Hardingstone, Northamptonshire, grazier.

BAWLER, F., Bath, baker.

BENNEL, J., Kennington-lane, boarding and lodging-house-keeper.

CROXFORD, C., Iver, Buckinghamshire, shop-keeper.

EYLES, J. E., Canterbury, hatter.

FOX, W., Compton-street, Clerkenwell, millwright.

GROSJEAN, F., Piccadilly, hatter.

HOLGATE, E., Mitchell-street, St. Luke's, carpenter.

JENKINS, J., Portsea, pork-butcher.

LAXTON, W., Holborn, and Watford, Hertfordshire, auctioneer.

LEES, W., Newton-Moor, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

LOMAX, J., Robert-street, Adelphi, money-scrivener.

LUCAS, J., Cromer-street, Brunswick-square, builder.

MARTIN, F., Cheapside, ribbon-manuf.

MASON, W., Margaret-street, Cavendish-sq., and Doddington, Oxfords., axle-tree manuf.

MAYELL, W., Exeter, jeweller.

NICHOLLS, R., Bath, silversmith.

THOMAS, W., Broad-street, Bloomsbury, victualler.

TURNER, J., Great Portland-st., Oxford-st., tailor.

WARDER, H., High-st., Newington, china-dealer.

WHITE, W., Manchester, livery-stable-keeper.

WILLMOTT, F., Old Windsor, carpenter.

WOOD, S., Strand, boot and shoe-maker.

WRIGHT, A. J. C., and W. H. Buckmaster, New London-street, Crutched-friars, wine-merchants.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1831.

#### INSOLVENT.

SAUNDERS, S., Great Coram-street, Russell-square, boarding and lodging-house-keeper.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

MENDELSON, H., Manchester, jeweller.

SHEPPARD, J., Lechdale, Gloucesters., baker.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ASHLEY, W., and W. E. Ashley, Gainsboro', Lincolnshire, merchants.

BELL, R., Cloth-fair, grocer.

BOURNE, S., New Bridge-st., printer.

BURT, W., Great Castle-st., Cavendish-sq. lodging-house-keeper.

CHINN, T., Merthyr Tidvil, Glamorganshire, linen-draper.

**COTTON, T.**, London-road, Southwark, and Paradise-row, Chelsea, boot and shoe-maker.  
**DEMOND, W.**, Launceston, Cornwall, book-seller.  
**DICKINSON, J.**, Earnest-st., Hampstead-rd., victualler.  
**FARRAH, J.**, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, coal-merchant.  
**FREE, R.**, Rotherhithe, commission agent.  
**GUEST, H.**, Manchester, woollen-draper.  
**HART, H.**, and **J. Davies**, King-st. Hammer-smith, and Monmouth-st., St. Giles's, clothes-salesmen.  
**HOMEWOOD, T.**, Pollard's-row, Bethnal-green, brewer.  
**KENSETT, F.**, Kingston-upon-Thames, farmer.  
**KNOWLSON, W.**, W. Skin, J. Billington, A. Baylis, and D. Allison, Ashton-under-Lyne, and R. Blackwell, Sheffield, drapers.  
**NUTTALL, S.**, Heywood, Lancashire, grocer.  
**PEIRCE, W.**, Bartholomew-close, wine-mer.  
**RICE, B.**, Neath, Glamorgans, linen-draper.  
**ROBINSON, J.**, Nottingham, victualler.  
**SIDDERS, T.**, Birchington, Kent, dealer in pigs.  
**SKINNER, R.**, Thorverton, Devons., farmer.  
**SNELSON, J.**, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, victualler.  
**SNELSON, T.**, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, wheelwright.  
**STEVENS, J.**, Bread-street, Cheapside, and Shepperton-st., Islington, warehouseman.  
**STUBER, C.**, Leader-st., Chelsea, baker.  
**TEMPANY, G. R.**, Holles-st., Cavendish-sq., tailor.  
**THORPE, G.**, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolns., scrivener.  
**THORPE, J.**, Usselby, Lincolnshire, dealer in wool.  
**WIGHT, R.**, Painswick, Gloucesters., clothier.  
**WILLIS, G.**, Haymarket, oilman.  
**WISE, J.**, King's-road, Chelsea, cow-keeper.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

**ANDERSON, R.**, Crossford, retail grocer.  
**ARNOTT, G.**, Edinburgh, oilman.  
**HAXTON, R.**, Potterrow, Edinburgh, jeweller.  
**M'LACHLAN, N.**, Ballaphetrish, Tyree, trader.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOVEMBER 28.**—Our supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of English and Irish wheat, English and Scotch barley, English malt and flour, Irish oats, and Foreign linseed, great; of English beans and peas, mustard and hemp seeds, Scotch wheat, Irish flour, Foreign peas, rye, tares, and rapeseed, moderately good; of Foreign wheat, barley, and flour, as also seeds not above-mentioned, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was very well attended by buyers, but as the pretty generally abundant state of the supply of British corn and flour induced them to anticipate a greater abate-

ment than that to which the sellers seemed willing to submit, the trade was throughout dull; with wheat, barley, boiling peas, and malt, at from 1s. to 2s. per quarter beneath Friday's quotations, or from 2s. to 3s. beneath those of this day se'nnight; with oats, beans, and peas at their last week's prices. Flour is expected to fall 5s. per sack before the close of the market. Canary seed has looked considerably upwards; with other seeds the trade is very dull at last Monday's currency.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	27s. to 33s.
— fine .....	34s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 40s.
— Boilers .....	40s. to 48s.
— Grey .....	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Old .....	40s. to 42s.
— Tick .....	41s. to 45s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	25s. to 30s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

#### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new ... 125s. 0d. to 127s. 6d.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 6d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 100s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 100s. to 104s.	
— Cork ... 98s. to —s.	
— Limerick ... 98s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 94s. to 98s.	
— Dublin ... 95s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 60s. to 84s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 56s. to 65s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 50s. to 54s.	
— Edam ... 46s. to 52s.	
— Gouda ... 44s. to 48s.	
Ham, Irish ... 62s. to 70s.	

#### SMITHFIELD—November 28.

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## KING'S SPEECH, AND DEBATES ON IT.

Bolt-court, Dec. 6, 1831.

THE Parliament was opened yesterday. I shall insert passage, by passage, this *ill-written* and *hardly-grammatical* speech. And, at the same time, I shall notice such parts of the debates, in the House of Commons especially, as relate to the passages respectively. The tone of the opposers of reform appears to be altered a good deal, whether arising from some *understood compromise*, or from mere political craft, I cannot say; but they certainly speak in a softened tone at present. Their tone is querulous: they complain of the violence of the people; and represent themselves as being placed in a state of peril if they freely express their opinions. However, as THE BILL (not *three*, but one) is, it appears, to be brought in *next Monday*, a short time will show what line of conduct these opposers mean to pursue. We will, therefore, now proceed with THE SPEECH.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I have called you together that you may resume, without further delay, the important duties to which the circumstances of the times require your immediate attention; and I sincerely regret the inconvenience which I am well aware you must experience from so early a renewal of your *labours*, after the short interval of *repose* allowed you from the *fatigues* of the last session.

The word "and" has no business here; and the whole of this last member

of the sentence about *labours* and *repose* and *fatigues*, would have been better omitted: it has no dignity in it, and it only reminds considerate men of the *labours* and *fatigues* of those who have to pay the taxes and the *tithes*.

I feel it to be my duty, in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration the measures which will be proposed to you for a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. A *speedy* and *satisfactory* settlement of this question becomes daily of more pressing importance to the *security* of the state, and to the *contentment* and *welfare* of my people.

To "*feel*" is novel writing; it is not a word for a King. As Dame QUICKLY says of SWAGGER, "I am the worst when one says feel, in a case like this." Neither are the words "in the first place" in *their proper place*; but it is with the substance, with the matter of this paragraph, with which we have to do; and this is of so much importance as to make us forget the bungling writing. In the House of Lords, hardly anything was said upon the subject; and in the House of Commons not much was said indicative of the future intentions of the parties: indeed, nothing was said upon the subject of reform worthy of much attention; but, incidentally, things slipped out from LAWYER CROKER and from PEELE'S BILL: I mean from the author of that truly infernal measure. Most people in London know who this Lawyer Croker is. They know that he first made his appearance on the stage; that he first figured away in sitting at the back of Perceval, and defending the Duke of York in his conduct with regard to the transactions with that piece of purity, Mother Clarke. This was twenty-two years ago, and Lawyer Croker has, from that day to this, except the time since the Whigs came into place, been receiving about four or five thousand pounds a year of the public money, and has had *tax-free* apartments in KENSINGTON PALACE pretty nearly all the time, I be-

Here, which apartments he has still. This is Lawyer Croker, who justified the conduct of the Duke of York; though I do not think that he went so far as blind Burton, who, when it was alleged that Mother Clarke had taken a footman from behind her chair to give him a commission, apologised for the act by saying that, though the lad was a footman, and though he was the son of a private soldier, he was, in fact, THE NATURAL SON of a gentleman, an officer, to whom his father had been a servant. The father and mother were both alive at the time that Burton made this assertion, and Burton was a WELSH JUDGE AT "THE TIME! Go thy ways, go thy ways, honourable House! Whenever thou shalt cease to exist, the world will never look upon thy like again!

Lawyer Croker, seeing the word *speedy* in this part of the speech; seeing it coupled with the idea of settling the question of reform, and feeling, no doubt, the seat that was under him shake, seems to have taken the alarm, and he says, indeed, that he is *alarmed*: thus inspired, he, like SWIFT's operator in the "MECHANICAL OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT," spoke, as the seat that was beneath gave him utterance, and in the following pious and affecting strain:—

MR. CROKER: I am so reluctant to address the House on the present occasion, that I should gladly give way to any hon. Gentleman, for none can be less entitled than I am to its attention. I rise, however, to enter my protest against some of the principles laid down, or rather, perhaps, to be inferred, from the speeches of those who have preceded me; such a course is absolutely necessary on my part, and I dare say on the part of others who now hear me. We desire to guard ourselves from the supposition, that because we do not move an amendment, we participate in the views and measures of Government. The hon. Bart. who last addressed the House told us that the Speech from the Throne was manly and straightforward, such as became the constitutional King of a free people. (Cheers.) If by the words "manly and straightforward," it be meant that any clear and distinct views of policy are promulgated, I will venture that a less manly and straightforward speech was perhaps never delivered. (Hear, hear.) I am not about to blame the speech: it has a great deal of moderation, which seems very wisely and properly calculated to prevent discussion and debate on the first day of a session;

but it is not therefore manly and straightforward. For instance, on the great question of reform what does it tell us? Does it give us the slightest information? Does it let us into the secret whether the bill to be introduced by the noble Lord on Monday next is to be the same as that offered and rejected in the last session? Are we to have the identical measure which produced so much inflammation—the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill—or are we to have a more moderate and better regulated plan, availing admitted anomalies, and granting a more limited concession? In this respect is the speech manly and straightforward? Again I say that I do not blame Ministers for the general terms in which the King's Speech is couched; but however manly and straightforward it may be in principle, it certainly is not so in expression. (Cheers.) The hon. Bart. echoed the sentiment of the King's Speech, in which, notwithstanding some ambiguity in the terms, I am most ready to agree. *Would to God we could hope for a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the reform question! Would to God we could soon allay the hideous tempest Ministers have raised!* (Cheers.) In what words do they cover their romantic and Quixotic wish that the termination may be speedy and satisfactory? I tell Ministers now, as I told them before, that whatever may be their *speed, satisfaction will lag far behind.* (Hear, hear.) I tell them that the measure they are about to produce, if it in any degree resemble the bill of last session, so far from giving satisfaction, will only be the *beginning of trouble.* Ministers and their immediate retainers may be satisfied, inasmuch as it will keep them Ministers and retainers; but the great body of the State stands aloof, and of whom does it consist? First, of the large mass of reformers who, for a moment, and but for a moment, are in alliance with Ministers. Secondly, that vast proportion of the thinking community which is unwilling that such a desolating hand should sweep down and level with the ground our most ancient and sacred institutions. (Cheers.) I will not hesitate to inquire what proportion of the intelligent classes are in the second division; but they constitute a vast and overwhelming majority, and may be almost said to be a universality of the educated people of England. Neither of these two divisions can be satisfied with the bill. Has there been a single public meeting which has not coupled approbation of the measure with a much larger and wider reform to be obtained hereafter? Have we not been told in distinct words that this bill is *only a stepping stone to something else?* Was it not avowed at one of the most important of those assemblies—important from the numbers and weight of the individuals present—that this was not the reform required? Did they not say, "This is not the reform we want, but it is the first step to it; accept it, therefore, as the means of obtaining all the rest. If you are foolish enough to quarrel with Ministers in this early stage of the subject,

you will defeat the end of ultimate and complete success. Take what you can get now, not only without prejudice to your future claims, but with the great advantage of additional power to enforce them." (Hear, hear.) This I say in the language of those who are friendly to the bill out of doors. The hon. Baronet asks why no Tories went to these public meetings to exhibit their hostility? Does he recollect what occurred at Bristol? I do not accuse the people of England of participating in the spirit which led to the riots there; but will the hon. Baronet tell me, when the constitution of society in this country is in such a state, that a judge, with all precaution, and under the sanction of his Majesty's Government cannot enter a large city (cheers); and when he is censured for the obstinacy and temerity with which he proceeded, shall we blame the Tories for not attending meetings where they could not have a hope of being heard? Had the Tories shown themselves at such meetings, would they not have been accused of volunteering inflammation on the public mind, and would not the blame have been instantly shifted from the shoulders of the malefactors to those of the injured party? (Much cheering from the opposition benches.) When he will procure for us all we want—a *clear stage and a fair hearing*—I, for one, am ready to meet the hon. Gentleman and his friends in any of those ordeals, and to give reasons for the faith that is in me! (Hear, hear.) But, with one breath, he tells us that a handful of men were able to destroy almost the second city of the empire, and in the next he challenges us to attend public meetings of reformers, and asserts, because we do not attend, that we are ashamed of the state of public feeling which is so much against us. The next topic of this manly and straightforward speech is the prevalence of *Political Unions*; and here I am bound to admit that there are expressions, especially towards the latter end, which have my entire and cordial approbation. (Cheers.) I agree with Ministers that there can be—or, at least, ought to be—but *one Government in the country*. There ought not to be one Government in Downing-street, another in the Strand, a third at Birmingham, a fourth at Manchester, and a fifth at Bristol. (Hear, hear.) The painful experience of the last few months has shown us, that *such a state of things must end in the ruin of any country that submits to it*—it must end in the ruin of any imbecile popularity-hunting Cabinet. (Cheers and laughter.) Although I entirely approve of the meeting of Parliament on this day; although the state of the world, and of England in particular, considering that state positively, relatively, officially, and commercially, and, above all, politically, requires that the King should be aided by the wisdom of the Great Council of the Nation, yet I believe that we are not indebted for it to the sagacity, to the firmness, or even to the terrors of the Ministers. (Hear, hear.) No, no; *their Master told them that they must meet in*

*the first week in December*. (Much cheering.) They told them that before the cholera made its appearance—before the Political Unions had attempted organization—before Bristol had been burnt—before the whole frame of society was in a state, if not of dissolution, of precariousness it was the order of the great *Leader of the Leader of the Cabinet* that Parliament was to meet. I really do not know whether the phrase was not that it *should* meet in the first week in December. (Much cheering.) The pleasure I have derived from some of the constitutional expressions in the speech, I must say, is exceedingly diminished when we have the substantial proof that the Ministry is *itself subservient to the identical Associations and influence which they are so naturally anxious, but so powerless, to put down*. (Cheers.) I hope it will *not be necessary to resort to any extraordinary measures*. I hope that timely suggestions upon the subject were directed to other places as well as to Birmingham. (Hear, hear,) and that the example will be followed. The noble Lord (Cavendish) has appeared to-night, I believe, for the first time as a debater among us. I hope he will in future have frequent opportunities of thus illustrating the great name that he bears, but I cannot concur with him in the comment he has read on one part of the royal speech. He tells us that the mode Ministers intend to adopt of putting down Unions is *by the redress of grievances*. If grievances exist, let them be redressed, but first let them be shown. Carry the law into effect, and do not grant to force what you would resist to reason. (Much cheering.)

"In the first place," as his Majesty graciously says: in the first place, let us do justice to the *piety* of LAWYER CROKER. When FALSTAFF became pious, DAME QUICKLY began to be alarmed. "A begin to call o' God," says she, "and then I thought it over w'un; but "I told un not to call o' God; for that "there was time enew for that yet." LAWYER CROKER begins to call "o' God," and most lustily too. "Would "to God we could hope for a speedy and "satisfactory conclusion of the reform "question! Would to God we could "soon allay the hideous tempest Ministers have raised!" Stop, LAWYER CROKER. I stop you here, and would have stopped you there, if I had been present. Your piety I reverence, in your prayer I join, if a mundane sinner like me can be admitted into such pious company; but the *assertion* here attributed to you by the reporter is as a falsehood as ever came out of a pair of



lips. The tempest has not been raised by the Ministers, except, indeed, by their forbearance towards their insolent opponents. This is a capital point, and let us see how the matter stands. We shall, by-and-by, find **PEEL'S** Bill : I do not know very well how to do it, but I always will, in future, couple this man's bill with his name. I would call him **BILL PEEL**, but, unfortunately for us, there is a *William Peel* ; so that the use of this appellation might create misunderstanding ; and, in that case, I should be doing injustice to the brother. I think I shall call him **PEEL'S-BILL PEEL**. The length of the name will cause a little paper and ink to be wasted ; but it is so just and so necessary to keep it constantly in the public mind ; so incessantly necessary to tell this suffering and troubled nation that this man made his first appearance as a statesman by introducing a measure which has been the great cause, and is still the great cause, of their sufferings and all their troubles : this is so necessary, that we must not mind the wasting of a little paper and a little ink in order to accomplish it.

This **PEEL'S-BILL PEEL** made the same charge against the Ministers, and that poor feeble creature, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, uttered not a word having a tendency to rebut the charge, though that charge was of the gravest character. This poor man might, if he had had the talent and the pluck, have covered his opponents with confusion upon this great point. For, as I asked before, how stand the facts ? The facts stand thus ; that the moment the Reform Bill was brought in, the whole nation, the boroughmongers, pensioners, tax-eaters in general, and parsons excepted, declared their unanimous wish for the passing of the bill ; that the nation was equally unanimous in calling for a dissolution of the Parliament, in order that the bill might be carried, seeing that even the second reading had been carried only by a majority of one ; that the King, in this state of things, justly, wisely, and like a man who was really anxious to obtain a knowledge of the sentiments of the people upon the sub-

ject, dissolved the Parliament, and thereby made an appeal to the wishes of the people : that the people, by exertions of public spirit such as never were equalled, except in France during the early part of the revolution, answered his Majesty's appeal, by sending the Ministers (in spite of the rotten boroughs) a majority of a hundred and nine instead of a majority of one ; that the country was quiet from one end of it to the other ; that the only strife was who should be the foremost in expressions of gratitude to the King, and in support of the measure ; that even the fires had been extinguished, the farmers believing that reform would ease their burdens, and enable them to pay the wages which the labourers had demanded, and which they had agreed to pay ; that now came the **REJECTION** of the bill ; and instantly sprang up riots and fires ; instantly came forth projects for refusing to pay taxes, and a general array of popular hostility against settled legal authority. Are not these facts undeniable ? Is there any man with brass enough to deny the truth of them ? Will not the burning of bishops in effigy, the burning down of the bishop's palace, the burning down of Nottingham castle ? will not Wellington's boarding up his windows and keeping them boarded up ? will not the finger that is pointed at that, be an index also to guide us to the true cause of that "*tempest*" in which the state is now rocking to and fro ? **PEEL'S-BILL PEEL** most bitterly complains, that the Lords who voted against the bill, could not go in safety to *their own country homes* : and he, too, ascribes this to the tempest raised by Ministers. What, son of the spinning-jenny baronet ! A man proposes to me that I should give another man his coat that I have taken away ; I refuse ; the owner of the coat knocks me down ; and I am to lay the assault, not to my own account, but to the account of the man who has suggested the propriety of my giving up the coat ! Ah ! says **LAWYER CROKER** ; but if the proposition had never been made for your giving up the coat, the owner never would have thought of knocking you down ; he

might not have known that you had the coat; and even if he had known it, he might, you having had the coat in your possession a long while, have said nothing about the matter, seeing that he had been quiet upon the subject for so long a time. *This is your argument, Lawyer Croker*; this is the argument of the whole of you: it is in the mouth of every tax-eater, from yourself down to the draggle-tailed oily-tongued wife of the lowest clerk in the lowest of the offices established to uphold this system: it is the argument of every scoundrel attorney, and of the wife of every scoundrel attorney, who has fattened by being the agent of the boroughmongers, and who sees in the Reform Bill something as hideous as the dreadful anticipation which was presented to the mind of **FALSTAFF** when he thought that the black fly on Bardolph's nose was a black soul beckoning him to hell! This is your argument, which is directly contradicted by the notorious facts.

For upwards of sixty years, the question of reform has been under discussion; the *American war* was ascribed by Major Cartwright and his colleagues, at the time, to the corrupt borough system, and to the immense sums of money which, through the means of the boroughs, the boroughmongers sacked through the channels opened to them by the war. Fifty-one years ago, or thereabouts, the Duke of Richmond actually brought a bill into the House of Lords, to destroy the whole of the villanous system. At about the same period, the old *Lord Chatham* warned the Parliament, that, if it did not reform itself within, it would be reformed from without with a vengeance; and a little after this time, his since-political-apostate son declared, that without a Parliamentary reform *no honest man could be a Minister in England*; an assertion which he most amply verified, by his afterwards being the Minister for about fifteen or sixteen years. Next came the years 1792, 1793, 1794, when the question of reform was agitated much more than theretofore; and when the political-apostate Pitt, finding that gagging bills, dungeon bills, power-of-imprisonment

bills, were all insufficient to check the tide of reform, resorted to that long and bloody war, the real object of which was to keep down and to stifle the reformers in England, but which war (here, indeed, *Lawyer Croker*, one may well "call o' God," and admire the way in which he inflicts justice) made the debt unbearable, and that unbearable debt is now producing reform, and urging men to call for the abolition of the tithes! During that long and bloody war, and the suspension of all liberty of the people of England, the reformers were made to be comparatively silent; but still they were always active: the question was always kept alive; and a session of Parliament never passed without ten or more petitions for reform. The war ended at last; but the burdens did not end. Distress spread itself all over the kingdom; and though there were quack remedies enough on foot, the sensible part of the nation saw no remedy but in a reform. And from the date of the peace to the year 1817, not a session passed without more than two hundred petitions for Parliamentary reform. In 1817, *a million and a half of men petitioned for a Parliamentary reform*; they were abandoned by **BURDETT**, who had been their great stimulator to petition, and the answer to their petitions consisted of two bills, passed with speed indeed, and for both of which *Lawyer Croker* voted, as did Peel's Bill. Peel also; one of which bills took away the liberty of the press, and the other of which bills empowered Castlereagh and Sidmouth to imprison any man or woman that they pleased, in any jail or dungeon that they pleased, without stating to any-body what they did it for; to let such persons out when they pleased, to keep them in the jails and the dungeons as long as they pleased; to refuse them, if they pleased, the use of pen, ink, and paper, and also to refuse them a sight of their parents, wives, and children; and accordingly, the dungeons resounded with their groans. Not liking to be so situated myself; preferring Long Island to a dungeon of Sidmouth, I took myself thither, whence I reached the old fellow with my

long arm, and whence I, joining with my brother reformers left in England, sent the honourable concern at Westminster my petitions for reform. From that time to the month of November in the last year, more and more numerous, extending to richer and richer classes of persons; more and more loud have been the petitions for Parliamentary reform, for an abolition of the accursed boroughs, and for greatly extending the suffrage, and greatly shortening the durations of Parliament.

How, then, Lawyer CROKER, can the "tempest" have been raised by these Ministers, who have been in office only thirteen months. You cannot deny that the tempest does not direct itself against them: you cannot have the impudence to deny that the terrible affair at Bristol arose *immediately* out of the rejection of the Reform Bill. Stop, now, Lawyer CROKER. Will you say that you believe that WETHERELL would have been obliged to flee from the bench in disguise; that the bishop's palace would have been burned; that the bishops would have been burned in effigy; that the opposition lords would not have been able to go to their country houses in safety? Will you say, Lawyer CROKER, that *you believe* that these things would have been, if the Reform Bill had not been rejected? Tell me that, flat and plain; because, if you will say that, I have done with you. There is a *reporter* who, in a publication which he puts forth, as he has frequently put forth others, under the word "*Hunt*:" this base reporter, this FOOL-LIAR, states that the violences at Bristol were occasioned by the press, which the oaf says, called upon the people of Bristol to "*murder*" WETHERELL. But, you, Lawyer CROKER, though you rail in goodly terms against the press, are not fool enough to say this: you are not such a beastly oaf as to put forth a lie so impudent as this. And, now, our speaking of the press, and bringing in what you say with regard to it: admitting, for argument's sake, that the press has had a great deal to do in raising the "*tempest*;" nay, admitting what

the oaf says to be true; admitting that this base reporter, who I dare say exists by sponging about, and picking up rewards for *reports* of this kind; admitting even this to be true; allowing the audacious lie that *the press* stimulated the people of Bristol to bastinado, and even to murder, Wetherell; admitting this atrocious lie to be a truth, what did the press do this FOR? Why, because Wetherell had done more than any other man to throw obloquy on the Reform Bill, and to stimulate the Lords to reject that bill. Therefore, it is still to the rejection of the bill that the tempest is to be ascribed.

Now, then, it being undeniable that both the immediate and the distant causes of the "*tempest*" are to be found in the refusal and rejection of reform, let us come back again to the epoch at which these Ministers came into power, and let us see what *was the state of the country then*! The fires had been blazing over the country for some time when the Parliament met in October. The Prime Minister took the earliest opportunity of proclaiming that no reform was wanted, and that he never would consent to reform. The country was absolutely in a blaze of indignation. The King, who had accepted an invitation of the city of London to dine with the Lord Mayor, was compelled to decline to fulfil the engagement, lest he should thereby cause a spilling of the blood of his people. And have you forgotten, Lawyer CROKER, and has Peel's Bill Peel also forgotten, that the Prime Minister was hooted and pelted and groaned at wherever he went; that he could neither walk nor ride the streets in safety; that it was impossible for him to remain in place any longer without the risk of producing general anarchy? You will not deny, Lawyer CROKER, that this was the state of the country; that "*this tempest*" was raging, when the Ministers came into power, and that they stilled that tempest; and *how* did they still it? Why, by explicitly declaring in their places in Parliament, that they had come in upon the express condition that the King *would allow them to pro-*

*pose a reform of the Parliament!* Thus, clear as daylight is it, that the borough-mongers and their supporters, and not the Ministers, have raised this *tempest*; and thus you have received from me, Lawyer CROKER, the answer which you ought to have received upon the spot from the Ministers themselves: and, Lawyer CROKER, *alarmed* as you say you are, and as I believe you to be, and most *justly* alarmed too, I venture to assure you that the reform will take place in spite of your alarm and in spite of every thing that you can do to prevent the success of this great and conciliatory measure.

LAWYER CROKER, another part of your speech tells us that this reform will not be *large enough to satisfy the people*, or, at any rate, large enough to satisfy the millions. Now, Lawyer, I do not take upon myself to say that it will be large enough to satisfy them; but I think I may venture to say that, if this reform be not large enough to satisfy them, they will not be satisfied with a reform that is *smaller* than this. I will further venture to say, that this reform would have satisfied them if it had been adopted at once, and had gone honestly into execution, without that viperous opposition that was made to it, and without that endless and bitter strife which taught the people to estimate the powerful motives of its opponents. I do not take upon me to say that the people will ever be brought back to that disposition to conciliate in which they were in the first week of last March; and of this I am very sure, that, if the new bill withhold from them any part which the former bill acknowledged to be their right, they never will be in that conciliating temper again; and that change after change must succeed, until that will come which even your affrighted mind does not appear to anticipate.

I hope, but, what is more, I believe, that, if the same bill be passed, or a bill acknowledging the right of suffrage equally extensive, all will yet be well; but let me not flatter you, LAWYER CROKER, that perfect peace and harmony will be restored to the country

until the pension, sinecure, grant, retired-allowance, and dead-weight lists, have been made sheets of blank paper; and this I believe to be one of the great subjects of your alarm, if your speech was such as it was given to us by the reporter, and on whose words I have commented not as having been uttered by you, but as a publication which he has put forth under your name. Having mentioned lists, I cannot help adverting to what the reporter puts forth under the name of SCOTT ELDON, who, in this publication, is represented to have expressed his uneasiness at a publication called the Black List. The following are the words attributed to SCOTT ELDON by this publication:—

He could not here help expressing his surprise, that in the course of the last three months nothing had been said or done with respect to a publication called "*The Black List.*" Was such a publication ever before suffered to pass *without animadversion*? It was there stated that he himself, ever since he had a seat in that House, had been receiving 54,000*l.* annually out of the taxes. He wished these Black-List people would tell him where he could get it. And then they said that a nephew of his—meaning a brother of his—who was now eighty-seven years of age, and whom they chose to call nephew, had 4,000*l.* a year out of the taxes; whereas, in reality, he had not one farthing out of the taxes. In the same manner, others of their Lordships had been represented as receiving millions from the taxes who did not receive one farthing from them; and yet these things were suffered to pass without animadversion.

I know nothing of this Black List; but I know of a *BLACK BOOK*, published by Mr. Effingham Wilson, at the Royal Exchange; and I know that, *animadversion*, or *not animadversion*, and I know full well what SCOTT ELDON means by animadversion; I know that England never will know real peace again till that book be made blank paper.

I should now come to the speech of Peel's-Bill Peel; and after that to Lawyer CROKER's Essay upon *Irish Tithes*; but, the latter subject is too important to be discussed by me to-day; and of Peel's-Bill Peel's speech, I shall

only notice what he says about the dawnings of the revolution in France. After speaking of what he calls the outrages in England, and comparing them to what he calls the reign of terror in France, he asks whether similar results may not be the consequence in this country.

In saying this, I do not mean to confound the first seeds of revolution with the after progress of anarchy and blood; but what I do mean to do is to compare our first steps with those that took place in France, and to ask whether such things may not be the consequence of disturbing and unsettling men's minds? I have read that the *National Convention*, before Marat had influence there, made a *denunciation against Clubs* (hear, hear), and that the same assembly, too, proclaimed death to the man who should propose an Agrarian law. I have read that when the King accepted the Constitution of 1791, he began in the words "*La Revolution s'est fait,*" thinking that he had then arrived at the termination of the Revolution. In those days the persons cried out against by the popular agitators were the *priests* and the *aristocrats*. In this country now it is the *boroughmongers* that have to bear the burden.

These are his words, at least such as they are given in the publication of the reporter. Now, Peel's-Bill Peel, hear me a bit. The revolution in France, as ARTHUR YOUNG and Doctor MOOR will show you, arose out of the intolerable oppressions of the *nobility, the clergy, and the taxing people*. This you cannot deny. The French proceeded at first by fires privately set; then by fires openly set to gentlemen's houses by bands of men, armed with such weapons as they could collect. This was long before there was a national convention; and, as to the king thinking, when he signed the constitution, that the revolution was over, it was over provided he acted honestly: but there were his brothers and his cousins on the frontier, and other runaway Frenchmen, principally nobility and clergy, forming armies, and joining the open enemies of France to invade France, threatening to burn every town, and to put every man to death who opposed

their progress; nay, they did invade France; and, thanks to the bravery of the French National Guard, they were defeated. Was the revolution over, then? "*It was easy to pronounce the words, the revolution is over;*" but the people saw that it was not over. All the blood that was shed in France fell upon the head of the royal family, the nobility, and the clergy, and their tax-eaters: their oppressions in the first place; their persevering opposition and treachery in the next place, were the causes of the whole of that blood. I wonder why Peel's-Bill Peel, when he was telling us that in France, the priests and aristocrats were the persons cried out against by the popular agitators; and that the persons cried out against by those agitators here are the *boroughmongers*; I wonder why Peel's-Bill Peel forgot to tell us that the *clergy* here also are cried out against by the agitators. Surely, Peel's-Bill Peel cannot have forgotten yet, that the *bishops* have come in for their share of the cry! He will find, I believe, before it be over, the tithes will be full as loudly complained against as rotten boroughs ever were; but upon that subject we shall have to speak more fully another time. I must now proceed with the speech, for the remainder of which I have very little room.

I deeply lament the distress which still prevails in many parts of my dominions, and for which the *preservation of peace* both at home and abroad will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, afford the best and *most effectual remedy*; I feel assured of your disposition to adopt any practicable measures, which you will always find me ready and anxious to assist, both for removing the causes and mitigating the effects of the want of employment which the *embarrassments of commerce*, and the consequent interruption of the pursuits of industry, have occasioned.

The *and* and the *both* have no business here, and the *and* does mischief. Strange that the King should say, at the end of sixteen years of peace, that the *preservation of peace* will be the *most effectual remedy* for the distress. No, may it please your Majesty, the want of em-

ployment does not arise from any *embarrassment of commerce*. It is found in agriculture as well as in commerce; it arises from a transfer of property from farmers, manufacturers, and traders, to loanmongers, Jews, and other usurers, who suck up the products of industry through the channels of taxation; and this sucking up arises from the measure of that fine young statesman, Peel's-Bill Peel: and this evil can never be cured but by my thirteen Manchester propositions.

It is with great concern that I have observed the existence of a disease at Sunderland, similar in its appearance and character to that which has existed in many parts of Europe. Whether it is indigenous, or has been imported from abroad, is a question involved in much uncertainty, but its progress has neither been so extensive nor so fatal as on the Continent. It is not, however, the less necessary to use every precaution against the further extension of this malady; and the measures recommended by those who have had the best opportunity of observing it, as most effective for this purpose, have been adopted.

The *is* ought to have been *be*, and the *has*, *have*, according to common sense as well as to the rules of grammar. As to the subject-matter of this part of the Speech, it gives not the least alarm to us who have the happiness to live in the city of London, seeing that we have "*Charley*" Pearson, the chairman of our Committee of Health, who sends us round his rescripts, commanding us to white-wash our houses, scour our water-courses, wash our hands and face, keep our persons clean, and to abstain from *over-drinking*, from keeping *bad hours*, and particularly from the use of ardent spirits to excess! Seeing "*Charley*" in *correspondence* with the Privy Council upon this subject, and perceiving that our paternal Lord Mayor has committed the keeping of our health to "*Charley's*" care, for ourselves, we are perfectly at ease, but naturally entertain an anxious solicitude for our unfortunate fellow-subjects, on whom the Government and constituted authorities do not appear to have bestowed such peculiar care.

In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results; and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be *possible to effect improvements* in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary *protection to the Established Church*, and at the same time *remove the present causes of complaint*. But in this and every other question affecting Ireland, it is above all things necessary to look to the best means of *securing internal peace and order*, which alone seem wanting to raise a country, blessed by Providence with so many natural advantages, to a *state of the greatest prosperity*.

The *and* is again unnecessary, and the *which* has an equivocal reference. The subject of this paragraph of the speech is important beyond description. In another *Register* I shall examine what Mr. STANLEY said upon the subject. Here I have only room to observe, that it is utterly impossible to effect the two objects propounded, if it be meant by *protection* to the church, to *take nothing from* that church. It is very true that no good is to be done to Ireland, nor to England either, without securing internal peace and order; but, then, alas! that peace and order, in Ireland at any rate, are wholly incompatible with the existence of an establishment which has kept that at once fine and miserable country in a state of continual turmoil, from the barbarous reign of Elizabeth to the present day.

The conduct of the Portuguese Government, and the repeated injuries to which my subjects have been exposed, have prevented a renewal of my diplomatic relations with that kingdom. The state of a country so long united with this by the ties of the most intimate alliance must necessarily be to me an object of the deepest interest; and the return to Europe of the elder branch of the illustrious house of Braganza, and the dangers of a disputed succession, will require my most vigilant attention to events by which not only the safety of Portugal, but the general interests of Europe, may be affected.

The arrangement which I announced to you at the close of last session, for the separation of the States of Holland and Belgium, has been followed by a treaty between the five

Powers and the King of the Belgians, which I have directed to be laid before you as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged. A similar treaty has not yet been agreed to by the King of the Netherlands; but I trust the period is not distant when that Sovereign will see the necessity of acceding to an arrangement in which the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers have unanimously concurred, and which have been framed with the most careful and impartial attention to all the interests concerned. I have the satisfaction to inform you that I have concluded with the King of the French a convention, which I have directed to be laid before you, the object of which is the *effectual suppression of the African slave trade*; this convention, having for its basis the concession of reciprocal rights to be mutually exercised in specified latitudes and places, will, I trust, enable the naval forces of the two countries to accomplish, by their combined efforts, an object which is felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity.

Regarding the state of Europe generally, the friendly assurances which I receive from Foreign Powers, and the union which subsists between me and my Allies, inspire me with a confident hope that peace will not be interrupted.

These are matters of no importance to us, except the slave-trade affair, which will only make the merchants and planters of France hate Louis-Philippe and his Ministers, and that is a good thing.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be prepared, and they will in due time be laid before you. I will take care that they shall be framed with the strictest regard to economy, and I trust to your wisdom and patriotism to make such provisions as may be required for the public service.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol, and in some other places, have caused me the deepest affliction. The authority of the laws must be vindicated by the punishment of offences which have produced so extensive a destruction of property, and so melancholy a loss of life. I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal

*police of the kingdom, in the more effectual protection of the public peace against the recurrence of similar commotions.*

I always said that we should have a Bourbon GENDARMERIE; and now I suppose we shall have it. I care nothing about it, however; it cannot last long, and while it does last, it will be a curious spectacle for political philosophy to exercise itself upon.

Sincerely attached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privilege of *discussing and making known their grievances*; but in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their *form and character* are incompatible with *all regular government*, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second *my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings* by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered.

This is what the French call a *bonne bouche*; that is to say, a sweet little morsel kept for the last. However, I must say, that if the Ministers only mean to prevent or avert organization for arming, I think, too, that that is inconsistent with any thing worthy of the name of Government; but, then, I include *all* volunteer armings; for, to suffer the rich to make a display of arms against the working people, is not only a villanous thing in itself, not only odious and detestable in its very nature, but is SURE to produce a total shifting of property from hand to hand; a total breaking up of the community, preceded by bloodshed, and followed by sufferings which no tongue can describe: but this is a large subject, which I shall treat of hereafter. In the meantime, I express my decided dissent from what is contained in General Cockburn's letter to Lord Grey, and from all those who talk about NATIONAL GUARD, and who apparently forget what that *National Guard* was which drove the Prussians out of France, and brought so many haughty despots upon their knees. The

present National Guard in France is unworthy of the name; it ought to be called the Fundholder Guard; and we shall see, by-and-by, how these pot-bellied fellows will run to corners when once the real National Guard shall make its appearance.

## TRIAL

of the monsters, who murdered a boy in order to sell his body to those who deal in dead bodies to cut up.

### OLD BAILEY.

#### TRIAL OF JOHN BISHOP, THOMAS WILLIAMS, AND JAMES MAY, FOR THE MURDER OF THE ITALIAN BOY.

At an early hour on Friday morning the courts of the Old Bailey were almost in a state of siege. Every approach to it was so crowded as to render the effecting an entrance by those who had business a matter of considerable difficulty at half-past seven o'clock. The galleries, it was stated by the officers of the Court, had been completely taken over night by members of the nobility, and a guinea for a seat was said to have been repeatedly refused. Mr. C. Phillips was expected to have conducted the defence, but having cases in the other Court, we understand that he declined, in consequence of this trial being likely to occupy the Court till ten o'clock at night. Thirty-one witnesses were subpoenaed for the prosecution, and twenty-two for the defence. The whole of these parties were in attendance at eight o'clock, and conducted to a private room. One person, named Mortimer, who was to be a witness for the prosecution, cut his throat, and now lies in a very dangerous state.

At ten o'clock Lord Chief Justice Tindal (who came expressly to try this case), Mr. Baron Vaughan, and Mr. Justice Littledale, entered the Court, with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. The bench was instantly crowded with nobility and gentry, among whom we perceived his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. The prisoners then being again placed at the bar, the Jury were charged with them.

*John Bishop* was dressed in a smock-frock, and presented nearly the same appearance as an agricultural labourer, except that his expression of countenance, if we may so express it, was more tinged with metropolitan cunning.

*Thomas Williams* was dressed in a fustian jacket, with a brown handkerchief. He is rather a simple-looking man, under the middle size, and of extremely inoffensive appearance. He seemed to be as little affected as any of the spectators.

*James May* is a more athletic man, of wiry make, and firm determined countenance. He was dressed in a fustian jacket with a yellow handkerchief, and appeared to his arraignment with a rather compressed lip and stern countenance.

The appearance of the prisoners as they were called up amongst a batch of other prisoners, showed no emotion which could indicate that they were charged with a more heinous offence than the pickpockets and housebreakers around them.

The Court was by this time nearly filled with fashionably-dressed persons, particularly females.

The counsel engaged for the prosecution were, Messrs. Adolphus, Clarkson, and Bodkin; for the prisoners, Messrs. Curwood and Barry.

The indictment charged that they, John Bishop, Thomas Williams, and James May, being malicious and evil-disposed persons, and not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being under the instigation of the devil, did, on the 4th of November last, in and upon the body of Charles Ferrari, otherwise called Carlo Ferrari, in the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal-green, feloniously and maliciously, and of malice aforethought, commit an assault; and that they with a certain wooden staff of no value, there the said Charles Ferrari, otherwise Carlo Ferrari, did strike and beat on the back of the neck, and that they did by such striking and beating, feloniously, wilfully, and maliciously, give to the said Carlo Ferrari divers wounds and contusions, of which wounds and contusions the said Carlo Ferrari then and there did die. They were also indicted for another murder of a male person, whose name was unknown.

The clerk of the arraigns then asked, "John Bishop, are you guilty or not guilty?" Bishop answered, without any emotion, "Not guilty," as did also the others.

The prisoners were then told, that if they objected to any of the jurymen, they must do so before they were sworn. The names of the jurymen were then called over, and none of them objected to.

At a few minutes after ten the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas entered the Court with Mr. Baron Vaughan and Mr. Justice Littledale. The Jury were then charged, and Mr. Bodkin opened the pleadings for the prosecution.

Mr. Adolphus, in detailing the circumstances, said the jury could not but be aware that this was a case of great importance, from what had taken place for many days past; he was aware that no person could be unacquainted with the foul crime with which the prisoners were charged, but he implored the jury to remove from their minds all that they had previously heard respecting it, and to deliver the prisoners as they would deliver their consciences; and he hoped they would not allow their minds to be biased by what they had heard or read out of doors. He ob-



served that in this case no revenge, none of the usual incentives to commit crime, had influenced the unhappy prisoners in committing the murder, if it should appear they did commit that offence. It was solely a desire to possess themselves of a dead body, in order to dispose of it to the surgeons.

Wm. Hill examined by Mr. Clarkson—He stated that he was a porter at the dissecting-room of King's College; on the 5th of November last the bell of the gate rang at about a quarter-past twelve o'clock; found Bishop and May at the gate. Had known them before. When witness opened the door, May asked him if he wanted any thing; witness said, Not particularly. Asked him what he had got. He said a male subject. Witness asked of what size, and what price. He said it was a boy of 14, and that he wanted 12 guineas for it. Witness said he did not want it much, but he would see Mr. Partridge, the demonstrator, who came down to see the body. Witness took them to the room appropriated to them, and Mr. Partridge joined them. They did not then produce any body. There was a difference at first about the price, but witness afterwards agreed with them. May said they should have it for ten guineas. Mr. Partridge then left witness alone with them. Witness went to Mr. Partridge to know whether he would decide upon having it. When witness returned, he told them that Mr. Partridge would give them nine guineas for it. May said he would be d—d if it should come in for less than ten; he was tipsy at the time. May went outside the door. Bishop then said to witness, "Never mind May, he is drunk; it shall come in for nine, in half an hour." May was near enough to hear him. They then went away, and returned in the afternoon, all three together, with the porter Shields, who has been discharged. When witness saw them the hamper was on the head of the porter. They were received in a room, and May and Bishop took the hamper into another room, where they opened it; the body was in a sack; May and Bishop said that it was a very fresh one; May was tipsy, and turned the body carelessly from the sack; saw that the body was fresh; but saw something else about it which induced him to go to Mr. Partridge; he asked them what the body had died of; May said that that was no business of theirs or of witness's; it was not in such a form as bodies usually are when taken from a coffin; the left arm was bent, and the fingers were clenched; witness told Mr. Partridge what he had seen, and what he thought; Mr. P. returned and saw the body, without seeing them; he examined the body, and went to the secretary. He returned to May and Bishop, and showed them a 50l. note, telling them that he must get that changed and he would pay them. Bishop, seeing that Mr. Partridge had some gold in his purse, said, "Give me what money you have in your purse, and I will call for the rest on Monday." May also offered to get change for it, but Mr. Partridge

declined that and left them. He returned in about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. The men remained. Mr. Mayhew had in the interim got a body of police and apprehended them. When witness was leaving the room Bishop said to him privately, "Pay me in presence of Williams only eight guineas, and give me privately the other guinea, and I will give you half-a-crown." The body was taken to the police-office by Mr. Thomas; it had not been laid out, as there was no saw-dust on the back of the head.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood—Williams did not appear, and these conversations were in the presence of May and Bishop alone.

By Mr. Clarkson—The conversation about the 50l. note was before Williams.

Mr. Richard Partridge, demonstrator of anatomy at the King's College, was there on Saturday, the 5th of Nov. His attention was first called to the body by Hill. Examined the external appearance of the body, and found some marks and circumstances of suspicion. These were the swollen state of the jaw—the blood-shot eyes—the freshness of the body—rigidity of the limbs. There was likewise a cut over the left temple. Looked at the lips, which were swollen. Noticed nothing else in the appearance of the body. Witness went to the police before the 50l. note was produced. On his return witness showed May and Bishop a note, at the bottom of the stairs leading to the anatomical part of the college. Proposed that change should be got of the 50l. note, with a view to detain them till the police came. Saw the body afterwards, when in the custody of Mr. Thomas, in company with Mr. Seaman and other gentlemen. The muscles were then rigid. The wound on the temple was superficial, and did not injure the bone. That was the only appearance of external injury; at least there was no other external mark. Between the scalp and the bone there was some blood congealed. On opening the body the whole of the contents of the chest and abdomen were in a healthy condition. Did not know what were the contents of the stomach, which was filled. The spinal part of the brain at the back of the head and the whole brain were also examined; the brain was perfectly healthy as far back as the spine; in cutting through the skin and muscles of the neck there was discovered a great deal of coagulated blood, and upon removing the back part of the bony canal which concludes the spine of the back, a quantity of coagulated blood was also found in that; that was opposite the place where the blood had been found in the muscles of the neck; uncongealed blood was also found in the rest of the spine; the spinal marrow or cord appeared perfectly healthy; thought that those marks of violence were sufficient to have caused death. That violence had been exerted which had affected the spinal cord. Believed that those appearances had been caused by some violence on the back of the neck. Believed that a blow from a stick would have produced similar effects. Could not say whe-

ther that would produce instant death, but it certainly would have produced a rapid one.

(Cross-examined—Saw nothing in the external appearance that indicated a violent death. Spoke from belief, which was more than suspicion. Did not think that any other applications of force than a blow would have produced those appearances. A fall would have been a blow. Thought that it could not have been caused by a violent pressure of the knee or hand.

Re-examined by Mr. Bodkin—The heart was empty and the face flush.

By the Court—These appearances indicated that a person had died rather suddenly, and in many cases, of a natural death.

Mr. G. Beaman (by Mr. Adolphus), Surgeon, of James-street, Covent-garden—First saw the body on the 5th of November, at 12 o'clock at night. Examined it carefully. It appeared to have died very recently. The weather was then favourable to the preservation of bodies. By his judgment the body had not been dead more than 36 hours. The face appeared swollen; the eyes full, prominent, and blood-shot; the tongue swollen, and protruded between the lips; the teeth had all been extracted; the gums bruised and bloody, and portions of the jaws had been broken out with the teeth. There were also appearances of blood having issued from the gums. Thought that the teeth must have been taken out within two or three hours after death. Examined the throat, neck, and chest, very particularly; no marks of violence externally apparent there. Saw a cut on the forehead; it was a wound over the left eyebrow, about three quarters of an inch long, through the skin to the bone. Pressed the part, and a small quantity of blood oozed from the wound. Blood might have issued from the wound if the latter had been caused by throwing the body out of a sack after death. It was serum, tinged with blood. Saw the body again at two o'clock on the Sunday afternoon. The limbs were decidedly still on the Saturday night, but not so stiff on the Sunday; should think that it had not been laid out. It was lying on a board irregularly placed when witness first saw it in Covent-garden church-yard, near the station house. Soon after eight on that evening, witness with Mr. Partridge and other gentlemen further examined it. He cleaved with a sponge the neck and chest; found no scratch or any other mark of violence there. He then removed the scalp, with the top of the skull. They detected a patch of blood, of the size of a crown-piece. This appearance must have been caused by a blow given during life. The brain was next examined, and its appearance was perfectly healthy; the body was then turned, for the purpose of examining the spinal marrow, and on removing the skin from the back part of the neck a considerable quantity of coagulated blood (witness thought at least four ounces) was found among the muscles; that blood must have been effused while the subject was alive. On removing a portion of the spine

to examine the spinal marrow, a quantity of coagulated blood was lying in the canal, which, by pressure in the spinal marrow, must have caused death. There was no injury to the bone of the spine. All these appearances, and the death, would have followed the blow of an obtuse instrument of any kind. The chest and the cavity were minutely examined. There was about an ounce of blood in the spinal canal. The heart was empty, which is very unusual, and denoted sudden death; meant nearly instantaneous death, in two or three minutes, and not longer. The stomach contained a tolerably full meal, which smelt slightly of rum, and digestion was going on at the time of death. Should think that death occurred about three hours after the meal, from the appearances. Removed the stomach. The centre of the stomach appeared perfectly healthy. Ascribed the death of the boy to a blow on the back of the neck, from the whole of his examination, and verified by precisely the same appearances as witness had seen on animals.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barry—Did not think the body was dirty; did not cleanse any other part than the back of the neck; if a stick or heavy staff had been used on the back of the neck, it would have left some mark or external contusion, unless the boy had lived some time; believed that the emptiness of the heart and the flush state of the face might have appeared after a natural death; had never before seen the heart empty after death. No blow on the top of the head could have from any accident, such as from the fall of timber or a stone, produced those appearances. If a person had fallen in apoplexy by accident on the ground, he thought it was hardly possible to have caused such appearances, except the person fell on some projecting substance. Could not swear to two or three hours, in speaking of the time the teeth had been removed. Could not positively swear that they had been removed within 12 hours.

Re-examined by Mr. Adolphus—According to the best of his judgment they must have been taken out within three or four hours. Had seen no marks on the brain that would indicate apoplexy. There was nothing to indicate a predisposition to apoplexy. Persons have died of apoplexy without marks on the brain. If the subject had died within a few minutes there would have been no external mark, and there was no mark in this case.

The foregoing testimony was corroborated by F. Tyrrel, Esq., one of the surgeons to St. Thomas's Hospital, John Earl Rogers, an inspector of police, spoke to the identity of the body; and John Wilson, a policeman, described the apprehension of the prisoners.

Joseph Sadler Thomas, the superintendent of police—On the 5th of November received information at the station-house which induced him to dispatch a party of police to the King's College. They brought back with them Bishop and Shields, and a t-rwards May and Williams. Shields has been charged. When the body

was in the hamper witness asked May what he had to say, as he was charged on suspicion of having improper possession of a subject. He said that he had nothing at all to do with it. It was the property of Bishop, whom he merely accompanied to get the money. Bishop said that it was his, and that he was merely taking it from St. Thomas's Hospital to King's College. Asked Bishop in the first instance what he was; he replied that he was "a b—body snatcher." Williams said he knew nothing of it, but merely went to see the King's College. Bishop and May appeared in liquor. May was brought in by all fours, struggling violently. The body was placed on the table. It appeared to have recently died; blood was trickling from the mouth, and the teeth were gone. Went to the house of Mr. Mills, Newington-causeway on the following Tuesday; received from him 12 teeth. (Witness here produced the teeth in a pasteboard box.) Went before that to Nova Scotia-gardens. Went to No. 3 there. Found in the back room of the ground floor a trunk (produced). Went again on the 20th and made further examinations. Found in the front parlour a hairy cap covered with dirty linen, not apparently by design. Took possession of the cap, the hamper, and the sack. (All these articles were produced. The hamper appeared not more than three feet long by two broad and two deep.)

Hen. Lock, waiter at the Fortune-of-War, knew the prisoners. Saw the prisoners there on the Friday, with a man who was a stranger to witness. They stayed till twelve o'clock, and then went away. The prisoners returned about three o'clock, without the strange man. They then stayed till about five o'clock, and went away again till about eight o'clock on the same evening with another man, who appeared to be a coachman. The latter had something to drink, and left them. They were until nine o'clock in the tap-room; before the coachman left, one of the prisoners said he had had a ride; at nine o'clock May went to the bar, and had something in a silk handkerchief, which witness afterwards saw to be the teeth; May poured water on the outside of the handkerchief, and rubbed the handkerchief together; they looked like young teeth, and witness said that they were worth a few shillings, when May said that they were worth two pounds to him; they all left together a short time afterwards; on the next evening he saw Bishop, Williams, and Shields, at about eight o'clock; Bishop asked Williams what they should do for a hamper, and asked Shields to go and fetch one; Shields refused, and Bishop then went and got one himself.

Thomas Wigley—Was at the above house at about half-past seven o'clock on the 4th of November. Bishop and May came in and sat down opposite each other. They entered into conversation together. Bishop said to May, "What do you think of our new one? Did he not go up to him well? Wasn't he a game un?" May replied, "I don't know what you mean." Bishop rejoined, "That's

all right then." They saw witness there in the corner at the time. May sat down, and had a handkerchief rubbing in his hand. Williams came in, and Bishop said, "There he is; I knew he would come; I knew he was a game un." Bishop seemed to have been drinking. Bishop and Williams went out first. Just after Bishop came in, he said to May, just before May went out for the handkerchief, "You stick to me, and I'll stick to you."

James Seagrave, the driver of a cabriolet, stated, that on the evening of the 4th he was on the stand in the Old Bailey; had put his horses' nose-bags on, and had gone to the watering-house to get his own tea. May and Bishop came in at the time. May asked if he wanted a job, and said that he wanted a cab. He led witness by the skirt of his coat to the side of a cart. May said he wanted witness to fetch a stiff un, which witness believes meant a dead body. Witness asked him what he would stand. He replied, "A guinea." Told him that he had not finished his tea, and the horse had not eaten his corn. May then said, "We will take tea together." Bishop then joined them, and they went into the house to tea. A person in the room nudged witness's elbow, and told him that he must mind what he was at, as they were snatchers. Went out afterwards and drove to the bottom of the rank to get out of their way; looked round and saw May and Bishop going up the rank of coaches. Left them apparently bargaining with a coachman.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barry—Knew that it was on Friday, because he was summoned on that day to Essex-street.

Re-examined—All the conversation was when witness and May were alone.

Thos. Taverner, waterman to the coach-stand, saw on the above day May and Bishop, who came to him on the stand and asked him where the cab-man was, meaning Seagrave. May asked the question, and witness told him that he was getting his tea. Fetched out Seagrave from the watering-house. Both the prisoners had smock-frocks on. It was just dark in the evening. Seagrave came out and spoke to him, but witness did not know what it was. Seagrave, however, said, "I'll have nothing at all to do with you," and went in to get his tea.

Edward Chandler—Was on the 4th of November last waiter at the King-of-Denmark, in the Old Bailey, which is the watering-house. Served Bishop and May with tea at about five o'clock. Saw Seagrave there; May and Bishop had half a pint of gin. Saw May put some gin into Bishop's tea. He said, "Are you going to hocus (or burk) me?" Had known May and Bishop before.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barry—Could not say whether Seagrave had part of the gin or not.

Henry Mann, a hackney-coachman—Was, on the 4th, on the stand in Bridge-street, Blackfriars. Knew May before then. Saw him that night with a stranger to witness.

May asked witness if he would take a fare to Bethnal-green. Witness replied that he would not, because he knew what May was.

George Hissing, a boy of about 12 years old, deposed that his father kept the Crabtree public-house, in the Hackney-road. Saw on the Friday a chariot draw up opposite his father's house, which is near Nova Scotia-gardens. Saw Williams standing on the fore wheel of the chariot, talking with the coachman. The chariot remained 10 or 15 minutes. Saw Williams at that time coming from Nova Scotia-gardens, in which direction he had gone: he got into the chariot. Witness saw a man, whom he did not know, helping Bishop, whom he did know, in carrying a heavy sack. It was put by Bishop, Williams, and the other man, into the chariot. Bishop and the other man then got in, and the chariot drove up Crabtree-row, which leads towards Shoreditch church.

By the Court—Could not say that the stranger was May. He knew Bishop and Williams, who were at his father's house on the day that Williams married Bishop's daughter.

Thomas Trainer corroborated the last witness.

Ann Channel was passing the Crabtree on the above night. Saw three men get out of the chariot. They went down Nova Scotia-gardens. One stopped and spoke to the coachman, and then ran after the others. Did not see them afterwards. The two first had smock-frocks on, and the other had a pipe in his mouth.

Thos. Davis, porter to the dissecting-room in Guy's Hospital, saw May and Bishop about seven o'clock on the Friday evening; May brought in a sack, and asked him if he wanted to purchase a subject. Witness replied that he did not, and they then asked him to let it remain till next morning. It was consequently locked up there during night. Saw them the next morning in the hospital, at about eleven o'clock. Left the hospital and found on his return the sack, which appeared to contain a dead body. Saw a portion of a small foot protruding through a hole of the sack; it appeared like that of a youth or a woman. It did not appear large enough for a man's foot. Could not swear to the sack produced. It was such a one.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood—Had formerly known May and Bishop, but had never seen Williams at that time.

James Weeks, assistant to the last witness, deposed to having given up the sack to them; he also saw a hole in the sack, and saw a foot or a knee projecting through it; the sack was very like the one produced; when they took it away Williams and Shields were with May and Bishop; delivered the sack to them in the same state as when he received it; May and Bishop had each requested him not to allow either of them to have it without the other; they took it away in a hamper similar to that produced.

J. James Appleton, curator of Mr. Grainger's

anatomical theatre, Wehb-street, Southwark, knew all the prisoners, and saw Bishop and May at the theatre on the Friday night, at about half-past seven o'clock. They said that they had a very fresh male subject, a boy about 14 years of age. Witness declined purchasing it. They came on the next morning, about 11, and made the same offer, which was again declined.

Thomas Mills, dentist, of 32, Bridgehouse-place, Newington-causeway, deposed, on the 5th of Nov. May called on him at about nine in the morning, and offered 12 human teeth, six from the upper and six from the lower jaw. He asked a guinea for the set. Witness said that one of them was chipped, and did not belong to the same set. He replied, "Upon my soul to God, they all belonged to the same head not long since, and the body was never buried." Afterwards discovered that some of the flesh and pieces of the jaw adhered to the teeth, and it appeared that much force had been used to wrench them out. Witness said that they were a young set. He replied, "The fact is, that they belonged to a boy 14 or 15 years of age."

By Mr. Curwood—He was sure that May did not say that they looked as fresh as if they had never been buried.

Augustus Brun examined, by medium of an interpreter—I knew a boy named Carlo Ferrari, and brought him from Italy two years ago; he was about fourteen years old, and lived with me about six weeks after he came here. The 28th of July, 1830, was the last time I saw the boy alive. He then lived at Mr. Elliott's, No. 2, Charles-street, Drury-lane. On the 19th of November I saw the body of the boy in St. Paul's burial-ground, Covent-garden, and I believe it to be the body of that boy; the size and the hair were similar, but the face was disfigured.

Cross-examined—If I had known nothing about this occurrence, and had seen the body, I should be of opinion he was "my own."

By Mr. Justice Littledale—He was in his 15th year. I have not seen him for fifteen months. He might have grown a little in that time, but not much.

By Mr. Curwood—At first sight, if anybody had asked me who the body was, the face was so disfigured I could not tell.

Joseph Paragalli sworn—I get a living by playing an organ and pipes in the street. I knew Carlo Ferrari, and used to see him every day in Charles-street, Drury-lane. His sister lived in Scotland, and died there. He came to London on the 22d of May, 1830, and I have known him all that time; I last saw him alive in the Quadrant, Regent-street, at two o'clock on a Saturday, four weeks before I saw his body at the station-house. When I saw him in the Quadrant he had a little cage round his neck, with two white mice in it. He was in the habit of wearing a cap, but I cannot say whether it was of cloth, leather, or skin. The leather shade of the cap produced was of foreign manufacture.

Mary Paragalli, wife of the preceding witness, stated, that on Tuesday, November 1, she saw the deceased in Oxford-street, near Hanover-square. He had a cage like a squirrel-cage, and two white mice in it. She did not speak to him. He wore a cap, but she could not tell what sort of one it was: She had seen the body of that boy at the station-house in Covent-garden.

Andrew Colla, of No. 4, Great Saffron-hill, birdcage-maker—I knew the deceased boy, by seeing him in the streets, and saw him lately in Oxford-street. I have seen the body at the station house, and believe it to be the body of the boy I have seen in the streets. When I saw him in Oxford-street, he had white mice in a cage, and a tortoise. The cap produced was similar to that which he wore. He also wore a blue coat and grey trousers with a large patch on the left knee of the latter.

(The trousers, which had been dug up in Bishop's garden, were here produced.)

The witness examined them, and stated he believed them to be the same as those the deceased had worn, and he pointed out the patch in the knee of them.

John King, a boy, sworn—I shall be ten years old next Christmas. I go to chapel, and know the consequences of telling a lie. I live at No. 3, Crabtree-road, facing the Bird-cage public-house, and near Nova Scotia-gardens. I remember one day when my mother washed, seeing a boy near Nova-Scotia gardens. I believe it was the Thursday before Guy Fawkes day. I was looking out of the window, and the boy had something, but my mother would not let me go to see what it was. I believe it was a little cage that he had, and it was slung from his neck by a string. He was standing still. He had a brown cap, with the leaf or shade lined with green, exactly like this cap (the one produced). I was looking at him for a few minutes.

Cross-examined—It was the first floor window from which I saw him, yet I could see the lining of his cap shade.

Martha King, the sister to the last witness, aged eleven years, sworn—On the Wednesday or Thursday before Guy Fawkes-day she saw the Italian boy, as described by her brother. He was not one minute's walk from Bishop's house, and she had never seen him since.

John Randall, a labourer, sworn—I live near Nova Scotia-gardens. On Thursday morning, November 3, I saw the Italian boy, about nine or ten o'clock, near Nova Scotia-gardens. He was standing under the window of the Bird-cage public-house, and had a box or cage, with two white mice. He had on a blue coarse jacket, a brown fur cap, but I did not notice his trousers. The cap and jacket were similar to those produced.

Sarah Trueby, wife of John Trueby, sworn.—My husband is landlord of Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Nova Scotia-gardens, and I have been in the habit of letting the houses, and receiving the rents. I let No. 3 to Bishop's wife in June, 1830. Bishop and his wife resided there until

he was taken into custody. I have often seen Bishop there. I let the house No. 2 last July to the prisoner Williams, who then went by the name of Head. Williams occupied it six or seven weeks, and it was afterwards occupied by a person named Woodcock. It was a few weeks empty. There are gardens behind the houses, and low fences between, but there is a communication from No. 1 and No. 2 to No. 3, because there was a well for the use of the whole in Bishop's house. There is a privy at the bottom of Bishop's garden. I have seen Williams several times at No. 3, after he left No. 2. I have also seen Williams's wife there.

William Woodcock, a boy, stated that he lived with his father, at No. 2, Nova Scotia-gardens, next door to Bishop's house; he knew Williams, and had seen him there ten times, and had also seen Williams's wife washing in Bishop's house—saw Williams there two or three days before Guy Fawkes-day, walking in the garden smoking a pipe.

Abraham Keymer, landlord of the Feathers, Castle-street, Bethnal-green, sworn—On the night of Thursday, the 3d of November, Bishop, and he believed Williams also, came to my house. It was near 12 o'clock. My house is about 200 yards from Nova Scotia-gardens. They had a quarter of rum and half a gallon of beer, and I lent them a can to carry it. The can produced was that which he lent them.

Wm. Woodcock sworn—I went to reside at No. 2, Nova Scotia-gardens on the 17th October, next door to Bishop. Williams, I have reason to believe, also lived with Bishop. I lived in No. 2, until after the prisoners were apprehended. I know Williams, but did not know Bishop until I saw him at Bow-street. The first Sunday I lived there I was digging in my garden, when Williams told him to dig in a certain spot, where he would find some lilies. On Thursday, the 3d of November, I went to bed about half-past nine o'clock. In the course of the night, probably about four hours and a half after I had gone to bed, I was awakened by hearing footsteps, which I thought were at the back of my premises, but I distinctly heard three men's footsteps in the parlour of No. 3 (Bishop's house). I remained in bed and heard a scuffle, which lasted for one or two minutes, at the furthest, and all was silent. The scuffling was in the same room in which I heard the footsteps. Afterwards I heard Bishop's side door open, and also heard the footsteps of two men. There is a side door to Bishop's house. The persons after leaving Bishop's house, I heard come round to the front, and pass by my house. After they were gone, I heard the footstep of one person in the house. When those two persons returned to the house, I distinctly heard the voices of three persons, one of which I knew to be that of Williams. After that all became still again, and I went to rest.

Cross-examined—I believe the wall between the two houses is but four inches thick. The

struggle that I heard I considered at the time to be a family quarrel.

By Mr. Justice Littledale.—Not more than a minute and a half elapsed from the time of the two men leaving till their return.

Hannah Woodcock, wife of the last witness, sworn.—She stated that Bishop, his wife, and family, and Williams and his wife, occupied No. 3, Nova Scotia-gardens.

Joseph Higgins, a new-police constable, sworn.—On the 9th of November, in consequence of some instructions, I went to No. 3, Nova Scotia-gardens; and on searching it, I found two crooked chisels, a brad-awl, and a file. There appeared to be blood on the brad-awl, which at that time looked fresh. I searched May's premises, No. 4, Dorset-street, New Kent-road, on the 11th, and found a pair of breeches, which had marks of blood on the back part, which appeared to be fresh. There was also a waistcoat with marks of clay on it. On the 19th, I went again to Bishop's house with James Wadey.

Mr. Mills, the dentist, was recalled, and examined by Chief Justice Tindal.—The teeth had been forced out: I should think the brad-awl now produced would afford great facility in forcing out the teeth.

The evidence of Higgins was then continued.—When we went to Bishop's house on the 19th, we searched the garden behind the house. We first attempted it with an iron rod, but finding something impeding it, I desired Wadey to dig, and a jacket, trousers, and small shirt, found; that was about five yards from the back door. In another part we dug up a blue coat, a pair of trousers with the braces attached to them, a striped waistcoat, which appeared to be a man's, and taken in for a boy, with marks of blood on the collar and shoulder, and a shirt that was torn up the front. (The witness here produced all those things.) The clothes are those which would be useful to boys like the deceased. There were ashes over the place where the clothes had been buried.

James Wadey, also a constable, corroborated the last witness's testimony.

Edward Ward, a little boy, six and a half years old, was next examined.—My father lives in Nova Scotia-gardens. I remember last Guy Fawkes-day, at which time I was in the habit of going to school. I remember my mother giving me a half holiday, but I don't know on what day it was. I went to Bishop's house. Bishop has three children, two of them boys. On that day I saw the children in the house, and they showed me a cage with two little white mice; the cage turned round. I had often played with Bishop's children before, but never saw them with a cage of white mice before that.

John Ward, an elder brother of the preceding witness, stated that what his brother had just related took place on Friday, 4th November. His brother on that day told him what he had seen.

Mr. Corder, vestry-clerk of St. Paul's, Co-

vent-garden, detailed the voluntary declaration made by Bishop, that he got the body from a grave; but the reason of not telling where the grave was, was on account of two watchmen who knew of it, and had large families. May, he said, also made a declaration (it was read, and stated that he had been to the country, and brought home two subjects, which he took to Mr. Grainger's, and from thence to Guy's Hospital. He also related the public-house at which he had been, and of his meeting with Bishop and May; that Bishop told him he had got a good subject, which he was offered eight guineas for, and if he, May, could sell it, he should have all above nine guineas for himself. This he agreed to; and his account of the subsequent transactions was similar to that in the early part of the evidence). The witness next read Williams's statement.

Mr. Wm. Burnaby, clerk of Bow-street Police-office sworn.—When the brad-awl was produced at Bow-street, May said, "That is the instrument with which I punched the teeth out."

John Kirkham, police-constable, stated, that when the inquest was sitting he had charge of the prisoners in the station-house; behind where they sat there was a printed bill posted referring to the murder; Bishop looked at the bill, and then leaned over Williams to speak to May; he said to May, "it was the blood that sold us." Bishop then got up, and looked a second time at the bill, and referring to the words "marks of violence," he said those marks were only breakings-out in the skin.

Mr. Thomas, the superintendent, was recalled by Mr. Bodkin.—When I first saw the body there were patches of dirt on several parts. There were also marks on the left arm as though they were the impression of fingers, and it appeared to me as if the chest had been pressed in. There was a stream of blood from the forehead down the face to the breast.

Mr. Adolphus stated that this was the case for the prosecution.

Mr. Davies was recalled, and stated that he had the day before purchased two bodies of the prisoner May.

The prisoners having then been severally called upon for their

#### DEFENCE,

Bishop stated that he was 33 years old, and had a wife and three children. He was formerly a carrier at Highgate, but for the last twelve years he had obtained a living by supplying the various Hospitals and Anatomical Schools with dead bodies, but he declared that he never was in any manner concerned in improperly obtaining subjects. He had been in the habit of getting bodies from work-houses, and sometimes with the clothes remaining on them. All the gardens about Nova Scotia-gardens were easy of access, and were only divided by a low, dwarf railing. As to the wearing-apparel found in the garden, he knew nothing; but, regarding the cap, he

said he should prove that his wife purchased it of Mrs. Doddeswell, who kept a sale-shop in Hoxton Old Town. As respected the prisoners Williams and May, they knew nothing of the manner in which he got the body, and he declared that he only got it in the way by which subjects were usually obtained.

Williams alleged that he knew nothing of the means by which the body was procured by Bishop, who invited him to go to the King's College. He, Williams, was not in the habit of dealing with subjects, but got his living by working as a glass-blower.

May said he was formerly a butcher, but for the last six years had followed the trade of dealing in subjects and supplying them to hospitals. On the day when he met Bishop at the Fortune-of-War public-house, it was merely by accident, when Bishop asked him where he could sell a good subject, stating that he had been offered eight guineas for it. He (May) told him, as was the fact, that he had sold two to Mr. Davies, at ten guineas each, the day before, and he would try if Mr. Davies would buy that one. Bishop told him he should have all above nine guineas for himself, and then he agreed to endeavour to sell it. He assured the Jury that he never asked, and, of course, he never knew how Bishop got possession of the body.

Rosina Carpenter stated that she lived in Nag's Head court, Golden-lane. On Thursday, Nov. 3, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, May came to her house, and remained with her till nearly twelve o'clock the next day, not once going out during that time.

Cross-examined—May has several times passed his nights with her; she did not know whether he was married or not.

Sarah Trinsley, who was examined for the prosecution, was called by Mr. Barry. She had never seen any white mice in Bishop's house.

Mary Doddeswell, wife of George Doddeswell, of 56, Hoxton Old Town, sworn—I keep a clothes and sale shop for the second-hand goods. My husband is a journeyman pastry-cook. I know Bishop's wife, and sold her a cap two years ago; I should know it again now; it was a cloth cap with a black front (the cap produced for the prosecution was a fur cap).

Bishop—My wife purchased two caps of her. Mrs. Doddeswell—I never sold but one cap to Mrs. Bishop. I know nothing of Bishop or his family, but that his daughter lived servant with me twelve months ago.

Mary Anne Hall, of No 4, Dorset-street, New Kent-road, where May lived, stated that on the 30th October, May went into the country, and I saw no more of him until the following Wednesday night, and then he went to bed. The next morning he went out, and did not return until the Friday night at half-past 11 o'clock.

Mr. Thomas stood up, and addressing the Court, said he wished to repeat what he had

said at Bow-street. The blood on the breeches found at May's residence was not perfectly dry when they were found.

Mr. Edward Wm. Doosen, a surgeon, stated that he had been subpoenaed by the prisoners, but he was not aware that he could state anything. The prisoners' counsel declined to examine him.

After this, the Chief Justice summed up the evidence. The Jury retired to consider of their verdict at eight o'clock, and returned into Court at half-past eight.

They returned a verdict of *Guilty* against all the prisoners.

Within a minute after the verdict being pronounced, it was communicated to the multitude outside that had assembled to the number of several thousands, and they for some minutes interrupted the business of the Court by their loud cheering and huzzas.

## MR. DRUMMOND AND LORD GREY.

### ON THE SUBJECT OF REFORM.

A LETTER, published by the former of these gentlemen, in the shuffling and bloody old *Times* newspaper, last week, has attracted a good deal of public attention; has produced a sort of *challenge* from Lord Grey; and has drawn a long commentary from the *Morning Chronicle*. The letter arose in this way: Mr. Drummond was, it seems, at a meeting of bankers and others, who differed upon the question of reform; and who met for the purpose of coming to a compromise, if they could, as a sort of prelude perhaps to a sort of compromise between the hostile factions in the state. Some person, under the signature of A. B., attacked Mr. Drummond, in the *bloody Times*, for his conduct at this meeting; Mr. Drummond, in his own name, sent his answer to the same sanguinary vehicle. I will first insert Mr. Drummond's letter, and then the correspondence between him and the irritated Lord Grey; after which I will insert the sour commentary of the *Chronicle* upon Mr. Drummond's letter, and will make my remarks upon that, passage by passage, as I proceed. First, then, let us take Mr. Drummond's letter, which, slightly as the *Chronicle* speaks of it, is worthy of a good deal of attention.

"SIR,—It would have been more creditable to 'A. B.' to have discussed his differences with me where I was present, instead of depreciating discussion there, and then stating anonymously and falsely in your journal that I was an intruder into a meeting to which I had received a special invitation, and had, consequently, come from the country at much inconvenience to attend. There was gross imposition in calling that 'an accommodation meeting,' when nothing was intended by A.B. but that they who were known to disagree with him should sign, at his dictation, a document which had been previously approved of by the Ministers as a perfect exposition of their late bill. Another false pretext held out to urge us to sign was the distressed state of the country. It is indeed distressed—that is, the working classes are oppressed to a degree almost past further endurance; but he must have 'a fool's head or a traitor's heart,' who says the late misnamed Reform Bill would give them the smallest relief. The bill took power from the crown, and gave it to delegates of the middling classes, thereby converting the monarchy into a bad republic, but left the working-classes just where they were. The passions of all ranks have been excited by *Lords Grey and Brougham* against the ministers of religion and the hereditary councillors of the King who opposed them, in order that the upholders of our ancient institutions might be intimidated into becoming accessories to their new constitution; and it is vainly imagined that the labouring classes will submit to be discarded and to sink again into their former degradation as soon as they shall have served the purposes of these profligate politicians. I wish political power to remain with the aristocracy, because by such means alone can the monarchy exist: if that power is to be transferred to another class, it is revolution; to give that power to all classes, has justice and consistency; to give it to one only, has neither.

"No one measure of relief to the suffering labourers has yet been proposed by the Ministers, while the people have been cajoled by the phantom of reform. True relief is only to be obtained by the repeal of all taxes on articles used for private consumption—such as malt, hops, candles, leather, &c. This might have been done honestly by laying on a graduated property-tax, increasing as it ascended; by fixing the amount of paper currency by Act of Parliament, and making it legal tender; by disbanding the whole of the standing army, excepting the household troops and the artillery; and this might have been done safely by embodying fencibles and militia, in each county, and training them every year, by which domestic peace would be preserved, as well as security from foreign aggression; by enacting Poor Laws for Ireland, by which the Irish gentry would be compelled to support their own people, instead of sending them over here to exclude any extra labourers which our villages may contain from the means of em-

ployment in our towns; by repeal of the Corn Laws, and of all monopolies and restrictions on trade; and by restoring our foreign policy to its uniform course, from the days of Elizabeth to those of Lord Londonderry, which was to support small free states against their powerful neighbours; and, above all, by taking effectual measures to liquidate the public debt, which must cramp the energies of the country so long as it exists; and, lastly, by a reform of the House of Commons as efficacious as that now proposed, and yet not revolutionary.

Thus, and much more that cannot now be stated, must be done before the nation can be tranquillized. It is shaken too deeply to its very foundations to be calmed merely by declarations of merchants and bankers, or by Whig expedients of violating unblemished corporate rights like those of Guildford, and of collecting the deputed wisdom of aggregated dirt and disease from Brighton and Cheltenham. Nothing short of what is above enumerated can end otherwise than in increased discontent; and since there arises from no side the discretion fit to guide us, we have only to stand prepared for the crash which the intimated projects of our rulers must produce, and see in their blindness the judicial hand of an offended God, whose counsels they having despised, he at length has left them to their own.

"Begging 'A. B.,' in which prayer you, Sir, will no doubt join, to choose some other arena than your columns for the further discussion of these subjects,

"I am, your obedient servant,

"HENRY DRUMMOND.

"Albany Park, Nov. 26."

Next came the challenging affair, in the following words, as published under the authority of the Duke of Richmond, who, it appears, was the bearer of Lord Grey's letter to Mr. Drummond.

"Albany Park, Nov. 29.

"MY LORD,—I regret to learn from the Duke of Richmond, that some expressions in my letter to the editor of the *Times* of this day's date, are construed by your Lordship to imply an attack upon your Lordship's motives. As nothing was farther from my object or wish than to impute any thing to your Lordship individually, while I reserve the right of declaring myself freely on your Lordship's public measures, I have only to express the sincere regret I feel at any expression of mine having given *unintentional* pain to your Lordship.

"I have the honour to be,

your Lordship's obedient servant,

"HENRY DRUMMOND.

"To Earl Grey."

"Downing-street, Nov. 30.

"SIR—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday, which has been brought to me by the Duke of Richmond, and beg leave to express my satisfaction at your



assurance that 'nothing was farther from  
 " ' your object or wish than to impute to me  
 " ' *individually* any thing improper ; and that  
 " ' while you reserve to yourself the right  
 " ' ( which it never could be my wish or inten-  
 " ' tion to dispute ) of declaring yourself freely  
 " ' on my public measures, you felt sincere  
 " ' regret at any expression having given me  
 " ' *unintentional* pain.'

" I shall feel it necessary, as was understood  
 between you and the Duke of Richmond, to  
 give publicity to the letter which I have re-  
 ceived from you ; and have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your most obedient servant,

" GREY."

How sensitive we are become all of a sudden ! And, how soon we are tranquillized ! Lord Grey is quite *satisfied*, when he finds that Mr. Drummond did not mean to say any-thing against him individually ; that is to say, in a state separate from all others. Not knowing any-thing of the qualities of the *mind of pain*, I cannot say " what *intentional* pain can mean ;" but, knowing well what individually means, and knowing that it means a thing or a person considered in a state of existence separate from all other persons and things, I perceive that this noble Lord's mind does not differ materially from that of a great many very vulgar persons, who think that disgrace, by being *divided*, becomes diminished ; and it is even said being hanged in *company* forms a sort of consolation to the worst of criminals. Mr. Drummond does not say in plain terms that Lord Grey has " a *fool's head*, or traitor's heart ;" but he says flat and plain that Lords Grey and Brougham are " *profligate politicians*." It is not " *individually*," that he characterizes Lord Grey ; but, he calls two men *profligate politicians*, and he names the two men ; consequently he calls each of them a profligate politician. TREVOR, one GORDON, and the LIAR, ascribed certain conduct, ascribed *blasphemy* indeed to COBBETT, CARLILE, and TAYLOR, which was accusing *me* of blasphemy ; but not me any more than the other two. Mr. Drummond says in fact, that Lord Grey is a *profligate politician*. He says the same of the Scotchman at the same time, to be sure ; but he says this of Lord Grey, whose taste makes him perfectly *satisfied*, when Mr. Drummond

assures him that he did not mean to confine the charge to *him only*. Did ever libeller defend himself against a charge of defamation against A by alleging that he had made the same charge against B, and did ever A express himself satisfied, and at once drop the suit upon the making of such an allegation by a libeller ? But there is something so childish in all this ; something so waspish and at the same time so incomprehensibly mild and dull, that, really, when one looks at the part which Lord Grey has taken in it, and reflects that he is the *Prime Minister*, one cannot wonder at the state of confusion, suspense, and terror, in which the country is now placed. That pretty gentleman, too, the DUKE OF RICHMOND, might have been better employed than in the publishing of this puerile correspondence. Much better, very much better, for him to have been at the *General Post-Office*, clearing up the mysterious affair of my *lost letter from Farnham*, which has never yet been found, and for the loss of which I have never received the smallest intimation of an intention to give me any sort of *redress* ! The letter was a heavy one. It contained more than *ten* pages of writing, on quarto paper ; the postage would have been four or five shillings ; for the leaves were all separated, and written upon only on one side. Had the country post-master equivocated, the loss of the letter might have been imputed to him, or it might have been doubted whether it was put into the post-office at Farnham. But, for the credit of the General Post-office, it unfortunately happened, that the post-master at Farnham received the letter from my son in the presence of a gentleman of that town, which latter, upon receiving a letter from me, complaining of the loss, went to the post-master, who, in the presence of another witness, acknowledged that he had received the letter at the time specified, and declared that he and his wife were both ready to make oath that it was duly put into the bag. Therefore, it is certain that the letter came to the *General Post-office in London*, and we have proof upon proof,

that it was not delivered at Bolt-court, to which place it was directed. There were my printers waiting the arrival of the postman. Then at last something else was obliged to be got to fill up the *Register*; there were my readers all over the country disappointed, the *Register* coming out too late to be sent by the post that evening; and what was their surprise at seeing a long article break off in the middle! Better, I say, much better for this Duke of Richmond to be employed in giving me suitable redress for this great injury, and in adopting regulations to prevent the same in future, than in carrying messages from the at-once waspish and gentle Prime Minister, and publishing a correspondence of which a couple of drapers' shopmen ought to be ashamed. But, now we come to matter worthy of the attention of folks that are grown up; namely, to the commentary of Doctor Black on the letter of Mr. Drummond. The Doctor and I are getting together by the ears again! I disagree with him upon the subject of arming the rich against the poor, one of his objects in which seems to be to compel the poor to have the dead bodies of their relations sold to the carcass butchers, that buy them for the purpose of cutting them up, or rather sold to the cutting butchers, by the carcass butchers. I detest the Doctor for this, and shall undoctor him, if he do not take care; but I have now to remark upon his commentary on the letter of Mr. Drummond.

Mr. Henry Drummond, for an honest man, seems to have a wonderful aptitude in imbibing the tactics of a dishonest school. The working classes are, no doubt, as he says, oppressed to a degree almost past further endurance; and the Reform Bill, certainly, will not give them immediate relief. But the Reform Bill will remove some of the most formidable obstacles in the way of their obtaining relief. "Relief," says Mr. D., "is only to be obtained by the repeal of taxes on articles used for private consumption—by laying on a graduated property-tax—by fixing the amount of a paper currency by act of Parliament, and making it a legal tender—by disbanding the whole standing army, excepting the household troops and the artillery, and substituting fencibles and a militia—by enacting poor-laws for Ireland—by repealing the corn laws, and all monopolies and restrictions

on trade, and, above all, by taking effectual measures to liquidate the public debt." What Mr. Drummond means by *fixing the amount of the paper currency*, we know not, and therefore we pass over this specific. But with respect to the other specifics, which may be summed up briefly in the words *relief from taxation, and from monopolies*, will Mr. Drummond have the hardihood to contend that *an unreformed Parliament would ever have consented to them*? The great argument for a reform of Parliament is, that those who voted the taxes had an interest in increasing, instead of diminishing the expenditure. The object for which the boroughmongers combat Reform is, that they *may retain possession of the power of sharing among themselves the property of the nation*, by means of the very channels of expenditure which Mr. Drummond wishes to dry up. Is it not known to every tyro in English history, that ever since the compact entered into between the Crown and the aristocracy, *at the so-called Revolution of 1688*, the Parliament, which was honest so long as the Crown contended for the supremacy, became itself corrupted, and that boroughmongery has grown with the growth of the taxes? To expect that an unreformed Parliament should destroy that for the sake of which Reform is opposed, if the expectation be not assumed, betrays an inability to reason approaching to fatuousness. But Mr. D. is obliged to close his catalogue of specifics with the admission of a necessity for a Reform of the House of Commons, as efficacious as that now proposed, though that efficacious Reform is to be, it seems, not revolutionary—that is; is to have all existing interests unaffected, and consequently the interests of the boroughmongers.

The Doctor does not deal fairly with Mr. Drummond. Mr. Drummond's specifics would be quite sufficient; for he proposes a disbanding of the standing army, in which he, of course, includes the dead-weight; and he proposes a paper money to be made a *legal tender*, which, indeed, would do the whole thing at once, and this is precisely the thing which the Doctor says *he does not understand*. If he do not, I do: and, whatever Mr. Drummond's intention may be, most assuredly this part of his plan would not only *pay off the debt*, but would rectify every abuse in the course of a few weeks; whether Mr. Drummond means this or not, I cannot be certain; but certain I am that paper money, made a legal tender, would blow up the whole system at once, and leave us to choose another in its stead, which we

should, I dare say, contrive to make a great deal *cheaper* than this. It is not many years ago since JOHN REEVES was prosecuted, by order of the House of Commons, for calling in question the wisdom of the *glorious* Revolution of 1688, at which the Doctor now sneers with as much contempt as he sneers at the sacredness of the sepulchre when the dead bodies of the *poor* are in question. The truth is, that we now never hear of the word "glorious" pronounced, before that revolution. It was I, by my History of the Protestant Reformation (which the Doctor called "*pig's meat*"), and which all the nations in the world have been devouring from that day to this, thereby proving that men and women are only two-legged swine. It was I who shamed the nation, who fairly cudgelled it out of its stupid praises of the Whig revolution. Some months ago, sitting in a room which looked out upon the MONUMENT, on the base of which were the infamous words accusing the Catholics of having set fire to the city of London, and seeing a scaffolding around that base, and some stone-masons at work with their mallets and chisels, I asked my friend, who was sitting at the window with me, what those men were doing. He told me they were chiselling off the letters charging the Catholics with having fired the city. My God! exclaimed I to myself, I set even these city creatures to work, and, in spite of nature, make them act justly! The History of the matter is this: In my history of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION (which the sour Doctor Black called *PIG'S MEAT*), Volume I, paragraph 370, I gave the history, and exposed the infamy, the base and cowardly injustice, of this inscription. About a year ago, the renowned CHARLEY PEARSON, whose surname, however, it is superfluous to add; "this CHAIRMAN of the Committee of Health," and correspondent of the Whig Privy-Council, having made himself so famous as to be, like sovereign princes, called solely by his first name, and that name having, from the affection which his conduct so naturally excited, been made to take the friendly and fraternal ter-

mination, so that when one said *Charley* in the city, it was quite unnecessary to add *Pearson*: about a year ago the Charley, being a Common-Councilman, and, of course, a colleague of the stableman in Fetter-lane, who, till I quitted his stables, had at once the occasional care of my horse, and was my representative in the city of London House of Commons. About a year ago, I say, the famous Charley made a motion in this little House of Commons, to characterize which justly, to do full justice to it, I defy the pen and tongue of mortal man: in this House of Commons, the Charley (from some *quite sufficient* motive, I dare say), just after he came from Preston, where he had been participating (as Mr. Mitchell now tells us) in the pleasure of hearing the *Cock* crow, and after he had been and promised the people of Bolton that he would do them the honour to represent them in a reformed parliament; just after his return, the Charley made a motion in the little House of Commons in the City, of which he is a most worthy member; he made a motion for the effacing of the aforesaid inscription from the *Monument*, and the speech which he made, in introducing the motion, consisted of the aforesaid paragraph of the *History of the Protestant Reformation*, garnished at head and foot by an abundant supply of that species of oratory for which the Charley is so famous, and which gives such delight to the butchers' boys. The orator prevailed, the motion was carried unanimously, and thus was this act of justice ordered to be done! Amongst his numerous virtues, Charley, it must be confessed, has his faults, amongst which is an itching palm for other people's goods; *literary* goods I mean, to take which without the owner's leave is, in the language of literary courtesy, called plagiarism. Only a few weeks ago, the Charley, in making a speech against Walthman, compared his sham-retirement of some years ago to the conduct of a POPE, who shammed illness and approaching death, but who, the moment he was proclaimed Pope, flung away his crutch, and became more

vigorous than ever. The Charley has a good memory, for he went some years back to take this piece of history from the *Register*, where, too, I had applied it to this very Waithman. There was, however, one little thing which the Charley had forgotten, namely, the name of the *Pope*, whom he called Gregory, when I had called him *Sixtus the Fifth*. From this digression, into which I had been involuntarily led by the rare endowments and exploits of the Charley, I return to remind the reader that not, until of very late years, till since the publication of *Paper against Gold*, was the Whig revolution of 1688 ever spoken of but with admiration. Nobody ever speaks of it now but as of a boroughmongering trick played upon the nation, and as the radical cause of our debts and of all our sufferings. Doctor Black sneers at it, and contempt and hatred are the feelings which the mention of it always excite; and again, I say that it was I who shamed the nation into this way of thinking. We will now return to the Doctor and his commentary on the letter of Mr. Drummond.

But let us see what Mr. Drummond means by an efficacious reform: "I wish (he says) political power to remain with the aristocracy, because by such means alone can the monarchy exist; if that power is to be transferred to another class, it is revolution; to give that power to all classes, has justice and consistency; to give it to one only, has neither." Here the cloven foot appears. Mr. Drummond knows well enough that the very aristocracy under whose banner he fights have opposed the Reform Bill chiefly on the ground of its giving the suffrage to all classes. They, like Mr. Drummond, would have no objection to allow the suffrage to be possessed by potwalloping paupers in venal boroughs; and they raised a cry, as he does now, against the hardship of depriving poor people of their franchise; with the interested view of enlisting the poor people to support a system which, at the expense of the degradation of a part of their number, enabled the aristocracy to dip deep into the property of the whole nation, and thus contribute to the distress of the working classes in general. Mr. Henry Drummond—Saint as he is—is, we suspect, as familiar with Machiavel as with the Evangelists. He knows very well that no Minister of this country can possibly carry a reform which should give a suffrage to all classes. He throws out this lure, therefore, to the working classes, in order to array them against

those to whom the suffrage is to be given by the Reform Bill, thereby to defeat reform altogether; for he knows well that if it is with difficulty that Ministers can carry the present bill, it would be utterly impossible for them, or any other Ministry, to carry, by constitutional means, a more extensive reform. But let not Mr. Drummond and his brother Anti-Reformers push this Machiavelism too far. They cannot now prevent reform; but by endeavouring to inflame the animosity of the working classes, they may create a confusion which may end in results of which they do not dream. When the reign of violence commences, that of law is at an end; and if they consult history, they will find that property is entirely the creature of law, and that when the bonds of law are loosened, a quondam rich man has no more than what he can pick up in the general scramble. We warn all these rich men, who play the demagogue by way of *finesse*, that if they succeed in throwing the masses into movement, they will be the first to repent of it. It may not be in their power to arrest the movement when they want to do so. And what does he mean by a reform which should allow political power to remain to the aristocracy, and not giving it to the delegates of the middling classes? He must either mean that the aristocracy shall dispose of the property of the nation without responsibility, or he means nothing. They who control the expenditure of the nation, must either return themselves, or be returned by others. If they return themselves, they are of course responsible. If they are returned by others, they must be returned by a body sufficiently rich and sufficiently numerous to be identified in interests with the nation. They to whom the suffrage is given by the Reform Bill, are sufficiently rich and sufficiently numerous to be identified in interest with the nation. We are not of the number of those who think that any great danger would arise from a still greater extension of the suffrage, and we believe that any immediate evil which might be occasioned by an injudicious exercise of the suffrage, would be more than compensated for by the motive which it would give to the rich to instruct the poor, that the suffrage might be exercised judiciously. But we know that fears are entertained on this subject, and knowing also that under the Reform Bill the suffrage is communicated to a body too rich and too numerous to be bribed, and which is identified in interest with the nation, we think the question of greater extension of suffrage is not one on which reformers ought to quarrel, seeing that all which can be done by a representation chosen under a more extended suffrage, will and must be done by a representation chosen under the Reform Bill. The aristocracy is not identified with the nation, either in regard to property or numbers, and the allowing uncontrolled power to remain with the aristocracy, is to allow power to remain with those who have an interest in abus-

ing it, to the prejudice of the nation. But the middle classes mean *all who possess property*, except the few who, though possessing individually large properties, possess but a small share of the property of the nation. The middle classes, therefore, are interested in obtaining all that benefits the nation, and preventing all that injures the nation. *Whatever affects them affects the working classes.* They are the *great accumulators of capital*; and as they are thriving or suffering, the working classes thrive or suffer. The whole, therefore, of what Mr. Drummond says, respecting the transference of power from the aristocracy to the delegates of the middling classes, is a poor, paltry piece of sophistry. The aristocracy will retain all the power that any man ought to have, the power of legislating, subject to a responsibility to those whose weal or woe is affected by their legislature. Rich men will in general be chosen to represent the people; but it will be rich men less able to do good, and deprived of the power to do harm. It will be the wolf without his teeth. There is no way of leaving power to the aristocracy, without responsibility to either the middling classes or to all classes, which shall not be liable to gross abuse. There is no principle better established than that, if we wish to guard against abuse—they who pay the taxes should choose those who have the disposal of them.

Now, though Mr. Drummond is wrong in wishing all political power to remain with the aristocracy, the Doctor is equally wrong in what he says upon the subject. Mr. Drummond says, give the suffrage to *all* or leave it where it is. I should have said the same from the beginning, had I not seen in the ten-pound voters, in great towns, the means of putting in from fifty to a hundred members; *by the voice of the working people.* This was not enough to content me, and I always said so; but, as the rotten boroughs were all to be disfranchised, and as the working people were to have the sending of these members to Parliament, I was willing to take the bill as it stood, and to give it a *fair trial*, and this I say still. The Doctor says, that the greater extent of suffrage is not worth quarrelling about. No, provided *all the rest* of the bill be carried into full effect; but, while the Doctor is arguing with Mr. Drummond, upon the assumption that it is still the bill, and the *whole bill*, which is again to be proposed, he gives us pretty plainly to understand, that the whole bill is not again to be proposed; and

that the suffrage, appointed by that bill, is to be *less extensive* than it was before; and if this be the case, then I say that Mr. Drummond is right, and that I prefer things to remain just as they are, rather than to see the country delivered over to a damned aristocracy of money, which, besides its injustice, besides the endless and remorseless oppressions that it must engender, must lead to open war between the rich and the working people.

The doctor is very much deceived, if he believes, that the "*great accumulators of property*" have interests identified with those of the working-people. The doctor has forgotten the combination-laws, which severely punished the bodies of working-men for combining, and made it compulsory on them to impeach their comrades on oath, if called upon so to do, while those laws inflicted only a slight fine on the "*accumulators*," and imposed on them no oath for the accusation of one another, in case of their combining against the workmen. The interests are not sufficiently identified to make the master a good voter for the man; and the Doctor may be well assured, that, if votes were given only to the "*accumulators*," and if such a Parliament could exist for any length of time, monopoly on the one hand, and degradation and starvation on the other, would become more hideous than they are now. The working people can never have their interests attended to; can never be fairly treated, till they have the *choosing of members themselves.* Enough of them, to have spoken the voice of the whole of them, would be the case, if every man in the great towns renting a house at the rate of ten pounds a year had a vote; but this is what I believe neither party intend they shall have; I believe that both parties mean to support the bill, as far as it goes to take away the right of voting from the working people, and to give the right of voting to no one working man; and I agree with Mr. Drummond, that this would be taking away power from the aristocracy "to give it to delegates of the middle class, and thereby really convert the monarchy into a *bad Republic*;" but I

do not agree with him, that it would leave the working people as they were before: knowing, as I do, that it would make their situation a great deal worse than it was before.

The Doctor does, it seems, "*know*" that fears are entertained that if the "suffrage were extended to the working people, they would exercise it *injudiciously*." Who is it? *Who*, I pray you, Doctor, is it that entertains these fears? Not the Tories; for you tell us that their pretended fears are so much of base hypocrisy; you tell us, that they have got their hands in the people's purses, and that it is in vain to expect to produce any effect upon them by reasoning. It must be the Whigs then; it must be those *sincere creatures* who have their fears, that the working people would make an *injudicious* choice of members!! That they would, for instance, be so very injudicious as not to elect Brougham's man, MACAULAY, for the town of Leeds; and that some town or other might, in the excess of their injudiciousness, happen to elect me! This would be the Devil all over; the very thought of this last in particular is enough in all conscience to fill the honest Whigs with fear. To be sure! They want to have bands of monopolizers to surround them. They know well, that, if the working people had chosen any of the members of Parliament, *Sturges Bourne's bills* would never have been passed; that hired overseers never would have existed; that justices of the peace never would have been authorised to transport men for poaching; that men never would have been hanged, by clear law, for hitting other men without doing them bodily harm. Yes, the Whigs know well that a House of Commons, in which there had been only ten men chosen by common people, never would have passed a bill authorising the sale of the dead bodies of the poor, while the pensioners, and sinecure-people, and dead-weight people, are to have their bodies taken proper care of. The Whigs know all this; and they know too, that if there had been only two men really chosen for the working people, the pen-

sion and sinecure and grant and dead-weight list and the thundering standing army would not have existed at this day; and they know too that those whom Mr. Drummond justly calls delegates from the middle class, would very gladly suffer all the abuses to remain. In short, unless there be real voting by a large portion of the working people in the great towns; unless the bill provide effectually for this, the change must be for the worse; and the end must be something like what we have seen at Lyons, or a great deal worse. A majority of the working people would have accepted of the former bill; any bill that shall give them less power than that, they will reject with disdain; and they will either overpower those who are selected to be voters, and make them vote as they please; or they will burst out into acts of violence.

The bitter vituperations of Lords Grey and Brougham, which pervade Mr. Drummond's Letter, reflect no honour on him. It is painful to hear a man who lays claim to a more than puritanical perfection asserting that "the passions of all ranks have been excited by Lords Grey and Brougham against the ministers of religion and the hereditary councillors of the King who opposed them, in order that the upholders of our ancient institutions might be intimidated into becoming accessories to their new constitution." The ministers of religion! Does religion teach that the people ought to be plundered—that the souls of the poor ought to be sacrificed by their becoming vile and corrupt tools in the hands of the rich, in order that the latter may obtain the plunder of this world as an equivalent for damnation in the next? Ministers of religion supporting boroughmongering! The religion of the Devil! We have no objection to Mr. Drummond's prayers or psalms; but we cannot understand the religion which would look with complacency on the vile spectacle which a general election in England presents—a spectacle which no doubt suggested to *Mr. Burke* the phrase "*swinish multitude*?" And do not these ministers of religion, as well as Mr. Drummond, know, that boroughmongering can only effect its end by the degradation of that portion of the poor necessary to the working of their detestable machinery?

I agree with the Doctor, that what Mr. Drummond says about the *ministers of religion* is ridiculous enough; but, I do not believe that the working people are now more tools in the hands of the boroughmongers than the delegates

would be tools in the hands of the Whigs. JOHN WOOD voted for the *dead body bill*; and a man that would do that, would stick at nothing. No, Doctor: it was not the spectacle of bribed drunken voters at elections that suggested to BURK the phrase "*swinish multitude*." The pensioned hack meant thereby to characterise the whole of the working people, knowing that it would please his base Whig patrons. It has always been a characteristic of that faction to encourage those whom you call the *accumulators*, at the expense of those who do the work; and they are now at their old game arming the accumulators against the working people as a preparatory step to giving to them exclusively the right of voting. Their fears that you talk of, are fears for the pension and sinecure lists and the like; their fears for *Daddy Coke's* lighthouse, their fears for the Duke of Devonshire's tithes of the *twenty* parishes in Ireland. These make them fear that the working people would make an *injudicious* choice. Why are not such fears entertained in the United States of America? Why are not fears entertained of the *injudiciousness* of the Irish carmen and other labourers, whose voice decides the elections in New York? Why because there are no pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, *unattached* military commanders, military academies, *dead-weight* revenues, of crown lands, *Duchies* of Cornwall and of Lancaster; no excise-board, and no guttling corporations, in the United States of America. The parties strive most furiously each to carry its man; but nobody has ever the audacity to say, that the people, that the *working* people, are incapable of making a "*judicious choice*;" nor did any one ever propose to send for a ship-load of Scotch schoolmasters to "*instruct the poor*" how to make a *judicious* choice. In short, they know well what sort of men will answer *their purpose*: if they be suffered to have their choice, all will be well; if they be not, let those who refuse them the right, abide by the consequences.

"Not one measure of relief to the suffering labourers has yet been proposed by the Mi-

nisters, while the people have been cajoled "by the phantom of reform." Why, if the Anti-Reformers would not allow Ministers *any intermission*—if they warred with Ministers *to the knife*, as it were, from the first proposal of reform to this day, how, in *God's name*, could they propose with *advantage any thing beneficial to the labourers*? The labourers have been *materially injured by the reform agitation*; but the criminality of the injury rests with those who endeavour to defeat a measure calculated to benefit the nation, and not with Ministers. Mr. Drummond, who accuses Ministers, is one of the causes of the distress of the labourers. Let us have an *honest Parliament*, and we shall be able to deal *honestly with the labourers*. The sooner reform is disposed of, the sooner may we hope to *grapple to advantage with the evils afflicting the poor*. If Mr. Drummond deems the Corn Laws one of the great causes of the distress of the labourers, does he suppose that the allowing political power to remain with the aristocracy will tend to facilitate their repeal? When were the *middling classes found advocating the Corn Laws*? When were the *middling classes found adverse to Poor Laws in Ireland*? We wish we could attribute the defects of this production solely to the head of the writer; but we fear there is more in it than mere mental obliquity. Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh; and we think the disease lies lower than the head.

Doctor, you ask, "When were the middle classes found advocating the corn-laws?" Always, Doctor, unless you exclude all the farmers and all the tradesmen in the country towns and in the villages from the middle class. So that this question, or rather the assertion that it implies, is not true, and therefore is no answer to Mr. Drummond. You also ask, "When were the middle class found adverse to poor-laws in Ireland?" If you mean the middle class in Ireland, they are decidedly adverse to such law. If you mean the middle class in England, and if you are to judge by their conduct here, what an uninformed or what a hardened man you must be, to say that this middle class are friendly to poor-laws, when you have seen with what eagerness they avail themselves of Sturges Bourne's bills, and with what unrelenting cruelty they have treated the poor! My opinion is, that if the *Whigs* were to be suffered to get together a band of the middle class to make the laws, the lot of the labourers would be a thousand times

worse than it is now, if that were possible.

"Let us," says the Doctor, "have an *honest parliament*, and we shall be able to deal honestly with the labourers:" so say I, Doctor; but that will not be an *honest parliament* which shall suffer the dead-weight man, the pensioners, and the rest of the tax-eaters, to have votes, and which shall deny the right of voting to those who work to raise the taxes on which they live; such would not be an honest parliament, and such would not deal honestly with the labourers and the working people in general.

Mr. Drummond complains that no one measure of relief to the suffering labourers has yet been proposed by the Ministers, while the people have been cajoled by the phantom of reform. And what is the Doctor's answer to this? Why, that the Tories (cruel men) have given the Ministers no intermission; that they have warred with them *to the knife*; and then he asks, "How, *in God's name*, could they propose anything beneficial to the labourers?" Do not swear, Doctor. To swear profanely is, *to take God's name in vain*; and never was that name taken more decidedly in vain than you have taken it here; for, if you were to take as many oaths to the fact as there are words upon your paper, you would not make one single sensible man in the kingdom believe, that the Ministers HAVE NOT HAD TIME to propose any measure of relief to the labourers. They have had the Parliament sitting for pretty near a whole year. They have found time a plenty for passing all the measures necessary to take money out of the pockets of the people; time a plenty for *emigration-projects* enough to craze one to think of; time a plenty to augment the standing army in time of peace, and to irritate the labourers by the embodying of corps of yeomanry cavalry; time a plenty for Special Commissions; time in great abundance for bringing in a bill to license farmers, to set man-traps and spring-guns; time a plenty for rejecting the motion for a committee for inquiring into the conduct of those who

caused Mrs. Deacle to be handcuffed; but not a moment's time have the savage Tories left them for proposing any measure for the relief of the working people; and, even the accomplished descendant of "*John with the bright sword*" has been so worried by these cruel Tories, that he has not had time to think about the 113 Privy Councillors, who he, before he became a Minister, complained were in the receipt of *six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year*. But if the cruel Tories left them no time to propose any-thing, they surely left them time to adopt that which was proposed by others, and their supporters too. Well, then, Doctor, during the last session Lord TAYNHAM proposed a measure of effectual relief and protection to the labourers. He did not merely talk about it; but he brought in the bill, and *the bill was printed*. It was a bill replete with humanity, justice, and wisdom. The fires are blazing all over England, though you are so studious to keep a sight of them from the eyes of your readers. If Lord TAYNHAM's bill had been passed, not one of these fires would ever have been heard of. Lord TAYNHAM is one of their *friends*; he voted for their Reform Bill; he has supported them in every way. It could not be the Tories that prevented him from persevering with this wise and just measure: it *must* have been the Ministers; they threw their wet blanket over it, they stifled it to death; therefore, however Doctor Black may sneer at Mr. Drummond, that gentleman's main complaint against the Ministers is perfectly just: and I believe him to have as much goodness in one single joint of his little-finger, as the whole of *them* have in their whole bodies.

WM. COBBETT.

## TITHES.

A NEW edition of Mr. EGLE's PAMPHLET upon this subject will be published immediately, with an address to Lord LYNDEHURST prefixed, in which his Lordship's strange notions relative to the matter are discussed.



## COBBETT-CORN, CHOLERA MORBUS, & "CHARLEY."

SINCE the publication of my last *Register*, I have received extraordinarily fine samples of the corn from the neighbourhood of NOTTINGHAM, and also from the ISLE OF WIGHT, for which I am very much obliged to the senders; and my correspondent in the Isle of Wight, who invites me to his house, is hereby informed, that as soon as I can get away from this truly *infernal wen*, where it is NO CRIME to buy the dead bodies of the people, I shall, in all probability, have the pleasure of seeing him, owing, as I do, a *lecturing debt* to that part of Hampshire. I want, too, to prepare that county for the next election, if we should ever see another, which is, however, with me, matter of great doubt. I was thinking about going to the North; but I had forgotten "Charley" Pearson's proclamation about the dreadful CHOLERA MORBUS, which is travelling southward it seems; and therefore I shall most likely bend my steps away from it. Say what they will of the CHOLERA MORBUS, "it has done good, and great good too." It has exhibited to the world the *Whig Privy Councillors* in correspondence with "Charley;" and all that seems to be wanting to make us complete, is, for us to see "Charley" a *Privy Councillor himself*! However, *Privy Councillor*, or *Privy Councillor not*, I beg him to desist from his correspondence with me, and, at the peril of the bones of his messengers, not to let ME receive any exhortations from "Charley" to keep my house clean, and to lead a SOBER and an ORDERLY LIFE! I beg that I may have no messengers from "Charley" to deliver his exhortations of this or of any other description: but of this description especially. "Charley" is, doubtless, *heir* to "celestial mansions;" and though neither I, nor any citizens that I am acquainted with, happen to know any-thing of his earthly domicile, the wise and decent freemen of *Bishopsgate ward*, doubtless, must; and we must believe, of course, that the place which has the honour to

lodge our "*Chairman of the Committee of Health*" shows, outside and inside, marks of that cleanliness which our discerning and patriotic Lord Mayor has found to be an essential in a *Chairman* of this description. Nevertheless, though "Charley's" HOUSE may be constantly in a state of neatness, justifying the old comparison of the *ban-box*; though his person may undergo as frequent and as efficacious ablutions as those of the nymphs of Diana; though every-thing without tells the beholders that, with him, all within is the paragon of purity; still I must insist that he send no more messengers (for whose services I dare say I shall have to pay) to inquire into the state of my rooms, kitchen, cellar, dust-hole, and water-courses; and, more, especially, I insist that he send me no paper enjoining me to be cleanly in my person, to lead a sober life, to keep good hours, and to abstain from the use of ardent spirits! If I were so notorious a drunkard as to make it unsafe to place a bottle within my reach; if it had been the habit of my well-known life to roll down, with my clothes on, under bulks, or in stinking brothels; if my person exhibited to the disgusted beholder every mark of crapulous and beastly debauchery; if my beard, well manured with soot of the WEN, and duly watered by almost hourly supplies from the gin-shop and the pot-house, were constantly crying aloud for that razor which was refused to it by the barber, from the fear of his being defrauded of remuneration for his toil; if my habiliments gave evident tokens of having come to my body in line direct from Rosemary-lane; if, like a sheep, I carried my whole wardrobe upon my back, and constantly seemed to have recently been three parts sheared; if my shirt, hidden by all possible means, now-and-then peeped out, and seemed to proclaim the sad tidings that soap and water were no longer in the world; if my hair, for want of clipping, hanged down like a dirty half-worn mop over its staff; if, in short, my very look were a puke, and my smell were poison; then, indeed, there might be some reason for this

sort of sumptuary interference; but being, I hope, precisely the contrary of all this, such interference with me is ground of just complaint and resentment.

While, however, as intrusive monitor, I complain of this self-assumed power of interference on the part of "*Charley*;" while as chairman of the committee of health I express my determination to make the *hides* of his intrusive messengers responsible for the offensiveness of their errand; as "*patriot*," I, in common with all who really know him, am ready to acknowledge his value, and am about to bestow on it ungrudgingly all the praise that is its due; or, at any rate, all that can be expressed by any words which I have at my command. As "*patriot*," our "*Charley*" has seldom seen an equal: his industry, his activity, his zeal, his devotedness, and, above all, his *disinterestedness*, are themes which defy beggarly prose to do them justice, and which challenge the loftiest flights of poetical panegyric. DRYDEN is, alas! no more, and without a DRYDEN how is justice to be done to our "*Charley*!" This Register! not ten such Registers would contain even a bare and bald statement of the proofs which I could produce of his devotion to that country, which has the happiness and honour to claim him for her son. I shall content myself with the mention of two only; but, few as they are in number, they will give the reader a pretty fair view of the nature and extent of his self devotion. All the world has heard of the rejection of Mr. SCALES by that assemblage of all that is pure and spotless, the Aldermen of London. In short, it is well known that some little time ago, a new precept had been issued to elect an Alderman for the ward of PORTOKEN, and that Mr. Scales, who has a law suit going on, with the hope of being able to defeat the Court of Aldermen, has again offered himself, and will, doubtless, be again elected under this new precept; and, in all probability, will be again rejected. In this state of desperate struggle, and of enormous expense on the part of Mr. SCALES; in this state of suspension of

the right of the freemen of the ward; what does our "*Charley*" do? not like a vulgar grubbing attorney, go and make a voluntary offer of gratuitous services to Mr. SCALES, but goes at once and offers to *fling his own body into the breach!* that is to say, to be elected Alderman himself in place of Mr. SCALES! and to enter into a solemn engagement to surrender his gown whenever the law should have determined that Mr. Scales was, in despite of the Court of Aldermen, qualified to wear it. Mr. Scales having been bred a farmer, and having been since both grazier and butcher, had often seen the skin of a dead lamb put over a live one, in order to make the mother of the dead lamb take to the live one, a proceeding which is actually going on at my farm at Kensington at this moment; but whether Mr. SCALES thought that the freemen of Portsoken ward were not so docile as a Somersetshire ewe; or whether he did not choose voluntarily to undergo this operation of skinning; be the reason what it might, Mr. SCALES, with due expressions of gratitude, of course, declined the generous tender of services. But this deducts nothing from the merit of the offer, which offer was accompanied with the observation that "*Charley*" would condescend to take the Alderman's gown, *only as a stepping-stone to a seat in Parliament for the city!*

The other instance of self-devotedness, to which I have to call the reader's attention, and of which I have to bespeak his admiration, is; that, some weeks ago, "*Charley*," seeing that the Ministers stood in need of a man of industry, application to business, talent, and weight of character, wrote to them to say that he was ready to take a seat in Parliament; and (hear it, Heaven and earth!) these proud and insolent Whigs have not (at least they had not the other day) *deigned even to answer his letter!* And thus, after all, the fond hope of my heart, that of seeing "*Charley*" a Privy Councillor, is likely to be defeated!

In return from this digression, into which I have been led by the enthusiastic feelings naturally inspired by con-

templating the character and the deeds of our city "*Charley*," and by the strong partiality that I feel for every-thing appertaining to civic virtues and to our civic Government: coming back, tearing myself away from these captivating topics, and returning to the dull clod-poll'd subject of Cobbett-corn, respecting which, I have to state, that one of the sacks (four Winchester bushels) weighed 252 pounds, and Mr. Sapsford called yesterday to tell me, that it produced 224 pounds of flour, and this every man may have off four rods of ground; and yet the FOOL-LIAR says that this is a *fraud upon the poor*! In my last Register, I said, that Mr. Sapsford made the COBBETT-BREAD of *three-fourths* wheat and one of corn flour; he tells me that it is *two-thirds* wheat and one of corn flour.

### COBBETT-CORN.

I HAVE to thank Mr. TEMPLAR for some fine samples of the corn, growed at and near Lymington, in Hampshire.

### CORN-PUDDINGS.

WE use the *corn-flour* in my family, FIRST as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to *break*, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is, beyond all measure, better than wheaten flour. And yet the FOOL-BEAST LIAR calls it a "*fraud*," and uses the *frank*, the power of using which the good honest fellows of PRESTON thought they were bestowing upon an *able* and *bold* defender of their rights!

I have just received an ear of my corn growed in *Lancashire*, twelve miles north of Liverpool. It is not quite so long, so large, or so heavy; but taken

altogether it is as *good* an ear as either of those from Guernsey or Pevensy. And yet the BEAST-LIAR calls it a "*fraud*," and begs my correspondents not to give it to the labouring men to cultivate! The grower of this corn in Lancashire calculates his crop at 700 Winchester bushels of *ears* to the acre of that county, that is, 350 bushels to the statute acre; that is, 175 Winchester bushels of shelled corn to the *statute acre*. And I have always said, that with proper culture, it will always yield a bushel of shelled corn to the rod, which is 160 rods. The gentleman says, that a barrel of beer was made of *the tops*, before the corn was ripe. I am really proud of this ear of corn from *Lancashire*: the ears are longer and larger in America; but America never produced a better-ripened, or richer, ear of corn.

At this time I feed my EWES partly on corn, and their lambs have *corn-meal*. I have none to spare for pigs or poultry. The FOOL-LIAR has been down, *in person*, to the HARD-PARISHES, to persuade the people that it will *give pigs* the "*MURRAIN*," and to people the "*YELLOW JAUNDICE*." There's a beast for you! I wish the good fellows of Preston could have seen the contempt and scorn with which these sensible people treated the beast! It is not the LIAR, the impudent liar, it is not the *malignant* animal that we have to contemplate here, but the *beastly foolishness*. Just as if the folks in the hard-parishes did not know that all farm-animals were fatted on it in America, and that all the people ate it there. However, I suspect that this *trip into Hampshire*, and this visit to the *hard-parishes*, had some view beyond the preservation of the cattle and the people from the deadly effects of the corn! In short, look upon this as an expedition *undertaken for the loan-mongers*!

TO

SIR THOMAS DENMAN.

In the next Register a handsome present for him to take to Bristol with him.

TO  
**MR. MITCHELL OF PRESTON.**

SIR,

YOUR letter, in the *Preston Chronicle*, rescues you from the imputation of being, or having been, an accomplice of **THE LIAR**, which for a while you appeared to be. Your letter has made us all laugh; for, though *we* here knew him before, the *trip to Liverpool*, and the *Catholic Charity*, have really made us stare; even us, who know him so well! And his "*rents*," which he had just received! Oh! I wish you had known all about *that matter*. Next time, ask him *where* his estates lie. I most sincerely congratulate you on your *escape*, and am

Your most obedient servant,  
**WM. COBBETT.**

**MR. ALDERMAN SCALES.**

THE new election has closed, and Mr. SCALES has now been elected by a majority of 95, he having 169 votes, and "*Hughes Hughes*" 74 votes. His majority over *Harvey* was 28. So that our paragons of purity have got much by this attempt to *overrule* the freemen and *nullify* their choice. It is the duty of the **LORD MAYOR** to attend, and officially proclaim the *Alderman* that has been *duly elected*. Our bright Chief-Magistrate attended accordingly, having his Common-Serjeant (Law) at his elbow. It is said that the golden-chained personage *hesitated* whether he should not proclaim *Hughes Hughes*, who is an Attorney, well known at *Clapham* under the name of "*Hewit*." It was impudent enough in the Court of Aldermen, to dare to *refuse to swear Mr. Scales in* and to issue a new precept; but a **VETO** by **DON KEY** would have been reducing the thing to a farce indeed! The **DON** did not persevere to the *consummation of the act*; and Mr. SCALES was proclaimed *duly elected*. Never was miniature more like a large picture, than this City Government is like that down at Westminster, except as to what relates to the *heads* of the government. Their lives are entwined: *they will stand, one just as long as the other*. More of **DON KEY** and his sup-

porter "*CHARLEY*" another time, and of his *Common Serjeant*.

From the **LONDON GAZETTE**,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1831.

**INSOLVENT.**

**READ, T.**, Hockliffe, Bedfords., victualler.

**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**

**FLEMING, J.**, Pendleton, Lancas., plumber.

**BANKRUPTS.**

**BLOW, R.**, Great Grimsby, Lincolns., merchant.

**BRITTAIN, W.**, Birmingham, builder.

**BRYANT, W.**, Bishop's Hull, Somersetshire, baker.

**BULLEY, C. C.**, and **W. Lavers**, Nicholas la., wine-merchants.

**DANIEL, T.**, Chester-st., Grosvenor-pl., and Milbank-st., Westminster, stone-merchant.

**DANKS, T.**, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, grocer.

**DEXTER, R. E.**, Northampton, ironmonger.

**ELLIS, J.**, Mark-lane, victualler.

**FAYRER, R. J.**, London, mariner.

**FIFE, J.**, Thetford, Norfolk, nurseryman.

**GEARY, T.**, and **D. Horne**, Manchester, woollen-drapers.

**GOODWIN, J.**, Stafford, shoe-manufacturer.

**HALL, R.**, Congleton, Cheshire, silk-thrower.

**HUNTINGTON, L.**, South Molton-st., tailor.

**MILLARD, S.**, Gloucester, victualler.

**POCOCK, R.**, Bath, tobaccoconist.

**RAMSAY, J.**, Devonport-st., Commercial-rd., master-mariner.

**SMITH, S.**, Sibery, York-terrace, Regent's-park, hotel-keeper.

**SMITH, T.**, Birmingham, grocer.

**SOLOMON, I. L.**, and **B. Solomon**, Bristol, cabinet-maker.

**STAREY, S.**, and **T. Starey**, Croydon, bleachers.

**SYM, W.**, Upper Marylebone-st., Portland-pl., upholsterer.

**TIPTON, T.**, Hereford, licensed-victualler.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1831.

**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**

**BILLOWS, G. B.**, Poole, ironmonger.

**BANKRUPTS.**

**ASKEW, R.** and **J. Dewhurst**, Manchester, commission-agents.

**CROSS, J.**, Burnley, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

**LOCKWOOD, J.**, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, cloth-merchant.

**LOVELL, C.**, St. Martin's-court, Leicester-square, wine-merchant and tavern-keeper.

**MEEKS, J.**, and **T. Gummery**, Warwick, upholsterers.

**MORE, L.**, Lawrence-Pountney-lane, merch.

**PATTERSON, J.**, Garstang, Lancashire, spirit-merchant and tea-dealer.  
**PEGG, E.**, Shoreditch, linen-drapeer.  
**RADFORD, T.**, Ashborne-green, Derbyshire, dealer.  
**RAGG, W.H.**, Dudley & Birmingham, laceman.  
**READ, J.**, Bathwick, Somersetshire, baker.  
**RICHARDSON, M.**, Knaresborough, Yorkshire, money-scriver.  
**RICHARDSON, T.**, Howden, Yorkshire, farmer and cattle-dealer.  
**RICKARD, S.**, J. Dockray, and T. Pinder, Leeds, machine-makers.  
**THOMSON, R.** and **T. D. Mildred**, Sun-court, Cornhill, merchants.  
**WORDINGHAM, J. Jun.**, Church-street, Kensington, surgeon and apothecary.  
**WORRILL, H.**, Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamshire, mercer and draper.

### LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, DECEMBER 5.**—Our supplies, since this day se'n'n'ight, of English wheat, barley, and beans, have been rather great; of English malt and flour and Foreign barley moderately good; of Irish, Scotch, and Foreign wheat, English peas, Scotch barley, Scotch and Irish flour and seeds, from all quarters, but limited. No Foreign flour or rye from any quarter.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by buyers, many of whom, to judge from their activity amongst the samples, seemed disposed to do business; but, as these aimed at depressed, the sellers either at stationary or advanced prices, the trade was, with each kind of corn, pulse, malt, and seeds, dull at last Monday's quotations, with flour at a depression of full 2s. per sack.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	27s. to 33s.
— fine .....	34s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 40s.
— Boilers .....	40s. to 48s.
— Grey .....	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Old .....	40s. to 42s.
— Tick .....	41s. to 45s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	25s. to 30s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	58s. to 63s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new... 125s. 0d. to 127s.	
Pork, Mess, new... 67s. 6d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast... 100s. to —s. per twt.	
— Carlow... 100s. to 104s.	
— Cork... 97s. to 98s.	
— Limerick... 98s. to —s.	
— Waterford... 94s. to 98s.	
— Dublin... 95s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire... 60s. to 84s.	
Gloucester, Double... 56s. to 65s.	

Gloucester, Single... 50s. to 54s.	
Edam... 46s. to 52s.	
Gouda... 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish... 62s. to 70s.	

### SMITHFIELD—December 28.

This day's supply of beasts and sheep was moderately good; of calves and porkers rather limited. The trade with beef, on account of the Christmas boiling being wanted, was somewhat brisk, at an advance, with veal dull at a depression of 2d. to 4d. per stone. Mutton and pork were in steady demand at Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,563; sheep and lambs, 17,630; calves, 141; pigs, 160.

### MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 9.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, at Monday's prices.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent Cons. shut.

Consuls for Account (Thursday), 83½

**GRIFFITHS AND TURNER'S PENNY BLACKING**, so good, so convenient, and so cheap, that all the world will use it!

**DIRECTIONS.**—Reduce it with water to the thickness of cream, and then use it like any other liquid Blacking.

**N.B.** Two penny-worth of this Blacking is sufficient to fill a sixpenny bottle. Six penny-worth is sufficient to fill an eighteen-penny bottle.—Manufactory, Wellington-street, Pentonville.

This Blacking was originally invented by the late Mr. Johnson, a well-known chemist of Nantwich in Cheshire, and sold by him in his druggist's shop in that town for twenty-five years. It was introduced in London by Griffiths and Turner in June 1831; and so well has it been approved by the public, that, in the short space of five months, there have been no less than fifteen imitations of it. The names and full directions are printed on every penny packet.

Wholesale at 8s. a gross; three gross and upwards at 7s. 6d. a gross; twelve gross and upwards at 7s. a gross.—For Money only.

**NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.**—Office is now open at Saville-house, Leicester-square, where the Secretary sits from 10 to 9 daily to enrol members' names.

**OBJECTS AND LAWS OF THE UNION**, with an Address to the people of England. Price to members, one penny.

Also, **POLITICAL UNIONS NOT CONTRARY TO LAW**. Price to members, one penny each. Just published by the National Political Union, and Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



## REFORM BILL.

I SHALL first of all insert the *whole* of the *Bill*; and, when I have done that, I shall subjoin some remarks; taking, however, this earliest moment to say, that if I understand rightly the provisions of the bill, the bill is **BETTER THAN THE FORMER ONE**; my **REASONS** for saying which I will fully state, when the reader has had the Bill before him; but, clearly to comprehend these reasons, my readers must be so good as to go patiently through the whole of the Bill. If I rightly view the tendency of the *ten-pound* clause, Lord **GREY** has kept his word, and has made the bill even more efficient for every good purpose than it was before. Once more I pray my readers to go through the Bill with the greatest attention; and, when you have done that, to weigh well the grounds for this my opinion.

## PARLIAMENTARY REFORM BILL.

### A BILL TO AMEND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

[NOTE.—The words printed in italics are proposed to be inserted in the Committee.]

Whereas it is expedient to take effectual measures for correcting divers abuses that have long prevailed in the choice of members to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament, to deprive many inconsiderable places of the right of returning members—to grant such privileges to large, populous, and wealthy towns; to increase the number of knights of the shire, to extend the elective franchise to many of his Majesty's subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same, and to diminish the expense of elections; be it therefore enacted,

ed, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that each of the fifty-six boroughs enumerated in the schedule marked A, to this Act annexed, shall from and after the end of *this present Parliament* cease to return any member or members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that each of the thirty boroughs enumerated in the schedule marked B, to this Act annexed, shall, from and after the end of *this present Parliament*, return one member and no more to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that each of the places named in the schedule marked C, to this Act annexed, shall, for the purposes of this Act, be a borough, and shall as such borough include the place or places respectively which shall be comprehended within the boundaries of such borough, as such boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that each of the same boroughs named in the said schedule C, shall, from and after the end of *this present Parliament*, return two members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that each of the places named in the schedule marked D, to this Act annexed, shall, for the purposes of this Act be a borough, and shall as such borough include the place or places respectively which shall be comprehended within the boundaries of such borough, as such boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that each of the said boroughs named in the said schedule D, shall, from and after the end of *this present Parliament*, return one member to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that the borough of New Shoreham shall for the purposes of this Act include the whole of the rape of Bramber, in the county of Sussex, save and except such parts of the said rape as shall be included in the borough of Horsham; by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; and that the borough of Cricklade shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the hundreds and divisions of Highworth, Cricklade, Staple, Kingsbridge, and Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts, save and except such parts of the said hundred of Malmesbury as shall be included in the borough of Malmesbury, by an Act to be passed for that purpose in the present Parliament; and that the borough of Aylesbury shall, for the pur-

poses of this Act, include the three hundreds of Aylesbury, in the county of Buckingham; and that the borough of East Retford shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the hundred of Bassetlaw, in the county of Nottingham, and all places locally situate within the outside boundary or limit of the hundred of Bassetlaw, or surrounded by such boundary, and by any part of the county of York or county of Lincoln.

And be it enacted, that the towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed and taken to be one borough, and that such borough shall, from and after the end of this present Parliament, return two members, and no more, to serve in Parliament; and that the towns of Penryn and Falmouth shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed and taken to be one borough; and that the towns of Sandwich and Deal shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed and taken to be one borough; and that each of the said boroughs shall, from and after the end of this present Parliament, return two members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that every city and borough in England, which now returns a member or members to serve in Parliament (except the several cities and boroughs enumerated in the said schedule A) and the several boroughs of New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the place or places, respectively, which shall be comprehended within the boundaries of such city or borough, as such boundaries shall be settled, and described, by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament; which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that every such city or borough shall, together with the place or places respectively so to be comprehended therein as aforesaid, be a city or borough for the purpose of returning a member or members to serve in all future Parliaments.

And be it enacted, that each of the places named in the first column of the schedule E to this Act annexed, shall have a share in the election of a member to serve in all future Parliaments, for the shire-town or borough which is mentioned in conjunction therewith, and named in the second column of the said schedule E.

And be it enacted, that each of the places named in the first column of the said schedule E, and each of the shire-towns or boroughs named in the second column of the said schedule E, shall for the purposes of this Act, include the place or places respectively, which shall be comprehended within the boundaries of each of the said places, shire-towns, and boroughs respectively, as such boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as

fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith.

And be it enacted, that each of the towns of Swansea, Lougher, Neath, Aberhaven, and Kenfig, shall, for the purposes of this Act, include the place or places respectively which shall be comprehended within the boundaries of each of the said towns, as such boundaries shall be settled and described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act, when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith; and that the said five towns so included as aforesaid, shall for the purposes of this Act be one borough, and shall, as such borough, from and after the end of this present Parliament, return one member to serve in Parliament; and that the portreeve of Swansea shall be the returning officer for the said borough; and no person by reason of any right accruing in any of the said five towns shall have any vote in the election of a member to serve in any future Parliament for the borough of Cardiff.

And be it enacted, that the persons respectively described in the said schedules C and D shall be the returning officers at all elections of a member or members to serve in Parliament for the boroughs in conjunction with which such persons are respectively mentioned in the said schedules C and D; and that for those boroughs for which no persons are mentioned in such schedules as returning officers, the sheriff for the time being of the county in which such boroughs are respectively situate, shall, within two months after the passing of this Act, and in every succeeding respective year in the month of March, by writing under his hand, nominate and appoint for each of such boroughs a fit person, being resident therein, to be, and such person so nominated and appointed shall accordingly be, the returning officer for each of such boroughs respectively, until the nomination to be made in the succeeding March; and in the event of the death of any such person, or of his becoming incapable to act by reason of sickness or other sufficient impediment, the sheriff for the time being shall, on notice thereof, forthwith nominate and appoint in his stead a fit person, being as resident as aforesaid, to be, and such person so nominated and appointed shall accordingly be, the returning officer for such borough for the remainder of the then current year; and no person, having been so nominated and appointed as returning officer for any borough, shall after the expiration of his office be compellable at any time thereafter to serve again in the said office for the same borough: provided always, that no person being in holy orders, nor any churchwarden or overseer of the poor within any such borough, shall be nominated or appointed as such returning officer for the same; and that no person so nominated and appointed as returning officer for any such borough, shall be appointed a

churchwarden or overseer of the poor therein during the year for which he shall be such returning officer; provided also that no person qualified to be elected to serve as a member in Parliament for any such borough shall be compellable to serve as returning officer for such borough, if within one week after he shall have received notice of his nomination and appointment as returning officer, he shall make oath of such qualification before any justice of the peace, and shall forthwith notify the same to the sheriff: provided also, that in case his Majesty shall be pleased to grant his royal charter of incorporation to any of the boroughs named in the said schedules C and D, which are not now incorporated, and shall, by such charter, give power to elect a mayor, or other chief municipal officer for any such borough, then, and in every such case, such mayor or other chief municipal officer for the time being shall be the returning officer for such borough, instead of the person nominated and appointed by the sheriff as aforesaid; and the provision hereinbefore contained with regard to the future nomination and appointment of a returning officer for such borough, shall thenceforth cease and determine.

And be it enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be *six* knights of the shire, instead of four, to serve for the county of York; that is to say, *two* knights for each of the three ridings of the said county; to be elected in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the three ridings were a separate county; and that the court for the election of knights of the shire for the north riding of the said county shall be holden at , and the court for the election of knights of the shire for the west riding of the said county shall be holden at Wakefield, and the court for the election of knights of the shire for the east riding of the said county shall be holden at .

And be it enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be *four* knights of the shire, instead of two, to serve for the county of Lincoln; that is to say, *two* for the parts of Lindsey in the said county, and *two* for the parts of Kesteven and Holland in the same county; and that such *four* knights shall be chosen in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if the said parts of Lindsey were a separate county, and the said parts of Kesteven and Holland together were also a separate county, and that the court for the election of knights of the shire for the parts of Lindsey, in the said county, shall be holden at , and the court for the election of knights of the shire for the parts of Kesteven and Holland, in the said county, shall be holden at .

And be it enacted, that each of the counties enumerated in the schedule marked F to this Act annexed shall be divided into two divisions, which divisions shall be settled and

described by an Act to be passed for that purpose in this present Parliament, which Act when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this Act, as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith, and that in all future Parliaments there shall be *four* knights of the shire instead of *two*, to serve for each of the said counties; that is to say, *two* knights of the shire for each division of the said counties; and that such knights shall be chosen in the same manner and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the said divisions were a separate county, and that the court for the election of knights of the shire for each division of the said counties shall be holden at the place to be named for that purpose in the Act so to be passed as aforesaid, for settling and describing the divisions of the said counties.

And be it enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be *three* knights of the shire instead of *two*, to serve for each of the following counties; that is to say, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorsetshire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and Oxfordshire: and *two* knights of the shire, instead of one, to serve for each of the counties of Carmarthen, Denbigh and Glamorgan.

And be it enacted, that the Isle of Wight in the county of Southampton, shall, for the purposes of this Act, be a county of itself, separate and apart from the county of Southampton, and shall return *one* knight of the shire to serve in every future Parliament; and that such knight shall be chosen by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the said several rights of voting, as any knight of the shire shall be chosen in any county in England; and that all elections for the said county of the Isle of Wight shall be holden at the town of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and the sheriff of the Isle of Wight, or his deputy, shall be the returning officer at such elections.

And be it enacted, that for the purpose of electing a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament, the East Riding of the county of York, the North Riding of the county of York, the parts of Lindsey in the county of Lincoln, and the several counties at large enumerated in the second column of the schedule marked G to this Act annexed, shall respectively include the several cities and towns and counties of the same which are respectively mentioned in conjunction with such ridings, parts and counties at large, and named in the first column of the said schedule G.

And be it enacted, that no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of any freehold lands or tenements, whereof he may be seised for his own life, or for the life of another, or for any lives whatsoever, unless the same shall be to him of the clear yearly value of not less than *ten pounds*, above all rents and charges pay-



ble out of or in respect of the same, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall prevent any person now seised for his own life, or for the life of another, or for any lives whatsoever, of any freehold lands or tenements of the clear yearly value to him of *forty shillings* above all rents and charges, from acquiring or retaining, so long as he shall be so seised of the same lands or tenements, the right of voting in such elections in respect thereof, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained.

And be it enacted, that every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall be seised at law or in equity of any lands or tenements of copyhold or customary tenure for his own life, or for the life of another, or for any lives whatsoever, or for any larger estate, of the clear yearly value to him of not less than *ten pounds* over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament for the county, or for the riding, parts, or division, of the county in which such lands or tenements shall be respectively situate.

And be it enacted, that every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall hold, as lessee or assignee, any lands or tenements, whether of freehold, copyhold, or customary tenure, originally demised for not less than *sixty years* (whether determinable on a life or lives or not), of the clear yearly value to him of not less than *ten pounds*, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same; or originally demised for any term not less than *twenty years* (whether determinable on a life or lives or not), of the clear yearly value to him of not less than *fifty pounds* over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same; or who shall occupy as tenant any land or tenements for which he shall be bona fide liable to a yearly rent of not less than *fifty pounds*, shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament for the county, or for the riding, parts, or divisions of the county in which such lands or tenements shall be respectively situate; provided always that no person being a sub-lessee, or the assignee of any under lease shall have a right to vote in such election in respect of any such term of *sixty years* or *twenty years* as aforesaid, unless he shall be in the actual occupation of the premises.

And be it declared and enacted, that no public or Parliamentary tax, nor any church-rate, county-rate, or parochial-rate, shall be deemed to be any charge payable out of or in respect of any lands or tenements within the meaning of this Act.

And be it enacted, that in order to entitle any person to vote in any election of a knight of the shire or other member to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of any mes-

suages, lands, or tenements, whether freehold or otherwise, it shall not be necessary that the same shall be assessed to the land-tax; any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it enacted, that no person shall be allowed to have any vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire for or by reason of any trust estate, or mortgage; unless such trustee or mortgagee be in actual possession or receipt of the rents and profits of the same estate; but that the mortgagor or cestuique trust in possession shall and may vote for the same estate, notwithstanding such mortgage or trust.

And be it enacted, that notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of his estate or interest as a freeholder in any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, occupied by himself, or in any land occupied by himself, together with any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, if by reason of the occupation thereof respectively he might acquire a right to vote in the election of a member or members for any city or borough, whether he shall or shall not have actually acquired the right to vote for such city or borough in respect thereof.

And be it enacted, that notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of his estate or interest as a copyholder or customary tenant, or as such lessee or assignee, or as such tenant and occupier as aforesaid, in any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, or in any land occupied together with a house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, if by reason of the occupation thereof respectively he or any other person might acquire a right to vote in the election of a member or members for any city or borough, whether he or any other person shall or shall not have actually acquired the right to vote for such city or borough in respect thereof.

And be it enacted, that notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament, unless he shall have been duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; and that no person shall be so registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, in respect of any lands or tenements of freehold, copyhold, or customary tenure, unless he shall have been in the actual possession thereof, or in the receipt of the rents and profits thereof for his own use, for *six calendar months* at least next previous to the day of in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, which said period of *six calendar months* shall be suf-

sufficient, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and that no person shall be so registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, in respect of any lands or tenements held by him as such lessee or assignee, or as such occupier and tenant as aforesaid, unless he shall have been in the actual possession thereof, or in the receipts of the rents and profits thereof for his own use, as the case may require, for *twelve calendar months* next previous to the day of

in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year; provided always, that where any lands or tenements which would otherwise entitle the owner, holder, or occupier thereof to vote in any such election shall come to any person at any time within such respective periods of *six* or *twelve calendar months* by descent, succession, marriage, marriage-settlement, devise, or promotion to any benefice in a church, or by promotion to any office, such person shall be entitled in respect thereof to have his name inserted as a voter in the election of a knight or knights of the shire in the lists then next to be made by virtue of this Act as hereinafter mentioned.

And be it enacted, that in every city or borough which shall return a member or members to serve in any future Parliament, every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall occupy within such city or borough, or within any place sharing in the election for such city or borough, as owner or tenant, any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, being either separately or jointly with any land within such city, borough, or place, occupied therewith by him as owner, or occupied therewith by him as tenant under the same landlord, of the clear yearly value of not less than *ten pounds*, shall, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained, be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for such city or borough: provided always, that no such person shall be so registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, unless he shall have occupied such premises as aforesaid for *twelve calendar months*, next previous to the day of in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, nor unless such person, where such premises are situate in any parish or township in which there shall be a rate for the relief of the poor, shall have been rated in respect of such premises to all rates for the relief of the poor in such parish or township, made during the time of such his occupation as aforesaid, nor unless such person shall have paid, on or before the day of in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two* all the poor-rates and assessed taxes which shall have become payable from him in respect

of such premises, previously to the day of then next preceding, or shall have paid on or before the *twentieth* day of *July* in any such succeeding year as aforesaid, all the poor-rates and assessed taxes which shall have become payable from him in respect of such premises, previously to the respective *sixth* day of *April* then next preceding.

And be it enacted, that the premises, in respect of the occupation of which any person shall be deemed entitled to vote in the election for any city or borough as aforesaid, shall not be required to be the same premises, but may be different premises, occupied in immediate succession by such person during the said *twelve months*; and that where any such premises as aforesaid shall be jointly occupied by more persons than one as owners or tenants, each of such joint occupiers shall be entitled to vote in respect thereof, in case the clear yearly value of such premises shall be of an amount which, when divided by the number of such occupiers, shall give a sum of not less than *ten pounds* for each and every such occupier, but not otherwise.

And be it enacted, that in every city or borough, which shall return a member or members to serve in any future Parliament, and in every place sharing in the election for such city or borough, it shall be lawful for any person occupying any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, either separately or jointly, with any land occupied therewith by him as owner, or occupied therewith by him as tenant under the same landlord, in any parish or township in which there shall be a rate for the relief of the poor, to claim to be rated to the relief of the poor in respect of such premises, whether the landlord shall or shall not be liable to be rated to the relief of the poor in respect thereof; and upon such occupier so claiming and actually paying or tendering the full amount of the rate or rates, if any then due in respect of such premises, the overseers of the parish or township in which such premises are situate are hereby required to put the name of such occupier upon the rate for the time being; and in case such overseers shall neglect or refuse so to do, such occupier shall nevertheless for the purposes of this Act be deemed to have been rated to the relief of the poor in respect of such premises from the period at which the rate shall have been made, the amount whereof he shall have so paid or tendered as aforesaid: Provided always, that where by virtue of any Act of Parliament the landlord shall be liable to the payment of the rate for the relief of the poor in respect of any premises occupied by his tenant, nothing herein contained shall be deemed to vary or discharge the liability of such landlord; but in case the tenant who shall have been rated for such premises in consequence of any such claim as aforesaid, shall make default in the payment of the poor-rate due in respect thereof, such landlord shall be and remain liable for the payment thereof, in the same manner as if he had himself been rated in

respect of the premises so occupied by his tenant.

And be it enacted, that every person who would have been entitled, if this Act had not been passed, to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or town, being a county in itself, in respect of his estate or interest as a freeholder, either with or without any other qualification superadded thereto, shall be entitled to vote in such election, provided he shall be duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; but that no such person shall be so registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, unless he shall on the day of *July* in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or on the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, be qualified as such elector, in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of election, and this Act had not been passed.

And be it enacted, that every person who would have been entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or borough not included in the schedule marked A to this Act annexed, either as a burgess or freeman, or in the city of London as a freeman and liveryman, if this Act had not been passed, shall be entitled to vote in such election, provided such person shall be duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained; but that no such person shall be registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, unless such person shall, on the day of *July* in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or on the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, be qualified in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of election, and this Act had not been passed, nor unless such person shall have resided for *six calendar months* next previous to the day of *July* in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, within the city or borough, or within the place sharing in the election for the city or borough, in respect of which city, borough, or place respectively, such person shall be entitled to vote, or within *seven statute miles* of such city, borough, or place respectively; provided always, that no person who shall have been elected or made a burgess or freeman since the *first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one*, or who shall hereafter be elected or made a burgess or freeman, otherwise than in respect of birth or servitude, shall be entitled to vote as such in any election for any city or borough as aforesaid, or to be so registered as aforesaid; provided also, that no person shall be entitled as a burgess or freeman in respect of birth, unless his right be originally derived from or through some person who was a bur-

gess or freeman, or entitled to be admitted a burgess or freeman previously to the *first day of March* in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one*, or from or through some person who shall since that time have become a burgess or freeman in respect of servitude.

And be it enacted, that no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or borough, save and except in respect of some right conferred by this Act, or as a burgess or freeman, or as a freeman and liveryman, or in the case of a city or town being a county of itself, as a freeholder as herein before-mentioned: provided always, that every person now having a right to vote in the election for any city or borough (except those enumerated in the said schedule A) in virtue of any other qualification than as a burgess or freeman, or as a freeman and liveryman, or in the case of a city or town being a county of itself, as a freeholder as herein before-mentioned, shall retain such right of voting so long as he shall be qualified as an elector according to the usages and customs of such city or borough, or any law now in force, and such person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for such city or borough, if duly registered according to the provisions hereinbefore contained; but no such person shall be so registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, unless such person shall on the day of

in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or on the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, be qualified as such elector in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such days were respectively the days of the election, and this Act had not been passed, nor unless such persons shall have resided for *six calendar months* next previous to the day of

in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, within the city or borough, or within the place sharing in the election for the city or borough, in respect of which city, borough, or place respectively, such person shall be entitled to vote, or within *seven statute miles* of such city, borough, or place respectively; provided nevertheless, that such person shall for ever cease to enjoy such right of voting for any such city or borough as aforesaid, if his name shall have been omitted for two successive years from the register of such voters for such city or borough hereinafter directed to be made, unless he shall have been so omitted in consequence of his having received parochial relief within *twelve calendar months* next previous to the day of

in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any succeeding year.

Provided also, and be it enacted, that every person now having a right to vote for the bo-

rough of New Shoreham in respect of any freehold situate in the borough or parish of Horsham, and every person now having a right to vote for the borough of Cricklade in respect of any freehold situate in the borough or parish of Malmsbury, shall respectively retain such right of voting for the several boroughs of New Shoreham and Cricklade as defined by this Act, subject always to the provisions hereinbefore mentioned with regard to the right of voting for any borough in respect of freehold.

Provided nevertheless, and be it enacted, that, notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or borough (other than a city or town being a county of itself, in the election for which freeholders have a right to vote as hereinbefore mentioned), in respect of any estate or interest in any burgage tenement, annuity or freehold, which shall have been acquired by such person since the first day of *March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one*, unless the same shall have come to or been acquired by such person since that day, and previously to the passing of this Act, by descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, devise, or promotion to any benefice in a church, or by promotion to any office.

And be it enacted, that no person shall be entitled to be registered in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or in any succeeding year, as a voter in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or borough, who shall within *twelve calendar months* next previous to the *day of* in the said year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, or next previous to the last day of *July* in any such respective succeeding year, have received parochial relief.

And whereas it is expedient to form a register of all persons entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire, to serve in any future Parliament, and that for the purpose of forming such register, the overseers of every parish and township should annually make out lists in the manner hereinafter mentioned; be it therefore enacted, that the overseers of the poor of every parish and township shall, on the *day of* in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on the *twentieth day of June* in every succeeding year, cause to be fixed, on or near the doors of all the churches and chapels within such parish or township, or if there be no church or chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, a notice, according to the form numbered 1 in the schedule H to this Act annexed, requiring all persons who may be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of any property situate in such parish or township, to deliver or transmit to the said overseers, on

or before the *day of* in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the *twentieth day of July* in every succeeding year, a statement of their claim as such voters according to the form numbered 2 in the said schedule H; or to the like effect. Provided always, that after the formation of the register to be made in each year as hereinafter mentioned, no person, whose name shall be upon such register for the time being, shall be required thereafter to make any such claims as aforesaid, unless such person shall, since the formation of such register for the time being, have ceased to have the qualification or place of abode described in such register, for the time being.

And be it enacted, that the overseers of the poor of every parish and township shall, on or before the *day of* in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, make out, or cause to be made out, according to the form numbered 3, in the said schedule H, an alphabetical list of all persons who shall claim as aforesaid, to be inserted in such list as voters in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve for the county, or for the riding, parts or division of the county, wherein such parish or township lies, in respect of any lands or tenements situate wholly or in part within such parish or township; and that the said overseers shall, on or before the last day of *July*, in every succeeding year, make out, or cause to be made out, a like list, containing the names of all persons who shall be upon the register for the time being as such voters, and also the names of all persons who shall claim as aforesaid to be inserted in such last-mentioned list, as such voters; and in every list to be made by the overseers as aforesaid, the christian name and surname of every person shall be written at full length, together with the place of his abode, the nature of his qualification, and the name of the street, lane, or other description of the place where such lands or tenements may be situate, as the same are respectively set forth in his claim to vote; and the said overseers, if they shall have reasonable cause to believe that any person so claiming as aforesaid or whose name shall appear in the register for the time being, is not entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire for the county, or for the riding, parts, or division of the county, in which their parish or township is situate, shall have power to add the words "objected to" opposite the name of every such person, on the margin of such list; and the said overseers shall sign such list, and shall cause a sufficient number of copies of such list to be printed, and to be fixed on or near the doors of all the churches and chapels within their parish or township, or if there be no church or chapel therein, then to be fixed up in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, on the two Sundays next after such list shall have been made; and the said overseers shall likewise

keep a true copy of such list, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the two first weeks after such list shall have been made; provided always, that every precinct or place, whether extra-parochial or otherwise, which shall have no overseers of the poor, shall, for the purpose of making out such list as aforesaid, be deemed to be within the parish or township adjoining thereto, such parish or township being situate within the same county, or the same riding, parts, or division of a county, as such precinct or place; and if such precinct or place shall adjoin two or more parishes or townships, so situate as aforesaid, it shall be deemed to be within the least populous of such parishes or townships, according to the last census for the time being; and the overseers of the poor of every such parish or township shall insert in the list for their respective parish or township the names of all persons who shall claim as aforesaid, to be inserted therein, as voters in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve for the county, or for the riding, parts, or division of the county in which such precinct or place as aforesaid lies, in respect of any lands or tenements situate wholly or in part within such precinct or place.

And be it enacted, that every person who shall have claimed to be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire for any county, or any riding, parts, or division of a county, may object to any person as not being entitled to have his name retained on any such list of voters for such county, riding, parts, or division to be made out as aforesaid; and every person so objecting (save and except overseers objecting in the manner hereinbefore mentioned), shall, on or before the day of *the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the *twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give or cause to be given a notice in writing according to the form numbered 4, in the said schedule H, or to the like effect, to the overseers who shall have made out such list; and such persons shall also, on or before the said day of *the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the *twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give to the person objected to, or leave at his place of abode as described in such list, or send by the post, directed to him at such place of abode, a notice in writing according to the form numbered 5, in the said schedule H or to the like effect; and the overseers shall include the names of all persons so objected to in a list according to the form numbered 6, in the said schedule H; and shall cause copies of such list to be fixed on or near the doors of all the churches and chapels within their parish or township, or if there be no church or chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, on the two *Sundays* next preceding the day of *the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and the two *Sundays* next

preceding the *fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and the overseers shall likewise keep a copy of the names of all the persons so objected to, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the *ten* days next preceding the said day of *the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and the said *fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year.

And be it enacted, that on the day of *the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on the *twenty-ninth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, the overseers of every parish and township shall deliver the list of voters so made out as aforesaid, together with a written statement of the number of persons objected to by the overseers and by other persons, to the high constable or high constables of the hundred or other like district in which such parish or township is situate; and such high constable or high constables shall forthwith deliver all such lists, together with such statements as aforesaid, to the clerk of the peace of the county, riding, or parts, who shall forthwith make out an abstract of the number of persons objected to by the overseers and by other persons in each parish and township, and transmit the same to the barrister or barristers appointed as hereinafter appointed to revise such lists, in order that the said barrister or barristers may fix proper times and places for holding his or their courts for the revision of the said lists.

And be it enacted, that the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench for the time being, immediately after the *passing of this Act*, and in each succeeding year, in the month of July or August, shall nominate and appoint for Middlesex, and the senior Judge for the time being in the last commission of Assize for every other county, immediately after the *passing of this Act*, and in each succeeding year the senior Judge for the time being in the commission of Assize for every such other county, when travelling the summer circuit, shall nominate and appoint for every such county, or for each of the ridings, parts or divisions of such county (subject nevertheless to the approbation of the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, a barrister or barristers, to revise the list of voters in the election of a knight or knights of the shire; and such barrister or barristers so appointed as aforesaid, shall give public notice, as well by advertisement in some of the newspapers circulating within the county, riding, parts or division, as also by a notice to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation at the principal place of election for the county, riding, parts, or division (such last-mentioned notice to be given *three* days at the least before the commencement of his or their circuit), that he or they will make a circuit of the county, riding, parts, or division, for which he or they shall be so appointed, and

of the several times and places at which he or they will hold Courts for that purpose, such times being between the day of inclusive, and the day of inclusive, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and between the *fifteenth day of September* inclusive, and the *twenty-fifth day of October* inclusive, in every subsequent year; and he or they shall hold open courts for that purpose at the times and places so to be announced; and where two or more barristers shall be appointed for the same county, riding, parts, or division, they shall attend at the same places together; but shall sit apart from each other, and hold separate courts at the same time for the dispatch of business: Provided always, that no barrister so appointed as aforesaid, shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for *eighteen months* from the time of such his appointment for the county, riding, parts or division for which he shall be so appointed.

And be it enacted, that the clerk of the peace shall at the opening of the first court to be held by every such barrister for any county, or for any riding, parts or division of a county, produce or cause to be produced before him the several lists of voters for such county, riding, parts or division, which shall have been delivered to such clerk of the peace by the high constables as aforesaid; and the overseers of every parish and township who shall have made out the list of voters, shall attend the court to be held by every such barrister, at the place appointed for revising the lists relating to such parish or township respectively, and shall also deliver to such barrister a copy of the list of the persons objected to, so made out by them as aforesaid; and the said overseer shall answer upon oath all such questions as such barrister may put to them or any of them, touching any matter necessary for revising the list of voters; and every such barrister shall retain on the list of voters the names of all persons to whom no objection shall have been made by the overseers, or by any other person, in the manner herein before-mentioned; and he shall also retain on the list of voters the name of every person who shall have been objected to by any person other than the overseers, unless the party so objecting shall appear by himself or by some one in his behalf in support of such objection; and where the name of any person inserted in the list of voters shall have been objected to by the overseers, or by any other person, in the manner herein before-mentioned, and such person so objecting shall appear by himself or by some one on his behalf in support of such objection, every such barrister shall require the qualification of the person so objected to, to be proved, and in case the qualification of such person shall not be proved to the satisfaction of such barrister, or in case it shall be proved that such person is incapacitated by any law or statute for voting in the election of Members to serve in Parliament, such barrister shall expunge the name of every

such person from the lists; and he shall also expunge from the said lists the name of every person who shall be proved to him to be dead; and shall correct any mistake or supply any omission which shall be proved to him to have been made in any of the said lists in respect of the name, or place of abode, or nature of the qualification, or local description of the property, of any person who shall be included in any such list: Provided always, that no person's name shall be expunged from any such list, except in case of his death, or in case of his being objected to on the margin of the list by the overseers as aforesaid, unless such notice as is herein before required in that behalf shall have been given to the overseers, nor unless such notice as is herein before required in that behalf shall have been given to such person, or left at or sent to his place of abode.

And be it enacted, that the overseers of the poor of every parish and township either wholly or in part situate within any city or borough, or place sharing in the election for any city or borough, which shall return a member or members to serve in any future Parliament, shall, on or before the day of , in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the last day of *July* in each succeeding year, make out or cause to be made out, according to the form numbered 1, in the schedule marked 1 to this Act annexed, an alphabetical list of all persons who may be entitled, by virtue of this Act, to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for such city or borough, in respect of the occupation of premises of the clear yearly value of not less than *Ten Pounds* as herein-before-mentioned, situate wholly or in part within such parish or township, and another alphabetical list according to the form numbered 2 in the said schedule 1 of all other persons (except freemen) who may be entitled to vote in the election for such city or borough by virtue of any other right whatsoever; and in each of the said lists, the christian name and surname of every person shall be written at full length, together with the nature of his qualification; and where any person shall be entitled to vote in respect of any property, then the name of the street, lane, or other description of the place where such property may be situate shall be specified in the list; and where any person shall be entitled to vote otherwise than in respect of any property, then the name of the street, lane, or other description of the place of such person's abode shall be specified in the list: and the overseers shall sign each of such lists, and shall cause a sufficient number of copies of such lists to be printed and to be fixed on or near the doors of all the churches and chapels in their several parishes and townships, or if there be no church or chapel therein then to be fixed up in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively on the two Sundays next after such lists shall have been made,

and the said overseers shall likewise keep true copies of such lists, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the two first weeks after such lists shall have been made.

And be it enacted, that every precinct or place, whether extra-parochial or otherwise, having no overseers of the poor, which now is or hereafter may be within any city or borough, or within any place sharing in the election for any city or borough, shall, for the purpose of making out the list of voters for such city or borough, be deemed to be within the parish or township adjoining thereto, and situate wholly or in part within such city or borough, or within such place sharing in the election therewith; and if such precinct or place shall adjoin two or more parishes or townships so situate as aforesaid, it shall be deemed to be within the least populous of such parishes or townships according to the last census for the time being; and the overseers of every such parish or township shall insert in the list for their respective parish or township the names of all persons who may be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any such city or borough in respect of any property occupied by such persons within such city or borough, or within any place sharing in the election therewith, such property being situate wholly or in part within such precinct or place as aforesaid.

And be it enacted, that the town-clerk of every city or borough shall, on or before the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two,* and on or before the last day of *July* in each succeeding year, make out, or cause to be made out, according to the form numbered 3, in the said schedule 1, an alphabetical list of all the freemen of such city or borough who may be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for such city or borough, together with the respective places of their abode; and the town-clerk of every place sharing in the election for any city or borough shall, at the respective times aforesaid, make out, or cause to be made out, a like list of all the freemen of such place who may be entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for such city or borough; and every such town-clerk shall cause a copy of every such list to be fixed on or near the door of the Town Hall, or in some public and conspicuous situation within such respective city, borough, or place, as aforesaid, on the two Sundays next after such list shall have been made, and shall likewise keep a true copy of such list to be perused by any person without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the two first weeks after such list shall have been made; provided always, that where there shall be no town-clerk for such city, borough, or place, as aforesaid, or where the town-clerk shall be dead, or incapable of acting, all matters by this Act re-

quired to be done by and with regard to the town-clerk, shall be done by and with regard to the person executing duties similar to those of the town-clerk, and if there be no such person, then by and with regard to the chief civil officer of such city, borough, or place.

And be it enacted, that every person whose name shall have been omitted in any such list of voters for any city or borough, so to be made out as hereinbefore-mentioned, and who shall claim to have his name inserted therein, shall, on or before the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two,* and on or before the *twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give or cause to be given a notice in writing, according to the form numbered 4, in the said schedule 1, or to the like effect, to the overseers of that parish or township in the list whereof he shall claim to have his name inserted, or if he shall claim as a freeman of any city, or borough, or place sharing in the election therewith, then to the town clerk of such city, borough, or place; and every person whose name shall have been inserted in any list of voters for any city or borough, may object to any other person as not being entitled to have his name retained in any list of voters for the same city or borough, and every person so objecting shall, on or before the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two,* and on or before the *twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give, or cause to be given, a notice in writing according to the form numbered 5 in the said schedule 1, or to the like effect, to the overseers who shall have made out such list; or if the person objected to shall be inserted in the list of freemen of any city, borough, or place, as aforesaid, then to the town clerk of such city, borough, or place; and the overseers shall include the names of all persons so claiming, as aforesaid, in a list according to the form numbered 6 in the said schedule 1, and the names of all persons so objected to as aforesaid in a list according to the form numbered 7 in the said schedule 1, and shall cause copies of such two lists to be fixed on or near the doors of all the churches and chapels within their parish or township, or if there be no church or chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively, on the two Sundays next preceding the day of

*in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two,* and on the two Sundays next preceding the *fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and every town-clerk shall include the names of all persons so claiming as freemen in a list according to the form numbered 8, in the said schedule 1, and the names of all persons so objected to as freemen in a list according to the form numbered 9, in the said schedule 1, and shall cause copies of two such lists to be fixed on or near the door of the town-hall, or in some public and con-

euons situation, within his respective city, borough, or place as aforesaid, on the two Sundays hereinafore last mentioned in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and in every succeeding year respectively; and the overseers and town-clerks shall likewise keep a copy of the names of all the persons so claiming as aforesaid, and also a copy of the names of all persons so objected to, as aforesaid, to be perused by any persons without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the ten days next preceding the said day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and the *fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year, and shall deliver a copy of each of such lists to any person requiring the same on payment of *one shilling* for each copy.

And be it enacted, that for providing a list of such of the freemen of the city of London as are liverymen of the several companies entitled to vote in the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for the city of London, the returning officer or officers of the said city shall, on or before the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the last day of *July* in each succeeding year, issue precepts to the clerks of the said livery companies, requiring them forthwith to make out or cause to be made out, at the expense of the respective companies, an alphabetical list according to the form in schedule K, to this Act annexed, of the freemen of London, being liverymen of the said respective companies, and entitled to vote at such election; and every such clerk shall sign such list, and transmit the same, with two printed copies thereof, to such returning officer or officers, who shall forthwith fix one such copy in the Guildhall, and one in the Royal Exchange of the said city, there to remain *fourteen days*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and in every subsequent year; and the clerks of the said livery companies shall cause a sufficient number of such lists of freemen and liverymen of their respective companies to be printed at the expense of the respective companies, and shall keep the same, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the two first weeks after such lists shall have been printed; and every person whose name shall have been omitted in any such list of freemen and liverymen, and who shall claim to have his name inserted therein, shall, on or before the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the *twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give or cause to be given a notice in writing, according to the form numbered 1, in the said schedule K, or to the like effect, to the returning officer or officers, and to the clerk of that company in the list whereof he shall claim to have his name inserted; and the returning officer or officers shall include the names of all persons so claiming as aforesaid in a list according to the

form numbered 2, in the said schedule K, and shall cause such last-mentioned list to be fixed in the Guildhall and the Royal Exchange of the said city on the two Sundays next preceding the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on the two Sundays next preceding the *fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and the said returning officer or officers, and clerks of the said companies, shall likewise keep a copy of the names of all persons so claiming as aforesaid, to be perused by any person without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the ten days next preceding the said day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and the said *fifteenth* day of *September* in every succeeding year; and every person who shall object to any other person as not being entitled to have his name retained on any such livery list, shall, on or before the day of *in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and on or before the *twenty-fifth* day of *August* in every succeeding year, give to such person, or leave at his usual place of abode, a notice in writing, according to the form numbered 3, in the said schedule K, or to the like effect; and in the city of London the returning officer or officers shall take the poll or votes of such freemen of the said city, being liverymen of the several companies, as are entitled to vote at such election, in the Guildhall of the said city; and the said returning officer or officers shall not be required to provide any booth or compartments, but shall appoint or take one poll for the whole number of such liverymen at the same place.

And be it enacted, that the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench for the time being, immediately after the passing of this Act, and in each succeeding year in the month of *July* or *August*, shall nominate and appoint (subject nevertheless to the approbation of the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being) so many barristers as the said Lord Chief Justice shall deem necessary to revise the respective lists of voters for the City of Westminster, and for the several boroughs in the county of Middlesex; and that the senior Judge for the time being in the last Commission of Assize for every other county immediately after the passing of this Act, and in each succeeding year, the senior Judge for the time being in the Commission of Assize for every such other county, when travelling Summer Circuit, shall nominate and appoint (subject nevertheless to such approbation as aforesaid) so many barristers as the said Judge shall deem necessary, to revise the respective lists of voters, as well for the several cities and boroughs in every such county as for every city and town, and county of a town, next adjoining to any such city and the town and county of the town of *Wolverhampton* shall for this purpose



sidered as next adjoining to the county of York, and the town and county of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne as next adjoining to the county of Northumberland, and the city and county of the city of Bristol as next adjoining to the county of Somerset; and the said Lord Chief Justice and Judge respectively shall have power to nominate and appoint one or more barristers to revise the lists for the same city or borough or other place as aforesaid, or one barrister only, to revise the lists for several cities, boroughs, and other places, as aforesaid: provided always, that no barrister so appointed as aforesaid shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for *eighteen months* from the time of his appointment for any city, borough, or other place as aforesaid, for which he shall be so appointed: provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the same barrister from being appointed to revise the lists for two or more counties, ridings, parts or divisions, or for any county, riding, part or division, and any one or more of the cities or boroughs therein.

And be it enacted, that the barrister or barristers so appointed to revise the lists of voters for any city or borough shall hold an open court or courts for that purpose, within such city or borough, and also within every place sharing in the election for such city or borough, at some time between the day of inclusive, and the day of inclusive, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and between the *fifteenth* day of *September* inclusive, and the *twenty-fifth* day of *October* inclusive in every succeeding year, having first given *three* clear days' notice of the holding of such court or courts, to be fixed on the doors of all the churches and chapels within such city, borough, or place, respectively; or if there be no church or chapel therein, then to be fixed in some public and conspicuous situation within the same respectively; and the overseers or town-clerks who shall have made out the lists of voters as aforesaid, and in the case of the city of London, the returning officer or officers of the said city shall, at the opening of the first court to be held by every such barrister for revising such lists, produce their respective lists before him; and the said overseers and town-clerk shall also deliver to such barrister a copy of the list of the persons objected to, so made out by them as aforesaid; and the clerks of the several livery companies of the city of London, and the town-clerk of every other city or borough, or place, sharing in the election therewith, and the several overseers within every city, borough, or place, as aforesaid, shall attend the court to be held by every such barrister for any such city, borough, or place, as aforesaid, and shall answer upon oath all such questions as such barrister may put to them or any of them, touching any matter necessary for revising the lists of voters; and every such barrister shall insert in such lists the name of every person who shall be proved to his satisfaction to be entitled to vote in the

election of a member or members of Parliament to serve for such city or borough; and such barristers shall retain on the lists of voters for such city or borough the names of all persons to whom no objection shall have been made in the manner hereinafter mentioned; and he shall also retain on the said lists the name of every person who shall have been objected to by any person, unless the party so objecting shall appear by himself, or by some one on his behalf, in support of such objection; and where the name of any person inserted in the list of voters for such city or borough shall have been objected to in the manner hereinafter-mentioned, and the person so objecting shall appear by himself, or by some one on his behalf, in support of such objection, every such barrister shall require the qualification of the person so objected to to be proved; and in case the qualification of such person shall not be proved to the satisfaction of such barrister, or in case it shall be proved that such person is incapacitated by any law or statute from voting in the election of members to serve in Parliament, such barrister shall expunge the name of every such person from the said lists; and he shall also expunge from the said lists the name of every person who shall be proved to him to be dead; and shall correct any mistake, or supply any omission which shall be proved to him to have been made in any of the said lists in respect of the name or place of abode, or nature of the qualification, or local description of the property of any person who shall be included in any such list; provided always, that no person's name shall be inserted by such barrister in any such list for any city or borough, or shall be expunged therefrom, except in the case of death, unless such notice shall have been given as is herein before required in each of the said cases.

And be it enacted, that the overseers of every parish or township shall, for their assistance in making out the lists in pursuance of this Act (upon request made by them, or any of them, at any reasonable time between the day of and the day of , in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and between the *first* day of *June* and the *last* day of *July* in any succeeding year, to any assessor or collector of taxes, or to any other officer having the custody of any duplicate or tax assessment for such parish or township), have free liberty to inspect any such duplicate or tax assessment, and to extract from thence such particulars as may appear to such overseer or overseers to be necessary; and every barrister appointed under this Act shall have power to require any assessor, collector of taxes, or other officer having the custody of any duplicate or tax assessment, or any overseer or overseers having the custody of any poor rate, to produce the same respectively before him at any court to be held by him, for the purpose of assisting him in revising the lists to be by him revised in pursuance of this Act.

And be it enacted, that every barrister holding any court under this Act as aforesaid, shall have power to adjourn the same from time to time, and from any one place to any other place or places within the same county, riding, parts, or division, or within the same city or borough, or within any place sharing in the election for such city or borough, but so as that no such adjourned court for revising the lists to be made in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, shall be held after the *day of* in the said year, and that no such adjourned court for revising the lists to be made in any succeeding year shall be held after the *twenty-fifth day of October* in such respective year; and every such barrister shall have power to administer an oath (or in the case of a Quaker or Moravian, an affirmation) to all persons claiming to be inserted in, or making objection to the omission of any name in the lists for any city or borough, or making objection to the insertion of any name in the lists for any county, riding, parts, or division, or for any city or borough, and to all persons objected against in any of such lists, and to all persons claiming to have any mistake in any of such lists corrected, and to all witnesses who may be tendered on either side; and that if any person taking any oath or making any affirmation under this Act shall wilfully swear or affirm falsely, such person shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and shall be punished accordingly; and that at the holding of such respective courts the parties shall not be attended by counsel; and that every such barrister shall, upon the hearing in open court, finally determine upon the validity of such claims and objections, and shall for that purpose have the same powers, and proceed in the same manner (except where otherwise directed by this Act) as the returning officer of any county, city, or borough, according to the laws and usages now observed at elections; and such barrister shall in open court write his initials against the names respectively struck out or inserted, and against any part of the said lists in which any mistakes shall have been corrected, and shall sign his name to every page of the several lists so settled.

And be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for every barrister appointed by virtue of this Act to require, by summons under his hand, the attendance of any person as a witness before him, at any court to be held by him by virtue of this Act; and if any person so summoned shall not appear before such barrister, and it shall be proved on oath that he was personally summoned, and in case he shall be required to travel more than five miles from his usual place of residence, then that his reasonable expenses were tendered to him, it shall be lawful for such barrister to issue his warrant to compel the appearance of such person as a witness; and if any person appearing or brought as a witness before such barrister shall refuse to be sworn, or being a Quaker or Mo-

ravian, refuse to make his affirmation, or being sworn, or having made his affirmation, shall refuse to answer such questions as may be lawfully put to him by such barrister, touching the matter pending before him, it shall be lawful for such barrister to commit such person to the common jail or house of correction for *seven days*, unless he shall in the mean time submit to be sworn, or to make his affirmation, or to give evidence, as the case may be.

And be it enacted, that, notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, if it shall be made to appear to the Lord Chief Justice, or Judge, who shall have appointed any barrister or barristers under this Act, to revise the list of voters, that by reason of the death, illness, or absence of any such barrister or barristers, or by reason of the insufficiency of the number of such barristers, or from any other cause, such lists cannot be revised within the period directed by this Act, it shall be lawful for such Lord Chief Justice or Judge, and he is hereby required, to appoint one or more barrister or barristers to act in the place of or in addition to the barrister or barristers originally appointed; and such barrister or barristers so subsequently appointed shall have the same powers and authorities in every respect as if they had been originally appointed by such Lord Chief Justice or Judge.

And be it enacted, that the lists of voters for each county, or for the riding, parts, or division of each county, so signed as aforesaid, by any such barrister, shall be forthwith transmitted by him to the clerk of the peace of the county, riding, or parts for which such barrister shall have been appointed, and the clerk of the peace shall keep the said lists among the records of the sessions, arranged with every hundred in alphabetical order, and with every parish and township within such hundred likewise in alphabetical order, and shall forthwith cause the said lists to be fairly and truly copied in the same order in a book to be by him provided for that purpose, and shall prefix to every name so copied out its proper number, beginning the numbers from the first names and continuing them in a regular series down to the last name, and shall complete and deliver such book on or before the *day of*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and the like book on or before the last day of *October* in every succeeding year, to the sheriff of the county or his under-sheriff, who shall safely keep the same, and shall at the expiration of his office deliver over the same to the succeeding sheriff or his under-sheriff; and the lists of voters for each city or borough so signed as aforesaid by any such barrister shall be forthwith delivered by him to the returning officer for such city or borough, who shall safely keep the same, and shall cause the said lists to be fairly and truly copied in a book to be by him provided for that purpose, with every name therein numbered according to

the directions aforesaid, and shall cause such books to be completed on before the last day of *October*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and the like book to be completed on or before the last day of *October* in every succeeding year, and shall deliver over such book, together with the lists, at the expiration of his office, to the person succeeding him in such office, and every such book, to be so completed on or before the last day of *October*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, shall be deemed the register of the electors to vote, after the end of this present Parliament, in the choice of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for the county, riding, parts, or division of a county, city or borough to which such register shall relate, at any election which may take place after the said day of *October*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and before the first day of *November*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three*; and every such book to be so completed on or before the last day of *October*, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three*, and in every succeeding year, shall be the register of electors to vote at any election, which shall take place between the first day of *November* inclusive, in the year wherein such respective register shall have been made, and the first day of *November* in the succeeding year.

And be it enacted, that the overseers of every parish and township shall cause to be printed copies of the lists so by them to be made in the year *one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two*, and in every succeeding year, and shall deliver such copies to all persons applying for the same, on payment of a reasonable price for each copy; and the monies arising from the sale thereof, shall be accounted for by the said overseers, and applied to the use of their parish or township; and the clerks of the peace shall cause to be printed copies of the registers of the electors for their respective counties, ridings, or parts, or for the divisions of their respective counties; and the returning officer of every city or borough shall cause to be printed copies of the register of the electors for such city or borough; and every such clerk of the peace, and every such returning officer, shall deliver such respective copies to all persons applying for the same, on payment of a reasonable price for each copy; and the monies arising from the sale of all such copies shall be accounted for to the treasurer of the county, riding, or parts, at whose expense the same shall have been printed.

And be it enacted, that the expenses incurred by the overseers of any parish or township, in making out, printing and publishing the lists and notices directed by this Act, and all other expenses incurred by them in carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, shall be defrayed out of the money collected or to be collected for the relief of the poor in such parish or township; and that all expenses incurred by the returning officer of any city or

borough in causing the lists of the electors for such city or borough to be copied out and made into a register, and in causing copies of such register to be printed, shall be defrayed by the treasurer of the county, riding or parts in which such city or borough shall be situate, out of any public money in his hands, and he shall be allowed all such payments in his accounts; and that all such expenses incurred by the returning officer of any city or town, being a county of itself, and having a rate or other similar fund in the nature of a county rate, shall be defrayed out of such rate or fund by the treasurer or other person charged with the collection or disbursement thereof, who shall be allowed all such payments in his accounts: and that all expenses incurred by the clerk of the peace of any county, riding or parts, in causing the lists of the electors for such county, riding or parts, or for any division of such county to be copied out and made into a register, and in causing copies of such register to be printed, and in otherwise carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, shall be defrayed by the treasurer of such county, riding or parts, out of any public money in his hands, and he shall be allowed all such payments in his accounts.

And be it enacted, that every barrister appointed to revise any lists of voters under this Act, shall be paid at the rate of five guineas for every day that he shall be so employed, over and above his travelling and other expenses; and every such barrister, after the termination of his last sitting, shall lay or cause to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for the time being, a statement of the number of days during which he shall have been so employed, and an account of the travelling and other expenses incurred by him in respect of such employment; and the said Lords Commissioners shall make an order for the amount to be paid to such barrister. [This clause is printed in italics in the original copy.]

And be it enacted, that in all elections whatever of members to serve in any future Parliament, no inquiry shall be permitted at the time of polling, as to the right of any person to vote, except only whether the person claiming to vote be the same whose name appears in the register of voters for the current year, and whether such person's qualification for voting still continues, and whether such person has previously voted at the same election, all which inquiries the returning officer or his deputy or deputies shall, if required on behalf of any candidate, make from each voter at the time of his tendering his vote, and not after, and shall also, if so required as aforesaid, then and there administer an oath (or in case of a Quaker or Moravian, an affirmation) to such voter, in the following form, that is to say:

You, A B, do swear (or, being a Quaker or Moravian, do affirm) that you are the same A B whose name appears on the register of voters for this year for the county of

[or, the riding, parts, of division of the county of or the city or borough of as the case may be], and that you still have the same qualification for which your name was inserted in the said register, that is to say [specifying in each case the nature of the qualification as described in the register], and that you have not before voted either here or elsewhere at the present election for the said county [or, for the said riding, parts, or division of the said county, or for the said city or borough, as the case may be].

“So help you God.”

And no elector shall hereafter, at any such election, be required to take any oath or affirmation, except as aforesaid, in proof of his freehold, residence, age, or other his qualification or right to vote, any law or statute, local or general, to the contrary notwithstanding; and no person claiming to vote at any such election shall be excluded from voting thereat, except by reason of its appearing to the returning officer or his respective deputy that the person so claiming to vote is not the same person whose name appears in such register, or that such person's qualification for voting does not still continue, or that such person has previously polled at the same election, or by reason of such person refusing to take the said oath, or make the said affirmation, or to take any other oath, or make any other affirmation required by any other Act, and not hereby dispensed with; and no scrutiny shall hereafter be allowed by or before any returning officer, with regard to any votes given or tendered at any election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that any person, whose name shall have been omitted from any register of voters in consequence of the decision of the barrister who shall have revised the lists from which such registers shall have been formed, may tender his vote at any election at which such register shall be in force, stating, at the same time, the name or names of the candidate or candidates for whom he tendered such vote; and the returning officer, or his deputy, shall enter upon the poll-book every vote so tendered, distinguishing the same from the votes admitted and allowed at such election.

Provided also, and be it enacted, that, upon petition to the House of Commons, complaining of an undue election or return of any member or members to serve in Parliament, any petitioner shall be at liberty to impeach the correctness of the register of voters in force at the time of such election, by proving that, in consequence of the decision of the barrister who shall have revised the list of voters from which such register shall have been formed, the name of any person who voted at such election was improperly inserted or retained in such register, or the name of any person who tendered his vote at such election, improperly

omitted from such register; and the Select Committee appointed for the trial of such petition shall alter the poll taken at such election according to the truth of the case, and shall report their determination thereupon to the house, and the house shall thereupon carry such determination into effect, and the return shall be amended, or the election declared void, as the case may be, and the register corrected accordingly, or such other order shall be made as to the house shall seem proper, and in case of corruption, partiality, or wilful misconduct on the part of such barrister, the said committee may order such sum to be paid by him to the petitioner as such committee shall think reasonable.

And be it enacted, that the sheriffs of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and the sheriffs of the counties divided by this Act, shall duly cause proclamation to be made of the several days fixed for the election of a knight or knights of the shire for the several ridings, parts, and divisions of their respective counties, and shall preside at the same by themselves or their lawful deputies.

And be it enacted, that at every contested election of a knight or knights to serve in any future Parliament for any county, or for any riding, parts or division of a county, the polling shall commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon of the next day but two after the day fixed for the election, unless such next day but two shall be Saturday or Sunday, and then on the Monday following, at the principal place of election, and also at the several places to be appointed as hereinafter directed for taking polls; and such polling shall continue for two days only, such two days being successive days; (that is to say) for seven hours on the first day of polling, and for eight hours on the second day of polling; and no poll shall be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it enacted, that the justices of the peace for every county in England and Wales, assembled at the quarter sessions to be holden next after the passing of this Act, or at some special sessions to be appointed by them so assembled as aforesaid (and of which there shall be given, at least, ten days' public notice), shall divide their respective counties and ridings, parts and divisions of counties into convenient districts for polling, and shall appoint in each district a convenient place for taking the poll at all elections of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament, in such manner that no person shall have to travel more than fifteen miles from the property in respect of which he claims to vote; provided that no county, or riding, parts or division of county, shall have more than fifteen districts and respective places appointed for taking the poll for such county, riding, parts or division; and that the justices of the peace for every county in England and Wales at the quarter sessions aforesaid shall have power to appoint (if they shall so think

(fit) other and different districts and places for polling, at the end of every two years from the respective preceding appointment: to be made for that purpose; and that a list of the districts and places for polling, named in the first and each succeeding appointment under this Act shall be lodged with the clerk of the peace of each county, who shall forthwith cause copies of such list to be printed, and to be fixed on or near the doors of the churches and chapels within each county, or the ridings, parts or divisions of each county, according to the last appointment; and the polls at every election shall be taken within such districts and at such places as shall have been named for that purpose in the appointment in force at the time of such elections.

And be it enacted, that at every contested election for any county or riding, parts, or division of a county, the sheriff, under-sheriff, or sheriff's deputy, shall, if required thereto by or on behalf of any candidate on the day fixed for the election, and if not so required, may, if it shall appear to him expedient, cause to be erected a reasonable number of booths for taking the poll at the principal place of election, and also at each of the polling places so to be appointed as aforesaid, and shall cause to be affixed on the most conspicuous part of each of the said booths the names of the several parishes, townships, and places, for which such booth is respectively allotted; and no person shall be admitted to vote at any such election in respect of any property situate in any parish, township, or place, for which any booth is allotted, except at the booth so allotted; and in case any parish, township, or place shall happen not to be included in any of the districts to be appointed by the justices of the peace as aforesaid, the votes in respect of property situate in any parish, township, or place so omitted, shall be taken at the principal place of election for the county or riding, parts or division of the county, as the case may be.

And be it enacted, that the sheriff shall have power to appoint deputies to preside, and clerks to take the poll at the principal place of election, and also at the several places appointed for taking the poll for any county, or any riding, parts, or division of a county; and that the poll-clerks employed at those several places shall at the close of each day's poll inclose and seal their several books, and shall publicly deliver them, so inclosed and sealed, to the sheriff, under-sheriff, or sheriff's deputy, presiding at such poll, who shall give a receipt for the same, and shall, on the commencement of the poll on the second day, deliver them back, so inclosed and sealed, to the persons from whom he shall have received them; and on the final close of the poll, every such deputy who shall have received any such poll-books shall forthwith deliver or transmit the same, so inclosed and sealed, to the sheriff, or his under-sheriff, who shall receive and keep all the poll-books unopened until the re-assembly of the court on the day next but

one after the close of the poll, unless such next day but one shall be Sunday, and then on the Monday following, when he shall openly break the seals thereon, and cast up the number of votes as they appear on the said several books, and shall openly declare the state of the poll, and shall make proclamation of the member or members chosen not later than two o'clock in the afternoon of the said day.

And be it enacted, that at every contested election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or borough in England, except the borough of Monmouth, the poll shall commence on the day fixed for the election, or on the day next following, or at the latest on the third day, unless any of the said days be Saturday or Sunday, and then on the Monday following, the particular day for the commencement of the poll to be fixed by the returning officer, and such polling shall continue for two days only, such two days being successive days; (that is to say), for seven hours on the first day of polling, and for eight hours on the second day of polling; and that the poll shall on no account be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of such second day; any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it enacted, that at every contested election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for any city or borough in England, except the borough of Monmouth, the returning officer shall, if required thereto by or on behalf of any candidate, on the day fixed for the election, and if not so required, may, if it shall appear to him expedient, cause to be erected for taking the poll at such election different booths for different parishes, districts, or parts of such city or borough, which booths may be situated either in one place or in several places, and shall be so divided and allotted into compartments as to the returning officer shall seem most convenient, so that no greater number than six hundred shall be required to poll at any one compartment; and the returning officer shall appoint a clerk to take the poll at each compartment, and shall cause to be affixed on the most conspicuous part of each of the said booths the names of the several parishes, districts, and parts for which such booth is respectively allotted; and no person shall be admitted to vote at any such election except at the booth allotted for the parish, district, or part wherein the property may be situate in respect of which he claims to vote, or wherein his place of abode as described in the register may be; but in case no booth shall happen to be provided for any particular parish, district, or part as aforesaid, the votes of persons voting in respect of property situate in any parish, district, or part so omitted, or having their places of abode therein, may be taken at any of the said booths; and the votes of free men residing out of the limits of the city or borough, but within seven statute miles thereof, may be taken at any of the said booths, and public notice of the situation, division, and

allotment of the different booths shall be given *two days* before the commencement of the poll, by the returning officer; and in case the booths shall be situated in different places, the returning officer may appoint a deputy to preside at each place; and at every such election the poll-clerks at the close of each day's poll shall enclose and seal their several poll-books, and shall publicly deliver them so enclosed and sealed to the returning officer or his deputy, who shall give a receipt for the same, and shall, on the commencement of the poll on the second day, deliver them back so enclosed and sealed, to the persons from whom he shall have received the same; and every deputy so receiving any such poll-books, on the final close of the poll, shall forthwith deliver or transmit the same, so enclosed and sealed, to the returning officer, who shall receive and keep all the poll-books unopened until the following day, unless such day be Sunday, and then till the Monday following, when he shall openly break the seals thereon, and cast up the number of votes as they appear on the said several books, and shall openly declare the state of the poll, and make proclamation of the member or members chosen not later than *two o'clock* in the afternoon of the said day; provided always, that the returning officer, or his lawful deputy, may, if he think fit, declare the final state of the poll, and proceed to make the return immediately after the poll shall have been lawfully closed: provided also, that no nomination shall be made, or election holden, of any member for any city or borough, in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that so far as relates to the several boroughs of New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, the justices of the peace of the several counties in which the said boroughs are respectively situate, at the quarter sessions to be holden next after the *passing of this Act*, shall divide the said several boroughs into convenient districts for polling, and shall appoint in each district a convenient place for taking the poll at all elections for members to serve in any future Parliament for each of the said boroughs; and that the justices of the peace for each of the said counties, assembled at the quarter sessions, shall have power to appoint (if they shall so think fit) other and different districts and places for polling at the end of every two years from the respective preceding appointment to be made for that purpose; and that a list of the districts and places for polling named in the first and in each succeeding appointment shall be lodged with the clerk of the peace of the respective county, who shall forthwith cause copies of such list to be printed, and to be fixed on the doors of the several churches and chapels within the respective boroughs; and the polls at every election for each of the said boroughs shall be taken within such districts and at such places respectively as shall be named in the appointment in force at the time of such election.

And be it enacted, that nothing in this Act contained shall prevent any sheriff or other returning officer, or the lawful deputy of any returning officer, from closing the poll previous to the expiration of the time fixed by this Act, in any case where the same might have been lawfully closed before the *passing of this Act*; and that where the proceedings at any election shall be interrupted or obstructed by any riot or open violence, the sheriff or other returning officer, or the lawful deputy of any returning officer, shall not for such cause finally close the poll, but shall adjourn the same until the following day, or for some other convenient time, as the occasion may require, and, if necessary, shall further adjourn the same until such interruption or obstruction shall have ceased, when the returning officer or his deputy shall again proceed to take the poll: and any day whereon the poll shall have been so adjourned shall not be reckoned one of the two days of polling at such election within the meaning of this Act.

And be it enacted, that from and after the end of this present Parliament, all booths erected for the convenience of taking polls shall be erected at the joint and equal expense of the several candidates, and the same shall be erected by contract with the candidates, if they shall think fit to make such contract, or if they shall not make such contract, then the same shall be erected by the sheriff or other returning officer, at the expense of the several candidates as aforesaid; and that all deputies appointed by the sheriff or other returning officer shall be paid each *two guineas* by the day, and all clerks employed in taking the poll shall be paid each *one guinea* by the day, at the expense of the candidates at such election: provided always, that if any person shall be proposed without his consent, then the person so proposing him shall be liable to defray his share of the said expenses in like manner as if he had been a candidate: provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the candidates or any sheriff or other returning officer from using or hiring any one or more houses or other buildings for the purpose of taking the poll therein, subject always to the same regulations, provisions, and liabilities in every respect as heretofore mentioned with regard to booths for taking the poll.

And be it enacted, that the sheriff or other returning officer shall, before the day fixed for the election, cause to be made for the use of each booth or other polling place at such election, a true copy of the register of voters, and shall under his hand certify every such copy to be true.

And be it enacted, that every deputy of a sheriff or other returning officer shall have the same power of administering the oaths and affirmations required by law, and of appointing commissioners for administering such oaths and affirmations as may by law be administered by commissioners, as the sheriff or other returning officer has by virtue of this

or any other Act, and subject to the same regulations and provisions in every respect as such sheriff or other returning officer.'

And be it enacted, that from and after the end of this present Parliament, every person who shall have a right to vote in the election of a Member for the borough of Monmouth, in respect of the towns of Newport or Usk, shall give his vote at Newport or Usk respectively, before the deputy for each of such towns, whom the returning officer of the borough of Monmouth is hereby authorised and required to appoint; and every person who shall have a right to vote in the election of a Member for any shire, town or borough, in respect of any place named in the first column of the schedule marked F to this Act annexed, shall give his vote at such place before the deputy for such place, whom the returning officer of the shire, town or borough, is hereby authorised and required to appoint; and every person who shall have a right to vote in the election of a Member for the borough composed of the towns of Swansea, Lougher, Neath, Aberavon, and Kenfig, shall give his vote at the town in respect of which he shall be entitled to vote; (that is to say), at Swansea before the portreeve of Swansea, and at each of the other towns before the deputy for such town, whom the said portreeve is hereby authorised and required to appoint; and at every contested election for the borough of Monmouth, or for any shire, town or borough named in the second column of the said schedule F, or for the borough composed of the said five towns, the polling shall commence on the day fixed for the respective election, as well at Monmouth as at Newport and Usk respectively, and as well at the shire town or borough as at each of the places sharing in the election therewith respectively, and as well at Swansea, as at each of the four other towns respectively; and such polling shall continue for two days only, such two days being successive days, except where Sunday shall intervene; (that is to say), for seven hours on the first day of polling, and for eight hours on the second day of polling, and that the polling shall on no account be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of such second day; and the returning officer of the borough of Monmouth shall give to the deputies for Newport and Usk respectively, and the returning officer of every shire town or borough named in the second column of the said schedule F, shall give to the deputy for each of the places sharing in the election for such shire town or borough, notice of the day fixed for each respective election, and shall, before the day fixed for such respective election, cause to be made, and to be delivered to every such deputy, a true copy of the register of voters for the borough of Monmouth, or for each shire, town or borough, as the case may be, and shall under his hand certify every such copy to be true; and the portreeve of the town of Swansea shall give notice of the day of election to the deputy for each of the

towns of Lougher, Neath, Aberavon, and Kenfig, and shall in like manner cause to be made, and to be delivered to every such deputy, a true and certified copy of the register of voters for the borough composed of the said five towns; and the respective deputies for Newport and Usk, and for the respective places named in the first column of the said schedule F, as well as for the towns of Lougher, Neath, Aberavon and Kenfig, shall respectively take, and conduct the poll, and deliver or transmit the poll-books in the same manner as the deputies of the returning officers of the cities and boroughs in England are heretofore directed to do, and shall have the same powers, and perform the same duties in every respect, as are respectively conferred and imposed on the said deputies by this Act.

And be it enacted, that all laws, statutes, and usages now in force respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, shall be and remain, and are hereby declared to be and remain in full force, and shall apply to the election of members to serve in Parliament for all the places hereby empowered to return Members, as fully and effectually as if those places had heretofore returned members, except so far as any of the said laws, statutes, or usages are repealed or altered by this Act, or are inconsistent with the provisions thereof.

And be it enacted, that if any sheriff, returning officer, barrister, overseer, or any person whatsoever, shall wilfully contravene or disobey the provisions of this Act, or any of them, with respect to any matter or thing which such sheriff, returning officer, barrister, overseer, or other person is hereby required to do, he shall for such his offence be liable to be sued in an action of debt in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, for the penal sum of *five hundred pounds*, and the Jury before whom such action shall be tried may find their verdict for the full sum of *five hundred pounds*, or for any less sum which the said Jury shall think it just that he should pay for such offence; and the defendant in such action being convicted shall pay such penal sum so awarded, with full costs of suit, to any party who may sue for the same; without prejudice, however, to the right of any party grieved by the same misconduct of such sheriff, returning officer, barrister, overseer, or other person, to recover such damages in an action on the case, for a false return or any other grievance, as he may be entitled to at common law, or by virtue of any statute now in force.

And be it enacted, that if any person named in any register required to be made under this Act, but who at the time of any election shall be in the enjoyment of any office by law disqualifying him from giving his vote in the election of members to serve in Parliament, shall presume to vote in such election, he shall be liable to all penalties and forfeitures

to which he would be subject for the said offence by any law in force at the time of such election, in case this Act had not been passed; and in case of a petition to the House of Commons for altering the return or setting aside the election in which such person shall have voted, his vote shall be struck off by the committee, and such sum shall be by him paid to any petitioner as to such committee shall seem just.

And be it enacted, that if any person shall falsely and deceitfully assume the name or character of any other person whose name shall be inserted in any register required to be made under this Act, and shall thereby vote or attempt to vote as and for such other person in the election of any member to serve in Parliament; or if any person, after having voted at any election shall, again vote or attempt again to vote at the same election, every person so offending shall be guilty of a *misdeemeanour*, and being convicted thereof, shall be for ever afterwards disqualified from voting in any election whatever of any member to serve in Parliament, and shall be liable to such fine, not exceeding *fifty pounds*, or to such imprisonment not exceeding *six months*, as the court before whom he shall be convicted shall think fit; and in case of a petition to the House of Commons for altering the return or setting aside the election in which such person shall have voted, his vote shall be struck off by the committee, and such sum shall be by him paid to any petitioner as to such committee shall seem just.

And be it enacted, that where the committee appointed to try the merits of any petition complaining of an undue election or return of a member or members to serve in Parliament, shall award any sum to be paid in any of the cases mentioned in this Act, such sum shall be recovered in the same manner as costs are directed to be recovered by virtue of the Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of King George the Fourth, intituled, "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the trial of controverted Elections, or Returns of Member to serve in Parliament."

And be it enacted, that all writs to be issued for the election of members to serve in all future Parliaments, and all mandates, precepts, instruments, proceedings, and notices consequent upon such writs, shall be and the same are hereby authorised to be framed and expressed in such manner and form as may be necessary for the carrying the provisions of this act into effect; any law, statute, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to or in any wise affect the election of members to serve in Parliament for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or shall entitle any person to vote in the election of members to serve in Parliament for the city of Oxford or town of Cambridge, in respect of the occupation of any chambers or premises in any of the colleges or halls of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge.

And be it enacted, that throughout this Act, wherever the words "city or borough," "cities or boroughs," may occur, those words shall be construed to include, except there be something in the subject or context manifestly repugnant to such construction, all towns corporate, cinque ports, districts, or places within England and Wales, which shall be entitled, after this Act shall have passed, to return a member or members to serve in Parliament, other than counties at large, and ridings, parts and divisions of counties at large, and shall also include the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and the words "returning officer" shall apply to any person or persons to whom, by virtue of his or their office, either under the present Act, or under any former law, custom, or statute, the execution of any writ or precept doth or shall belong for the election of a member or members to serve in Parliament, by whatever name or title such person or persons may be called; and the words "parish or township" shall extend to every parish, township, vill, hamlet, district or place maintaining its own poor; and the words "overseers of the poor" shall extend to all persons who by virtue of any office or appointment shall execute the duties of overseers of the poor, by whatever name or title such persons may be called, and in whatsoever manner they may be appointed; and that all provisions in this Act relative to any matters to be done by or with regard to justices of the peace for counties, or sessions of the peace for counties, or clerks of the peace for counties, or treasurers of counties, shall extend to the justices, sessions, clerks of the peace, and treasurers of the several Ridings of Yorkshire and parts of Lincolnshire; and that all the said respective justices, sessions, and clerks of the peace shall have power to do the several matters required by this Act, as well within places of exclusive jurisdiction as without; and that no misnomer or inaccurate description of any person or place named or described in any schedule to this Act annexed, or in any list or register of voters, or in any notice required by this Act, shall in any wise prevent or abridge the operation of this Act, with respect to such person or place, provided that such person or place shall be so designated in such schedule, list, register, or notice, as to be commonly understood.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that if a dissolution of the present Parliament shall take place after the passing of this Act, and before the day of in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, in such case such persons shall be entitled to vote in the election of members to serve in a new Parliament for any county, or for any riding, parts or division of a county, or for any city or borough, as would be entitled to be inserted in the respective lists of voters for the same, directed to be made under this Act, if the day of election had been the day for making out such respective lists; and such persons shall be entitled to vote in such elec-



tion, although they may not be registered according to the provisions of this Act, anything herein contained notwithstanding; and the polling at such election for any county, or for any riding, parts, or division of a county, may be continued for *fifteen* days, and the polling at such election for any city or borough, may be continued for *eight* days, anything herein contained notwithstanding.

#### SCHEDULES TO WHICH THE FOREGOING ACT REFERS.

##### SCHEDULE (A).

Aldborough, Yorkshire.  
 Aldeburgh, Suffolk.  
 Amersham, Buckinghamshire.  
 Appleby, Westmoreland.  
 Bedwin (Great), Wiltshire.  
 Beernstou, Devonshire.  
 Bishops Castle, Shropshire.  
 Blechingly, Surrey.  
 Boroughbridge, Yorkshire.  
 Bossiney, Cornwall.  
 Brackley, Northamptonshire.  
 Bramber, Sussex.  
 Callington, Cornwall.  
 Camelford, Cornwall.  
 Castle Rising, Norfolk.  
 Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire.  
 Downton, Wiltshire.  
 Dunwich, Suffolk.  
 Fowey, Cornwall.  
 Gatton, Surrey.  
 Griusterl (East), Sussex.  
 Haselmere, Surrey.  
 Hedon, Yorkshire.  
 Heytesbury, Wiltshire.  
 Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire.  
 Hindon, Wiltshire.  
 Ilchester, Somersetshire.  
 Looe (East), Cornwall.  
 Looe (West), Cornwall.  
 Lostwithiel, Cornwall.  
 Luggershall, Wiltshire.  
 Milborne Port, Somersetshire.  
 Minehead, Somersetshire.  
 Newport, Cornwall.  
 Newton, Lancashire.  
 Newtown, Isle of Wight.  
 Okehampton, Devonshire.  
 Orford, Suffolk.  
 Plympton, Devonshire.  
 Queenborough, Kent.  
 Romney (New), Kent.  
 St. Germain's, Cornwall.  
 St. Maw's, Cornwall.  
 St. Michael's, or Midshall, Cornwall.  
 Saltash, Cornwall.  
 Old Sarum, Wiltshire.  
 Seaford, Sussex.  
 Steyning, Sussex.  
 Stockbridge, Hampshire.  
 Tregony, Cornwall.  
 Wendover, Buckinghamshire.  
 Weobly, Herefordshire.  
 Whitchurch, Hampshire.  
 Wicheleson, Sussex.

Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire.  
 Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.

##### SCHEDULE (B).

Arundel, Sussex.  
 Ashburton, Devonshire.  
 Calne, Wiltshire.  
 Christchurch, Hampshire.  
 Clitheroe, Lancashire.  
 Dartmouth, Devonshire.  
 Droitwich, Worcestershire.  
 Eye, Suffolk.  
 Grimsby (Great), Lincolnshire.  
 Helston, Cornwall.  
 Horsham, Sussex.  
 Hythe, Kent.  
 Launceston, Cornwall.  
 Liskeard, Cornwall.  
 Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire.  
 Malmesbury, Wiltshire.  
 Midhurst, Sussex.  
 Morpeth, Northumberland.  
 Northallerton, Yorkshire.  
 Petersfield, Hampshire.  
 Reigate, Surrey.  
 Rye, Sussex.  
 St. Ives, Cornwall.  
 Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire.  
 Thirsk, Yorkshire.  
 Totness, Devonshire.  
 Wareham, Dorsetshire.  
 Westbury, Wiltshire.  
 Wilton, Wiltshire.  
 Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

##### SCHEDULE (C).

###### *Principal Places to be Boroughs and the Returning Officers*

Manchester, Lancashire—The Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester, Returning Officers.  
 Birmingham, Warwickshire—Two Bailiffs of Birmingham, Returning Officers.  
 Leeds, Yorkshire—The Mayor of Leeds, Returning Officer.  
 Greenwich, Kent.  
 Sheffield, Yorkshire—The Master Cutler, Returning Officer.  
 Sunderland, Durham.  
 Devonport, Devonshire.  
 Wolverhampton, Staffordshire—The Constable of the Manor of the Deanery of Wolverhampton, Returning Officer.  
 Tower Hamlets, Middlesex.  
 Finsbury, Middlesex.  
 Mary-le-bone, Middlesex.  
 Lambeth, Surrey.  
 Bolton, Lancashire—The Boroughreeves of Great and Little Bolton, Returning Officers.  
 Bradford, Yorkshire.  
 Blackburn, Lancashire.  
 Brighton, Sussex.  
 Halifax, Yorkshire.  
 Macclesfield, Cheshire—The Mayor of Macclesfield, Returning Officer.  
 Oldham, Lancashire.

Stockport, Cheshire—The Mayor of Stockport,  
Returning Officer.  
Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire.  
Stroud, Gloucestershire.

#### SCHEDULE (D).

*Principal Places to be Boroughs, and the  
Returning Officers.*

Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire.  
Bury, Lancashire.  
Chatham, Kent.  
Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.  
Dudley, Worcestershire.  
Frome, Somersetshire.  
Gateshead, Durham.  
Huddersfield, Yorkshire.  
Kidderminster, Worcestershire—The High  
Baillif of Kidderminster, Returning Officer.  
Kendal, Westmorland—The Mayor of Kendal,  
Returning Officer.  
Rochdale, Lancashire.  
Salford, Lancashire—The Boroughreeve of  
Salford, Returning Officer.  
South Shields, Durham.  
Tynemouth, Northumberland.  
Wakefield, Yorkshire.  
Walsall, Staffordshire—The Mayor of Walsall,  
Returning Officer.  
Warrington, Lancashire.  
Whitby, Yorkshire.  
Whitehaven, Cumberland.

#### SCHEDULE (E).

*Names of Places sharing in the Election of  
Members, with the Shire Towns or Prin-  
cipal Boroughs, and the County in which  
such Boroughs are situated.*

Amlwch, Holyhead, and Llangefni—sharing  
with Beaumaris, Anglesea.  
Aberystwith, Lampeter, and Adpar—sharing  
with Cardigan, Cardiganshire.  
Llanelli—sharing with Caermarthen, Caer-  
marthenshire.  
Pwllheli, Nevin, Conway, Bangor, and Cric-  
ceith—sharing with Caernarvon, Caernar-  
vonshire.  
Ruthin, Holt, and Town of Wrexham—shar-  
ing with Denbigh, Denbighshire.  
Rhyddlan, Overton, Caerwis, Caergwilyr, St.  
Asaph, Holywell, and Mold—sharing with  
Flint, Flintshire.  
Cowbridge, Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare, and  
Llantrissant—sharing with Cardiff, Glam-  
organshire.  
Llanidloes, Welsh Pool, Machynlith, Llanfyl-  
lin, and Newtown—sharing with Mont-  
gomery, Montgomeryshire.  
Narbeth and Fishguard—sharing with Haver-  
fordwest, Pembrokeshire.  
Tenby, Wiston, and Town of Milford—sharing  
with Pembroke, Pembrokeshire.  
Knighton, Rhayder, Kevinleece, Knucklas,  
and Town of Presteigne—sharing with  
Radnor, Radnorshire.

#### SCHEDULE (F).

*Counties to be Divided.*

Cheshire	Northumberland
Cornwall	Northamptonshire
Cumberland	Nottinghamshire
Derbyshire	Shropshire
Devonshire	Somersetshire
Durham	Staffordshire
Essex	Suffolk
Gloucestershire	Surrey
Kent	Sussex
Hampshire	Warwickshire
Lancashire	Wiltshire
Leicestershire	Worcestershire
Norfolk	

#### SCHEDULE (G).

*Cities and Towns and Counties thereof, Coun-  
ties at large in which Cities and Towns  
and Counties thereof, are to be included.*

Caermarthen—Caermarthenshire.  
Chester—Cheshire.  
Coventry—Warwickshire.  
Gloucester—Gloucestershire.  
Kingston-upon-Hull—East Riding of York-  
shire.  
Lincoln—Parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire.  
London—Middlesex.  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Northumberland.  
Worcester—Worcestershire.  
York and Ainsty—North Riding of Yorkshire.

[The Bill contains several other schedules,  
merely relating to the details necessary for  
carrying its provisions into effect.]

I have already said that this bill is, in  
my opinion, *better* than the former one,  
by which I mean *better for the people at  
large*; and I am now about to state the  
reasons on which that opinion is found-  
ed. But it will be necessary, first, to  
state (under seven distinct heads), as  
shortly, and yet as clearly, as I can, what  
are the alterations that have been made  
in the bill.

1. The former bill wholly *disfranchised*  
56 boroughs: the new bill dis-  
franchises the SAME NUMBER of  
boroughs, but makes some altera-  
tion in the boroughs disfranchised;  
that is, takes some out of the  
schedule, and puts others in.
2. The former bill *half-disfranchised*  
41 boroughs: the new bill dis-  
franchises but 30.
3. The former bill enfranchised, by  
giving ONE MEMBER to each of the  
towns of Bolton, Brighton, Brad-

ford, Blackburn, Macclesfield, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Halifax, Stroud, and Huddersfield: the new bill gives two members to each of these; it gives a member to CHATHAM, which the former bill did not; and it gives an additional member to the county of MONMOUTH.

4. The former bill took away the right of voting from the out-lying freemen and burgesses; that is to say, from such as did not reside within the precincts of the city or borough; and it provided that, after the expiration of the lives of the freemen and burgesses now having a right to vote, the right should be wholly taken away from all freemen and burgesses in future; that is to say, that no freeman or burgess, not having a right to vote now, should ever hereafter acquire that right in virtue of his corporate capacity: the new bill alters this matter; it ensures to resident burgesses and freemen *for ever* the right of voting as before; it also provides that such freemen and burgesses as are resident within seven miles of the city or borough shall still have a right to vote.
5. The former bill was somewhat dubious in its meaning with regard to the qualification of the *ten-pound voters*: the new bill states clearly, that every man of full age, not legally disqualified, occupying a house, warehouse, or shop, separately or jointly with land, and being assessed to the poor-rates, and of ten-pounds a year *value*, shall have a vote.
6. The former bill left the limits of boroughs to be settled by commissioners: the new bill settles the limits itself.
7. It appears to be intended to give charters of corporation to the great towns which have now no corporations; and, when that is done, the mayors or chief magistrates are to be the returning officers: the former bill contained no contingent provision of this sort.

**FIRST HEAD.** With regard to this, five rotten boroughs are abolished by the bill instead of five *less rotten*, which must be allowed to be an alteration for the better.

**SECOND HEAD.** It was not *desirable* to see *eleven* members additional given to the small remaining boroughs; but

**THIRD HEAD.** This is more than twice compensated for by giving *eleven* members in addition to these eleven large and populous towns; for, if any two, nay, any one sent by the people of these towns, do not tell for more than the whole eleven from the half-rotten boroughs, not only is any reform of no use, but the people will deserve never to be better off than they now are.

**THE FOURTH HEAD** frightens Doctor BLACK, who seems to think, that the *retaining of the freemen* will bring back bribery and corruption; that it will bring back a "*jobbing in freemen*," and thereby swamp the independent voters. In the first place, the Doctor does not seem to be at all aware of the *new soul* that this change will put into the people; he does not seem to be aware, that the infamy of voting contrary to a man's well-known wishes, will become equal to the infamy of thieving or of robbing; he does not seem to be aware, that to little purpose indeed have we roused every drop of English blood against the boroughmongers and their practices, if bribery and corruption are again to stalk forth in open day. The Doctor always seems to look upon this reform as a thing which is to produce only a mere *legal* effect, and that not a very extensive one; else he would never thus talk of a "*jobbing in freemen*" swamping the independent voters. Besides that there is no danger of this, the bill still cuts off the *distant residing freemen*; and those are the only part of the freemen that have hardly ever acted an infamous part. The resident voters have, nine times out of ten, acted an honest part. I had a majority at Coventry of the resident freemen, who were "*swamped*" by the execrable villains that were sent down from London for *Blacks and Moors*, by the aid of a subscription, at the head of which was old

gutting CURTIS, and, I remember, about the tail of which was Alderman Woon, from whom, however, I did not shrink the next year when he had to stand in the front of the battle for the poor Queen. I have seen many ruffians in my lifetime. The *reporters* I never saw; and I thank God for it; I never saw the little House of Commons; I have not seen *another assemblage of persons* for these twenty years at least; I once saw a congregation of *Hampshire parsons*, and Lord Cochrane and I voted unanimously that we had never seen their equals before; but I have seen soldiers, sailors, tide-waiters, and Dover boatmen; and I solemnly declare that the "*London voters*" that came to Coventry, were the most impudent, insolent, rapacious, base, and ruffian-like crew that I ever set my eyes upon; and, with the exception of the GREAT LIAR himself, the greatest liars, the sound of whose nasty hateful voices I ever heard. The resident freemen, on the contrary, were amongst the best people I ever saw in my life. My readers will recollect that I expressed my regret that the resident freemen should lose their right of voting; yet, so great was my horror of the non-resident villains, and of the base bribery carried on with them, that I was willing to consent to the disfranchisement of the others for the sake of getting rid of this great abomination. Besides which, observe, the infamous wretches of non-resident freemen did, in fact, *disfranchise* the resident freemen; for they always were able to decide the election. Every-thing depended upon the London voters; and these miscreants always sold themselves to the highest bidder. Then, again, London always a hell upon earth, if masses of the most horrid wickedness can make a place such, became almost a real hell at the approach of every general election, for a month before which, a thousand or two of infamous attorneys or other borough agents were carrying on the dreadful work of *baying false oaths*. And this is that "*institution of the country*" as they call it, which the rigid piety of the bishops would not permit the lords

spiritual to consent to overthrow! The freemen to whom the right of voting will remain, will find their right rest upon the true constitutional grounds. The right was instituted in order that the working people should have their fair share in choosing the makers of the laws, and their qualification was founded on their having served an apprenticeship to *learn to work*. Nothing could be more just, nothing more wise than this; but the law supposed that they would continue to be *working men*, or to be living in their city or borough on the fruits of their earnings. It never contemplated that they should go a hundred miles off, become footmen, grooms, scavengers, dustmen, keepers of brothels, swindlers, pickpockets, or grave robbers, or perhaps the receivers of bodies stolen from the grave or murdered; and then, when an election came, go down to the city or borough with their pockets full of bribes to nullify the voice of the honest and industrious freemen who had stayed at home. The law never contemplated this; and the law will now put the matter to rights.

Doctor Black is, therefore, very greatly deceived if he imagines that this alteration will produce an effect against the interest of the people. But the bill ought to define what *residence* means; for cases might arise which would produce a *temporary* residence of these monstrous vagabonds. Let this point be secured, and this part of the bill is a vast improvement. It makes a great extension of suffrage; it preserves the right of voting to great numbers of real working men; men who have served an apprenticeship to learn to work; and I look upon this alteration alone to be far more sufficient to outweigh all the advantages which the aristocracy can possibly derive from the alterations that are made in Schedule B. It seems, too, that this alteration was greatly *cheered* by the opponents of the former bill: it was this, it seems, which alarmed the Doctor; knowing, I suppose, that the borough-mongers and their adherents, being the *wisest* amongst mankind, would not have cheered, of course, if this alteration

in the bill had not been clearly advantageous to them. In every point of view it was just to retain this description of voters. Here are great numbers of working men with votes, whether married or single, whether with house or without one; but possessing *in themselves* a right to vote, that right resting on the *best of all foundations*; the having *worked* to the advantage of the state, and being proved by their *servitude*. Away goes, then, the unjust and stupid principle, that *house, or land, or money*, ought to form the only qualifications. The power of England has, in a great degree, arisen from her great perfection in the mechanic arts; and this has arisen from the *long apprenticeships*, to which, too, she has owed a great deal of that *patient industry* which has distinguished her from *all* other nations; and therefore, if for none but this moral effect, the rights gained by apprenticeship ought to be preserved; and, besides, this alteration provides for an extension of the suffrage beyond that which was secured by the former bill.

FIFTH HEAD. I am not well enough acquainted with the *local circumstances* of any great town to be able to say positively, whether this alteration will, or will not, make the number of voters in the great towns *less* than it was before, or not. But, if Mr. PLACE, in a published speech of his *against* the new bill, stated what was correct, it will *augment the number*; and then I am decidedly for the alteration. And as to Mr. PLACE's fears, that this sort of *scot-and-lot test* will give rise to bribery and corruption, such as were "FORMERLY carried on in Westminster," he may be reminded, that the PRESENT state of Westminster is even *worse* than its former state, if *annihilation* be worse than infamy; for, by the schemes of Burlett, backed by the Government, Westminster is, in the representative body, no more than GATTON or OLD SARUM. But where is there *another* great town, in which all the tradespeople, and all the working people too, are the supple dependents on the court, the aristocracy, the club-houses, the

offices of Government, and the tax and tithe eaters? Oh, no! Mr. PLACE, on this side of those gates that are guarded by SIN and DEATH, there is no other mass of baseness equal to this; and if we wanted any proof; if not satisfied with what we see every day; if we wanted any specific fact to prove to us the *annihilation* of the voice of the people of Westminster, have we it not in this: that in August, 1830, BURDETT and HOBHOUSE were *pelted off the hustings* of Covent-garden, by the very people who are still insulted by having them called their *representatives*; that they were actually obliged to run off to avoid being *knocked on the heads* with those cabbages and turnips, from which they were sheltered, in their hasty flight, by the invulnerable skull of that public-spirited Achilles, who has, the newspapers tell us, now *bequeathed that wonderful skull to the surgeons*, and of course, leaving them to do what they like with the brains, *when they find them*? Have we not here a proof of the total annihilation of the voice of the people in Westminster? But, Mr. PLACE, you must first make the public-spirited men in the hives of industry, what the servile creatures of Westminster are, before a state of things can arise, in those towns like that which we witness here.

The suffrage appointed by this bill, is not, however, what I could wish it: and, it is very far from being that suffrage which I have clearly proved to be a *right*, inherent in every man. But, no man denies, that a man 20 years and 11 months of age has this as perfect as a man 21 years of age: yet we agree to restrict the right, in this case. The restriction is imposed by expediency; and this right, like every other, must be considered as always limited by expediency; that is to say, by considerations connected with the general good, not excluding by any means, the good of the working classes themselves. Nobody will deny that political qualification is as complete as it can be in the United States of America; yet there is, in all the states, a qualification required beyond that of the mere existence of the

man, and of his residence on the spot. In some of the states the voter must be a freeholder and nothing less; in Massachusetts, he must be worth a hundred pounds at the time of his being enrolled as a voter; in Pennsylvania, he must have paid some *direct tax*, county or parochial; in all the states he must be enrolled as a resident a considerable time before the election; and in the state of Connecticut, the most democratic of all, he must have served in the militia within so long a time of the day of voting; he must have paid a state tax besides his parochial rates; and in either case, he must, if required, produce credible testimonials to his good moral character; so that if people imagine that true freedom cannot exist unless the possession of a head and hands and legs and a tongue to speak with be quite sufficient to qualify a man to give a vote at elections, true freedom does not exist in the United States of America.

Besides, we are to look not after what we wish for, but after what we can possess. I might wish for a great heap of real gold instead of the copy-right of my little book called *Paper against Gold*; but if I, given up to this magnificent wish, were to neglect the profits which I derive from my little book, I should be a magnificent fool for my pains. I allow that the unmarried weaver, who is a lodger, and who pays no parish rates, has as clear a *right* to a vote as the married weaver has who rents a house at ten pounds a year. But, can he exercise the right? Is it practicable to give him the exercise of that right, without the adoption of a rule, which, in its unlimited operation, would do him more harm, and all his fellow-workmen along with him, than it could possibly do him good? How would he like to go up to vote in company with a lord's footman, a parson's lacquey, a stock-jobber's runner, a game-tyrant's game-keeper, a police scout, an excise-man, a marker at a billiard-table, a notorious pick-pocket, a runaway from the hulks; leaving out the soldiers and sailors, as being too good for such company, but including the pensioners, the

sinecurists, and OLIVER and EDWARDS, if they were still residing here; how would the honest and industrious single weaver like to go up to poll in such company, neither of them having house to live in any more than he? Yet, if there be no qualification; if there be no settled and previous residence required, such must be the description of voters. In another state of society, a great part of this vermin would not exist; but they do exist here at present; and if there were no limitation to the right, there would be great danger of their overwhelming of the honest working people. The chopsticks I see excluded not without great regret, especially those that are householders. I should be well disposed to stickle for them with all my might; but I am satisfied that the power which this bill will give to the working people, will enable the towns of the north to protect the chopsticks of the south and of the east and the west; and therefore I am willing to take it, and to give it that fair trial to which a measure containing so much good is justly entitled.

I am aware of the natural dislike which every man has to be shut out from the enjoyment of that which is his due, and of which so many thousands in the hives of industry are every way worthy, and whom this bill will not qualify to vote. I am well aware that, looking only at the privation, they are impatient at being presented with a detail of the benefits. I am aware, that to ensure the cheers of men, thus justly angry with what is done, I ought to foster their discontent; but I am also aware that a short time will convince them that I am best consulting their good as well as the preservation of my own character, by giving all the support in my power to this measure of the Government. They must all be convinced that it is utterly impossible for me to be actuated by any other motive than that of promoting the general good, in aiding as far as I am able in restoring to our country harmony and happiness, good living and virtuous conduct, the only sure foundation of national greatness.

I know of no ambition equal to that which I feel, of being esteemed and beloved by the working people of England; but even this prize, which I value above all others, I will not obtain by disguising sentiments which I sincerely entertain, and which I think it my duty to utter. I am as fond of praise, perhaps, as most other men; but I have always said, with the honest poet of many years ago, and I trust that my conduct will prove the sincerity of my saying.

"Give me an honest fame, or give me none."

The new corporations alluded to in the bill, to resemble that of the city of London, have frightened some people, and it would frighten me, if I did not reflect that the Government has no lands, houses, manors, church-livings, tolls, and other such things; to give to the new corporations; and that if the Ministry establish gangs of guttlers and guzzlers, they must feed them and drench them out of their own pockets. Nothing is more desirable than the establishment of corporate municipal governments in the great towns. I have lived, rented a great house, and carried on great business, in each of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, whose corporations are modelled upon that of London; and the whole world cannot produce two cities, or towns, in which the peace is so well kept, in which justice is so duly and so uprightly administered, in which the laws are so cheerfully obeyed, and in which the magistrates are so highly-respected and so much beloved. And why is all this? And why are there none of the jobbing and none of the guttling and guzzling that we behold here? Because the members of the corporation are elected, from top to bottom, by the inhabitant householders; and because they have not the fingering of the public money, or of one farthing of the public property, other than the taxes imposed upon the citizens for the uses of the city, which is accounted for as scrupulously as a banker accounts to his customer for his deposits; and which account is regularly published, in all its details, for the information of the citizens. If the Ministers will give us

corporations like these, a very great blessing they will confer upon the country; and I am not afraid that they will give us guttlers and guzzlers and jobbers: for the people would not endure them. The nests, which already exist, will be broken up; and, therefore, I am not at all alarmed at the thought of new corporations.

WM. COBBETT,

## FRANCE.

My readers will remember that, from the moment of TALLEYRAND being sent hither by LOUIS-PHILIPPE, I pronounced that the design of this Fundholder-citizen-King was to carry on the old system under a new name; that he was an enormous fundholder; that he would sacrifice the people of France to the Jews; and that the "NATIONAL GUARD," which he was establishing, was intended to compel the people to endure half-starvation, if necessary to the full payment of the interest of A DEBT contracted by the Bourbons; and that, too, for the real, sole, and almost avowed purpose of making the French people slaves for ever! My readers will remember, that I published, in the French language, several addresses to the French people, to make them see this; and that I have all along insisted, that the efforts of this fundholder-citizen-King and his fundholder Ministers, all tended to make the French even more completely slaves than they had been under old rabbit-shooter, Charles the Tenth. NOW, then, I beg those my readers to read the following article from the well-known correspondent of the MORNING CHRONICLE (date 13th Dec.); who has written so long and with so much spirit in that paper as its Paris correspondent. I beg my readers to go through this article with attention; and they will see, that if the days of Louis-Philippe be not actually numbered, it would not require a great many figures to number them, and those of the French funds, both put together; but, indeed, they are one and the same. The writer takes some passages from the Register of the 3d of this

month; and his article is a commentary on them; and is also a very able description of the *financial affairs of France*.

**FINANCIAL STATE OF FRANCE—WE CANNOT GO ON AS WE ARE DOING—NECESSITY FOR A NEW STATE OF SOCIETY—THE GOVERNMENT IS MERELY POSTPONING THE EVIL DAY FOR THE STOCK-JOBBER.**

"At Paris the National Guards are the fundholders, of whom Louis-Philippe is the greatest. . . . As long as that debt exists there can be no tranquillity in France; and when the debt shall cease to exist, then will come the Republic. . . . In France, as here, all is usury and monopoly, both of which are upheld by the systems which the Governments pursue. . . . These evils go on producing greater and greater effects every day. The working part of the community always suffer more in degree than the other parts; the working part consists of the millions. They will endure only to a certain point—and when they will endure no longer, the whole fabric of the system, after rocking to and fro for a while, comes tumbling down upon the heads of its upholders. . . . When Charles X. was shoved down, Louis-Philippe came and perched himself upon the stool—but it is now over. . . . The French Debt will be swept away, and, in all human probability, it will end in creating a republic."—*Mr. Cobbett's Register, of Dec. 3, pages 632, 633, 634.*

TO THE

EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

Paris, Dec. 10, 1831.

SIR—Yes, the French Debt will be swept away—must be swept away—cannot but be swept away—and then, in all human probability, will come a republic!—Every word of the extract I have prefixed to this letter should be written in letters of gold—should be graven on the front of the Bourse—on the ceiling and walls of your Stock Exchange—should be printed in every pocket-book—should be entered in page 1 of every ledger, and no merchant, no rentier, no nobleman, no mechanic, no minister, no monarch, should ever rise in the morning, or go to bed at night, without first saying his prayers, and then reading this extract from Mr. Cobbett's *Register*. Mr. Cobbett is not inspired,

as were the writers of the sacred canon, but every word of his citation is as true as the Gospel of St. Mark! Yes, yes! the working classes will only endure to a certain point, and when they will endure no longer, the "whole fabric of the system, after rocking to and fro for a while, will most positively come tumbling hown upon the heads of its upholders." Hear this, ye sinecurists, ye English boroughmongers, and ye French placemen; hear this, chief of the fundholders, Louis-Philippe, King of the French in December, 1831; and prepare for that change which shall, which will, which must take place when the millions will endure no longer, and when this dreadful system of grinding and taxing the millions will, in all human probability, lead us to a republic.

I have often blamed myself during the last six months for not taking up this subject of the "Financial state of France." My correspondence with the *Morning Chronicle* enables me to do some good to my fellow-creatures, and I have often reproached myself for not making this subject of taxation more prominent. But Mr. Cobbett has roused me from my lethargy—has convinced me, in his inimitable paper, from which I have quoted, that the matter must be no longer delayed—and the affairs of Lyons have come as an immense argument of fact to support the most philosophical and certain theory ever submitted to the consideration of man.

Mr. Cobbett, you are right—and you are right though all should be against you—and you are as right in your opinion as to France, as you are doubtless in those you entertain relative to England. We cannot go on as we are doing—the working classes make the millions—the millions of labourers—of tax-payers, and not of tax-eaters—of those who work by day and night to eat bread and drink water, and to give Louis-Philippe eighteen millions of francs to support him in unheard-of luxury, when he has a larger private fortune than is necessary to support the population of a small town in France. We cannot go on as we are doing; and if the Rentiers will buy and will sell their stocks with their



eyes blinded, it shall not be my fault that they remain unenlightened and ignorant.

The financial situation of France is terrible! After all the bloody and successful wars of Napoleon, he, with all his faults, and he had many, left us only a debt of sixty millions of francs per annum. Now the funded debt is two hundred and four millions per annum of Rentes, and we have very few more souls to pay this vast difference. This debt has been increased eight millions of Rentes since the Revolution of July; not to obtain our frontiers—not to add Belgium to our provinces—not to secure us allies among the people—not to effect the triumph of liberty in Spain, or Portugal, or Italy, or Poland, or Belgium, or Germany; but this increase has been occasioned by the anti-national and detestable *juste milieu* system, which desires, above all things, to maintain the treaties of the Holy Alliance, and add one more to their number.

Well, then, what is this debt composed of—this increased debt from the period when Napoleon abdicated, or, if you will, was driven from his throne—to the moment when Charles X. was conducted to Cherbourg? How came this large, this frightful, this oppressive, this killing increase? 1. Because the debts of the Bourbons were paid. 2. Because the scoundrels the emigrants were remunerated. 3. Because the PEERS OF FRANCE!—yes, gracious heavens! because the PEERS OF FRANCE were paid and pensioned. 4. Because a war was undertaken by France against the cause of liberty in Spain! 5. Because the Bourbons and their ministers and agents and courtesans were fed on gold and silver, and drank wine at twelve, fifteen, and twenty francs the bottle by hundreds of dozens each day, whilst the tax-payers worked from four o'clock in the morning until ten at night, to obtain sufficient money to purchase bread and vegetables, and pay the tax-gatherer. 6. Because the Bourbons made an expensive war against the Dey of Algiers, who had been cajoled by France out of money due to him, and was then dethroned, because he demanded payment.

7. Because the Clergy were paid to keep the people in ignorance. 8. Because Swiss troops were paid to fire on the French people if they would demand their rights and liberties. 9. Because expensive and sumptuous establishments for ambassadors were kept up at Foreign Courts by the French Government to maintain the Holy Alliance System. 10. Because France was saddled with an immense expenditure, by the Holy Alliance, for having imposed upon her against her will an anti-national and Jesuitical Government. 11. Because a large standing army was maintained during a time of peace and order, to keep down popular movements in France occasioned by the faults and vices of this anti-national Government; and 12th, Because, during the whole period of the Restoration, spies, mistresses, discharged ministers, courtiers, and foreigners (whom I shall name hereafter), were paid pensions by the Bourbons out of the earnings of the millions: and the French Press, such as the *Debats*—the *Universel*—the *Quotidienne*—the *Gazette de France*—the *Drapeau Blanc*, and a host of others, received regularly annual stipends for supporting the Bourbons, for siding with Villele, and Peyronnet, and all the other public robbers of France, and for telling the people they ought to feel too happy in being governed “by LEGITIMATE PRINCES!”

Now you know why our debt increased from sixty millions of rentes to two hundred millions of rentes during the Restoration!! And now you know why the taxes increased—why plan after plan was resorted to to meet the increased and increasing expenditure—and why he, who cajoled with most address the tax-payers and the rentiers (I mean, of course, M. de Villele), was most loved and most flattered by the Bourbons, the Peers, the kept-mistresses, the priests, the Jesuits, and the courtiers.

At length came the Revolution of July, 1830! The people rejoiced and were glad—not because Charles X. was shoved down, and because Louis-Philippe perched himself upon the stool

(as Mr. Cobbett observes); but they rejoiced, and were glad, because they expected to have more liberty and pay less taxes; to have a Citizen King or Hereditary President—and because they said, if we have not a Republic by name, we shall, at least, have a cheap and a National Government. Little did the people dream in July, 1830, of making loans to keep up an army which should rest inactive whilst Poland was crushed, whilst Italy was invaded, and whilst the Spanish Constitutionalists were driven from their native land! Little did the people dream, in July 1830, that the question for which they were risking their lives, was to be one merely between “Peter” and “Paul”—or, if you will, between “Charles” and “Louis!” Little did those who made the barricades and fought at them, and drove away the Bourbons, and the Priests, and the Jesuits, and the Courtiers, and the titled — of France—little did they believe that the same Budget would be proposed—more taxes be laid on the millions—an enormous and monstrous Civil List be demanded—and the public money expended in altering the gardens of the Tuileries to make private walks for the Citizen King, and his sons and daughters!! and this at a time when a workman at Lyons gains TEN-PENCE PER DAY TO SUPPORT HIMSELF, HIS WIFE, AND PERHAPS TWO OR THREE INFANT CHILDREN, UNABLE TO WORK ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR TENDER YEARS!!!! I say, little did those who made the Revolution of July believe or dream that such would be the termination of the events of the “great week!!”

Since the Revolution of July, 1830, the debt has been still further increased!! NEARLY EIGHT MILLIONS OF FRANCS per annum have been added to the former amount, and France is now saddled with a debt, the capital of which amounts to more than FOUR MILLIONS OF FRANCS, and the annual amount of interest to TWO HUNDRED AND FOUR MILLIONS OF RENTES. Besides this funded debt, there is also an annuity debt on lives, and a floating debt of THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF CAPITAL

in Treasury Bonds and Exchequer Bills, which have to be paid off out of the earnings of the hard-working poor.

Now the population of France is THIRTY-TWO MILLIONS; the expenses of the actual Government are ONE BILLION TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF FRANCS PER ANNUM, including the interest on the funded debt; and this sum has to be paid by the population. Of this thirty-two millions, only ONE-FIFTH are taxed directly, since four-fifths are children and persons of tender years, or in circumstances dependent on others, as domestic servants, &c. Thus SIX MILLIONS OF PERSONS IN FRANCE HAVE TO PAY PER ANNUM THE SUM OF ONE BILLION TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF FRANCS! This is TWO HUNDRED FRANCS PER ANNUM to be paid by each taxpayer! Of this sum FORTY FRANCS EACH PERSON PER ANNUM, or ONE FIFTH, consists of the interest on the debt! a debt contracted to ruin France—to impose on her an anti-national government—to maintain it on the throne for fifteen years—to make wars unjust and unnecessary—to support priests, mistresses, Jesuits, and a bribed and corrupted royalist press; and since the Revolution of 1830, increased, in order to cheat, to cajole France out of the natural results of that very revolution?

Now, then, remember that each taxpayer has to contribute two hundred francs per annum out of his earnings towards the expenses of the Government promised to be “cheap! true! and national!” in July, 1830. But, besides this, the tax-payers have something else to pay! They have now to clothe themselves as NATIONAL GUARDS—to maintain themselves so clothed—and to calculate on a loss of a time, and, therefore, of money, for the hours which, during each month, they are obliged to discharge those duties—to mount guard—attend at reviews—and perform exercise. The National Guard service costs at least, in towns, 200 francs per annum—and in villages, at least 100 francs per annum. I admit that a considerable portion of this charge falls on the middling classes, but it also, in all rural communes, falls heavily on the labouring

people. Besides these taxes and the National Guard service, there are local taxes, such as a duties payable for the entry of wine and victuals into a town, which are collected at the "Octroi," in order to support those local expenses which are not paid by the Government out of the general budget. For instance, a commune is obliged to build a church. The Government will give so much out of the general budget, and the commune is obliged to pay the remainder; so that although it is generally said that the budget in France includes all local as well as general expenses, yet, in truth, it does no such thing. Besides this, we have now a new system, introducing to an extent most dangerous—and that is the system of making local loans to meet local wants. Then the commune is to pay this local tax and support the burden, and thus bills are every week being introduced by the Minister of Finance, to enable this and that commune, and this and that parish, to borrow money for local objects. Loan-making is, of all systems, the most easy for obtaining money, and the very facility with which they are procured are sure to end in our ruin!

Well, then, you perceive that each tax-payer, who is not a National Guard, will pay, at all events, 200 francs per annum; in most, or, at least, in a vast many communes, on account of local taxes not supported by the state, an additional 50 francs, making 250 francs per annum. That a tax-payer, who is a National Guard in a town, will have to pay, at least, a total of 450 francs; and one who is a National Guardsman in a commune, from 300 to 350 francs per annum! This is frightful!!! It is awful!!! It is an account which would make the stoutest heart tremble, and even Baron Rothschild shudder, if he dared to contemplate it!

In the canton de Vaud, in Switzerland, where there is a fine climate, a good soil, a national government, wise laws, liberty, civilization, colleges of learning, newspapers, literature, good society, and all the delights of society; but where, alas! there is no public debt, and no monarchical institutions;

but where the unfortunate beings are republicans!—the average of each tax-payer is not twenty francs per annum, or one-tenth of that in France! Do you think we do not know and feel this every day and every hour? Yes, Mr. Cobbett, you are right. "*The French Debt will be swept away, and in all human probability it will end in creating a republic.*"

But how are the tax-payers to support this expenditure? Why, by making new loans! Yes, we are to have new loans! New loans for France! and new loans for Paris! and new loans for the Departments! But how is the interest of these loans to be paid? By the taxes! and who are to pay these taxes? Why the French people, "the working part," as Mr. Cobbett says, "which consists of the millions;" yes, these are to pay the present, and all future taxes!! Can they do so, even if disposed? I will answer this question in another letter; but, for the present, I will give you some general data, and then you will judge for yourself. No, no; the millions shall not, will not, must not, cannot, if they would, continue to support this grinding, this ruinous, this overwhelming system of oppression.

A workman at Lyons gains 400 francs a year! A superior workman 500 francs, a foreman 700 francs!! What! and out of the 400 is a workman to pay 200 for taxes?—out of 500 is a workman to pay 250 for taxes?—and out of 700 is a workman to pay 250, and be a National Guardsman? It is impossible. But then, says the Baron Louis, he pays most of his taxes in an indirect manner, and so he feels it less! What stuff is this! What! does it make any matter to a workman whether he pays six sous instead of four for a bottle of wine or of cider, if he has to pay the difference in direct taxes, if his bottle costs him the lesser sum, and six sous instead of four, if he pays no direct taxes? In either case, he must go without his wine and without his cider. He must go without it, if he pays six sous, because it is too dear; and he must go without it, if it costs four sous, because he has to pay direct taxes. But worse than this! He

has to pay his six sous and his direct taxes too—and thus he is ruined. Do not, then, I pray you, join that silly herd, who cry that the affairs of Lyons are arranged! that every-thing is terminated, and because 20,000 troops are in one city to keep the workmen from revolt, therefore, that France is satisfied, and her population kept from starving!!! The workmen will be heard—must be heard—cannot but be heard, and, as Mr. Cobbett says, “they will endure only to a certain point, and when they will endure no longer, the whole fabric of the system, after rocking to and fro for a while, will come tumbling down on the heads of its upholders.”

I do not mean to stop here! I mean to show you in subsequent letters that the manufacturing, agricultural, and labouring classes cannot support the amount of taxation which at present grinds them to the dust, and that the French debt will be swept away, and in all human probability it will lead to creating a republic, unless the people be now redressed—unless the Revolution of July be now followed up—unless the people be redressed before they redress themselves—and unless France become what she intended to become when she made her first revolution.

I have pointed out to you the FINANCIAL STATE OF FRANCE—I have shown you, by unanswerable facts, that we CANNOT GO ON AS WE ARE DOING—and that THERE IS A NECESSITY FOR A NEW STATE OF SOCIETY. I shall return to this subject very often, but for the moment let me direct your attention to other topics.

THE GOVERNMENT IS MERELY POSTPONING THE EVIL DAY FOR THE STOCK JOBBERS! It has been proposed to abolish the SINKING FUND, then to diminish its amount, and then to put it on another footing. The Government has urged on M. Thiers in the Commission to oppose all this. The Government wishes to postpone the catastrophe to gain time—to make more loans—to add to the debt, and diminish the salt tax, just as though France could not see through this system of “robbing Peter to pay Paul.” M. Perrier has no large

views—he is no statesman—he is a respectable merchant, and a good banker—but he knows just nothing at all of the Revolution of July.

Your obedient servant,

O. P. Q.

### From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1831.

#### INSOLVENT.

NELSON, J., Rolla-building, Chancery-lane, livery-stable-keeper.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ANDERSON, J. W., Bradford, Yorkshire, oil-paint-dealer.

BILLOWS, G. B., Poole, ironmonger.

BOWRING, E., Lawrence-lane, Cheapside, merchant.

BROUGH, L. H., Neath, Glamorgans, grocer.

COLES, G., High-street, Marylebone, cheese-monger.

CORLASS, W., Reediford, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

HONHOLD, J., Gilbert-st., Oxford-st., brasier.

JEFFRIES, H., King-st., Clerkenwell, brewer.

JOHNSTON, G., Upper John-st., Tottenham-court-road, carpenter.

KING, F. B., Prince's-sq., St. George's-in-the-East, sugar-refiner.

KNIGHT, S., and J. Knight, Mold, Flintshire, bankers.

LUCK, T. P., High-st., Southwark, lacemen.

MAGGS, J., Bath, chair-maker.

MARR, J., Worksop, Nottinghams, tanner.

READ, T., Hooklife, Bedford's, victualler.

SHAW, E. D., Delph, Yorks., grocer.

THORNTON, J. S., Griffin-court, Shepherd's-market, May-fair, and Half-moon-st., Piccadilly, carpenter.

THWAITES, J., Austin-friars, commission-agent.

WINRAM, J., and G. Winram, Ulverston, Lancashire, ship-builders.

WRIGHT, A., and J. Woodhead, Woodroyd, Yorkshire, dyers.

WYATT, G., and H. Thompson, Portpool-la., Grays-inn-lane, common-brewers.

YOUNG, H., Dursley, Gloucesters., common-brewer.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

M'EWAN, J., Crieff, cloth-merchant.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

MARTIN, C. E., New-st., Dorset-sq., linen-draper.

REDMAN, E., Worthing, Sussex, shopkeeper.

#### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

HERITAGE, J., Uxbridge, Middlesex, draper.



# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 74.—No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24TH, 1831. [Price 1s. 2d.



## TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Birmingham, Dec. 20, 1831.

THE reader, who will, I am sure, recollect that I, the week before last, in an article entitled "COBBETT-CORN, CHOLERA MORBUS, and CHARLEY PEARSON," expressed my intention of going southward instead of northward, will be surprised at the sight of *the date* of this letter. The case is this: I had entertained the idea of coming to the *North*; but, as was stated in the article just referred to, the march of the Cholera Morbus being from the north towards the south, my mind took a tack, and directed my eyes towards the Isle of Wight. This was before the new Reform Bill was brought in. Seeing that bill; being uncommonly desirous of hearing the opinion of the people in the north relative to the bill, and of expressing to them my opinion on the subject, I, after much hesitation, resolved on a visit to MANCHESTER and its vicinity, in defiance of the dreadful maul that stared me in the face. Lest, however, the reader should impute this movement to daring temerity, it is due to myself that I inform him, that I did not quit the delightfully-governed city of London, without carrying with me (as I *thought* at least) ample means of protection against the sweeping scourge; namely, "Charley" PEAR-

SON'S *Rescript* and the *Archbishop of Canterbury's PRAYER*. But feeling in my pocket for them, yesterday, just after quitting Oxford, in order to say them over as I was coming along, I found, alas! that I had left them in Bolt-court! By my bedside there, I suppose; but exactly where I really cannot say. To advance farther to the north without them would be inexcusable; and particularly without the *Rescript* of "Charley." The performance of Mr. HOWLEY (the Archbishop) the reader will, of course, conclude I have *by heart*; but, still, the *sight* is useful: it awakens and arrests attention, like the pictures and images in places of worship. But the *Rescript* of "Charley" is so absolutely necessary, that I cannot think of moving an inch farther to the north without it. It is at once a HOMILY and a SANITARY VADE MECUM; it is, as SWIFT in his "*Tale of a Tub*" says of the *Will*, "a thing of a Catholic application;" that is to say, application to all purposes universally. HERVEY (I think it was) in his "*Meditations on a Flower-garden*," was *lost* in the number and variety of the beauties; what must I be, then, in contemplating the beauties of our (I might, I hope, without offence say *my*) "Charley's" *Rescript*! In the flower-garden our admiration would, indeed be greatly bewildered by the tulip, the jonquil, the rose, the carnation, the Brompton-stock, the Oleander, the Magnolia Glauca, and many others; but scarcely any two of these present themselves to our eyes at *one and the same time*; and therefore, each becomes successively, an object of an undivided attention and a source of undivided pleasure. Not thus is it, in the case of the *Rescript*; for here, the lucid, eloquent, and most affecting appeals to hearts in favour of steady habits, early hours, good housewifery, sobriety, and, above all things, *nence from ardent spirits*; his paternal exhortations to scourter courses, whitewash our wall

our floors, change our linen, and keep our hands and faces clean, and comb our heads; here, all these lovely precepts (which by a natural concatenation of ideas, force into the mind the *example of Charley himself*.) present themselves to us *en masse*, and without our being able to describe the cause of our oppression, we feel ourselves overpowered. But if it were permitted to me, to select from amongst this constellation of beauties, one that has taken my fancy more than any other, I should not scruple to say, that is that which relates to culinary economy, and especially that part of it, which, with a sort of maternal care, cautions us against the flatulent effects of herbaceous and racinal vegetables, unqualified by a sufficiency of coction. "*Well-cooked*," for your life, "*Charley*." Thank you for that, above all the rest: I have been carrying on a fight for this all my lifetime: and *cooked with meat*, too, "*Charley!*" I hope you mean cooked with meat! But I must tear myself away; and have only time to add, that I wish to God I knew "*Charley's*" cook! And will no citizen, not even one amongst the discerning, the sharp-sighted, and practically moral inhabitants of Bishopsgate Ward, tell me how I shall find out the *EARTHLY MANSION* of our "guide, philosopher, moralist, legislator, and friend?" Well, then, the devil take the whole of them together, say I!

For other matter. Waiting for the *prayer* and the *rescript* has been attended with this benefit; it has enabled me to *ascertain* that the *new Reform Bill* has given *complete satisfaction* in this important town and its important neighbourhood. All men seem most anxious for an harmonious close to this long-continued agitation; and, if the Lords pass the bill *even now*, the recent past will be soon forgotten, and the good feelings of 60 years ago will all return.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Friends in the *Isle of Wight* may expect to see me *before the Parliament meet again*. I shall, I dare say, soon be back to the south; especially if I do not get the *Prayer* and the *Rescript*.

## REFORM BILL.

AFTER a debate, which begun on Friday the 16th instant, and which was continued on Saturday the 17th, the House of Commons divided, when there were 324 FOR the second reading of the bill, and 163 against it—just half. The House then adjourned till the 17th of January, 1832. I shall insert only three of the speeches made upon this occasion, and then I shall, *if I have room*, add a few remarks; if I have not room now, I will *pay the talkers off* in my next.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL then said, that as it was necessary that this debate should finish to-night, and that at an earlier hour than their debates generally concluded, he rose at that time to give an explanation respecting the various principles of the bill now before the House, and those measures of reform which the Government had submitted for their consideration. But before entering upon the question—before speaking upon the merits of the bill—he thought it absolutely necessary to take notice of the charge made against the Government on the first night, when he had moved for leave to bring in a bill, and which had since been repeatedly urged from the other side of the House. It was, that, from the excitement which prevailed throughout the country, this was a dangerous time for the discussion of any change in the constitution, and that it would have been better that this question should have been considered and sifted at a calm and tranquil period, when it could have been received with more attention, weighed with greater deliberation, and decided upon with greater safety. Now, if it was desirable that reform should be discussed in a time of quiet, he was not the person who prevented that discussion. So long back as the 15th of December, 1819, he had ventured to ask the House, when a case of notorious and indubitable corruption had been established the previous session, to give two representatives to the town of Leeds, to improve the representation by admitting new interests and increased intelligence into seats in Parliament. Since that time he had never ceased bringing forward measures of this nature; and that in times so calm, so tranquil, so free from all excitement, that there absolutely was no desire for the change proposed. (Loud cheers.) There was no cry in the country. (Cheers.) The people said, Let well alone—(cheers);—let us make no change till it is called for by necessity. He felt, therefore, as one of the great party with which he had acted ever since he had entered public life, that if there was any calamity, any misfortune attending the discussion of this question and the necessity of deciding upon it in a time of ex-

citement, no portion of the blame could attach to him—(hear, hear):—it was decidedly the fault of those who, when in tranquil times a most temperate and moderate measure of reform was proposed—a measure reduced and diluted to the very minimum of reform—thought even such a measure too strong, and considered that the concession of it would be a violation of principle, which was not to be brooked by men who denominated themselves the conservative party of the State. (Cheers.) A right hon. Gentleman had last night quoted some words used by him, and drawn from them a conclusion very different from what had been intended. He had said, that if the principle of change were once admitted, there would be no possibility of stopping it. But did this imply that they were not, in consequence, to attempt some small change at first to see how it would act in times of quiet, when the experiment could have been deliberately tried, as it might have been, before it came to be supported by great popular petitions, and by large portions of the inhabitants in every part of the country. (Cheers.) They who said that the wise course to pursue was to remain as we were, were the persons who were to blame for the circumstances under which the present discussion was going forward. It was better, said they, to leave things as they stood. Well, it was in consequence that they now came to discuss a question which, he confessed, as it began a great change, could not be unattended with peril—(cheers),—but which was so infinitely safer than standing still where they were, that he thought there was no man who really knew the state of the country, and who, comparing the two dangers, must not make up his mind that the danger of a great change is better than the risk of refusing all change, and declaring, as no long time since it had been declared, that the constitution of the House of Commons was perfect, and that any the least alteration was not advisable. (Cheers.) He was sorry to detain the House so long upon this subject, but the fact of the charge having come from a quarter whence he did not, perhaps, much expect it, induced him to refer now more particularly to the means by which the question of reform was brought to its present state. They who considered reform in Parliament necessary, thought, in the first place, that, conformably with the constitution, that House ought to consist of the representatives of the people—a proposition which, in the time of Mr. Speaker Onslow, would have been considered a truism, but which now-a-days was presumed only to be held by the advocates of bold and decisive innovation. (Cheers.) Next, he held that the representation of an individual could by no ingenuity of argument be proved to be the representation of the people. And at length the people had found that these members were not united to their interests in the same way as others would be, chosen by themselves; and this had excited distrust and suspicion among large por-

tions of the people. And thirdly, the great movement of society, which was always going on, had brought the country to a state in which abuses so flagrant as those which prevailed at elections could no longer be suffered to stand. (Cheers.) He thought the notion of 150 members being sent there by individuals was no longer to be tolerated—that places in which there were 160,000 inhabitants should be represented by a constituency of 14 or 15 persons was not to be endured. Not that other great and populous places should be represented by the very dregs of an opulent community, who were drugged and bribed into accepting some stranger by a small party. These things they considered so contradictory to the constitution, so repugnant to reason, so absolutely adverse to the state of knowledge in the country, that it was impossible they could long continue. (Cheers.) The hon. Baronet on the opposite side, however, opposed all change, as well in respect of this as of other questions. And he remembered well a right hon. Gentleman, who was a leader and organ of his party, declared, upon an occasion when it was anticipated that three great questions would be introduced—the repeal of the Test Act, the Catholic question, and Reform in Parliament—that to all these questions he meant to give his decided opposition. (The gentleman he alluded to was the right hon. Member for Tamworth.) Now, on all these questions he and his friends considered that concession, and not opposition, was the line of true statesmen. (Cheers.) Acting upon this principle, they had supported the late Government in the propositions for the repeal of the disabilities of the Dissenters and Roman Catholics; and if they had originated a motion for parliamentary reform of an extent far more limited than he approved of, they should in like manner have had their support. (Cheers.) The late Government, however, declined this course. His Majesty called his present advisers into power, and having entered office, they could not take any other course except that of endeavouring to carry their own principles into effect—(cheers),—and bring forward measures which should give satisfaction to the country without injuring its interests. The members of the existing Government, far from making reform a matter to excite the people, on the contrary were ready upon this, as upon all other questions, to meet their adversaries fairly; and when they were called upon by the Sovereign to propose such measures as they considered for the good of the country, they had proposed a measure, the attempt at less than which they looked upon as dangerous—the attempt at more as attended with the risk of failure, and of injury to the great interests of the empire. An hon. Gentleman who had spoken that night had alluded to a saying of Lord Plunkett's, and entirely misrepresented it. When Lord Plunkett observed, that in some men's hands history was no better than an old almanack, he meant in the hands of those who looked only to the letter,



were incapable of conceiving the spirit. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker) had spoken a great deal about the recent history of France, but he had entirely mistaken its spirit. He had dilated upon the late revolution—but what caused it? Who were the guilty persons? It was the Ministry of Polignac—the Proclamation rescinding certain portions of the charter, and destroying the liberty of the Press. The distinguished men who had resisted that proclamation were liable to no blame—they simply performed their duty to their country and themselves; and he trusted there was not a member in this House who would not think himself bound to disobey such a proclamation. The obstinacy of Charles X.—the folly of his Ministers—had brought down upon France the misfortunes of revolution. And now look to the spirit of the story. Had the violent popular party—the men of this movement—obtained the supreme power? No. M. Perier, who placed himself between the encroachment of despotism on the one hand, and democratic anarchy on the other, had maintained his place, and established in Paris, and most of the departments, order, in concurrence with the liberty of the subject. In reply to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker), who had compared him to M. Guizot, he begged to remark that this same M. Guizot was yet in the full confidence of the Chamber. For his part he considered that the spirit of the lessons which we had to learn from recent French history was, that we should not increase the danger by running counter to the spirit of the times. (Cheers.) He would now come to the bill before the House. As to the question of the small boroughs, whether 56 were taken, or more or less, it mattered not; the time was gone by when government could be conducted by means of those boroughs, with the support and respect of the country. (Cheers.) That the system of nomination boroughs was gross could not be denied. It was ground on which it was no longer possible to stand. He thought that the advantages described as peculiar to the nomination boroughs were much exaggerated. All that was useful in them might be had by popular representation. And as for the right of the Parliament to change its own constitution, none, he presumed, would doubt it: it had been admitted, even by Mr. Pitt, at the period of the Union. He now came to the consideration of what would be the nature of the House of Commons under the bill if it passed into a law. There would be 166 members for counties of England and Wales, the only difference in the constituency being that copyholders and tenants-at-will to the amount of 50*l.* a year would have the right of voting, and that 27 counties would be divided, each division to return two members. It was said that in Lancashire and Warwickshire there would be a preponderance of the manufacturing interest in the return of members for the county. This might be true, but it would be very unwise to excite any feeling of irritation between the agricultural and manufacturing

interests. It should be remembered, too, that the manufacturers in many towns where they were most powerful returned landed gentlemen. There were, next, some thirty towns in Schedule B, places which, they were told by gentlemen opposite, were likely, as country towns, to return landed gentlemen in their neighbourhood. Next, there were 120 members returned by places with less than 10,000 inhabitants, and, as appeared from the returns, the average number of constituents was from 4,000 to 5,000; not more than twenty of them, indeed, had more than a constituency of 5,000. In fact, he had ascertained that the number of 10*l.* householders was about in a proportion of one-third to the inhabitants. It was curious to remark also, that out of 130 mechanics who were householders in Leeds, only two were 10*l.* householders. In Manchester the proportion was greater: it was 30 to 130. Therefore would it have been very unjust to raise the qualification to 15*l.*, since the constituency never could be so extensive as to make universal suffrage. He admitted, indeed, that in some of the metropolitan districts there would be a constituency of 18,000 or 20,000. (Laughter.) But though he thought 10*l.* not too low, he also thought it low enough. He wished, with Mr. Fox, to have an independent constituency, not to have voters brought up to the poll in regiments. By having voters independent, there would no longer be a risk of their being misled by statements such as that Parliament had voted the King a million for his personal expenses, and statements such as this, which were made by men who spoke of evils which did not exist, and promised benefits from reform which never could accrue. As to what had been said respecting the diminution of the kingly power, he denied that any of the just prerogatives of the Crown would be affected by the measure. It was in vain that the opposers of the measure then before the House attempted to describe it as one imparting exclusive privileges to a few. No! the most cursory observer could not fail to see that it conferred the full rights and franchises of the constitution upon all who could command a house, and who could pay rates for it. That formed now the basis of the constituency of the country, and it was a basis upon which the constitution might, he thought, be allowed safely to rest. It was a basis which, as it did not depend upon ingenious views of the political doctrines and institutions of other countries, so it could not be better justified than by a reference to the history and present state of our own country. The bill upon which the House had that night to decide was framed upon principles derived from those sources; and he could not but hail its introduction as the harbinger of a brighter era. Amongst the many authorities by whom those principles were recognised and sanctioned, was to be found the name of Mr. Speaker Onslow, who, in the times of Sir Robert Walpole, in those days of jobbing and joviality, had the candour and the courage to say, that

the system of corruption which then prevailed could not go on, and that the Prince who first set the example of putting an end to it would secure to himself an immortal reputation. The present Government had the good fortune, and they prided themselves on the circumstance, to serve a Prince by whom that glory would be achieved. If, however, it was resolved to insist upon the maintenance of acknowledged abuses—if the determination continued to maintain unadmitted corruption—if the opinion of a great pre-united and enlightened people were to be set at defiance, he felt far from sanguine as to the result. (Cheers.)

Sir C. WETHERELL said, that the noble Lord opposite had then, as upon all occasions, freely and distinctly stated his views on the subject of the bill before the House, and upon the question of Parliamentary Reform generally; and if he (Sir C. W.) complained of any class of reformers as not being clear and explicit in the statement of their sentiments, he did not wish to be understood as including the noble Lord in that number. On that occasion, as on all preceding occasions, the noble Lord had told them that he desired to introduce a measure which would maintain and not subvert the aristocracy, the church, or the lauded interest of England. He gave the noble Lord full credit for believing that his bill would not have the effect of injuring the institutions of the country. He gave the noble Lord full credit for wishing to save them. He, it was well known, entertained different sentiments, and in giving utterance to them, he claimed for himself equal credit for sincerity and good intention. The present measure was introduced at a moment of unexampled public excitement, but that was no fault of his; the fault of that excitement was chiefly to be attributed to the Administration themselves—excitement created in favour of a measure which was so far from that which the noble Lord himself proposed in 1819. It might be perfectly right and proper to give members to Leeds and Manchester, and other great towns; but that was not the bill. He would ask the noble Lord why he did not adhere to his own original proposition, the utmost limit of which was to give a few new members to the large towns? In his humble apprehension, the Ministers assumed a grievous responsibility when they took upon themselves to propose a measure of so wide and sweeping a nature, when, as he would contend, it was not called for by the people. As a proof that a reform in Parliament would not have the effect of subverting the aristocratical and ecclesiastical institutions, they were told that M. Casimir Perrier was still Minister of France, and that he was a reforming Minister; but who could say how long he would remain Minister? Reference was then made to a censorship of the press. He deprecated as much as any man an attempt to affix a censorship on the press; but no man could conceal from himself the fact, that the Polignac press of this country had contributed largely to the excitement

of the public feelings, which members on both sides of the House had so frequently deprecated. The terrorism of the press had been used to carry the present question, against the wishes of those who had ever shown their attachment to the constitution—against the wishes and opinions of the Radical Reformers. They had, in this state of things, a specimen of that ungoverned license by which the press was enabled to effect, in conjunction with the Government, an object to which such a large and influential portion of the nation was opposed—it was a case without a parallel in the history of this country, of France, of the Roman empire, or of any nation, ancient or modern. (Cheers.) It was impossible for him to proceed further without noticing the fact that the noble Lord opposite had left untouched the arguments which had on former occasions been urged against the measure—not one of those arguments had he made even the slightest attempt to touch. He would now call the attention of the House to some of the calculations made by the noble Lord. He admitted that in many of the large towns to which representatives would be given, not more than one-third of the male adult population would have votes; thus, as had been well said, there would be an aristocracy of shopkeepers. Did any one believe that that aristocracy of 104 householders would give satisfaction to the great body of the people? Yet the noble Lord assumed that it would be not only satisfactory, but final. Could any rational man believe that the people would be satisfied with a system which established the Indian system of castes, and broke up the people into classes and divisions heretofore unknown to the British constitution, and create a new local aristocracy, which the people would never be satisfied with? The bill went to do away the ancient scot-and-lot right of voting, and to establish, not a plebeian, but an aristocratical principle—one which excluded two-thirds of the inhabitants. While professing to support and preserve the balance of the constitution, it would not be easy to imagine a measure better calculated to subvert and destroy that balance; for not only would it divide the people into castes, but also have the effect of dividing that House into castes and divisions, instead of that House being an indiscriminate and combined body of representation, it would then be so formed as that the lauded interest must be overpowered. It was as disagreeable to himself as it must be to the House, that he should thus so frequently advert to topics so trite; but a sense of duty compelled him to repeat, that it had ever been considered a vital principle of the constitution that no particular class should have any ascendancy in that House; but that, like all the received doctrines of the constitution, was now to be overturned. Who were to be satisfied by the bill? the aristocracy? Certainly not the Radical reformers: let the House remember what the hon. Member for Preston told them respecting the opinions of his constituency. Did they

suppose that the Unions would be satisfied? the Bristol Union? the Unions of Manchester or other places? Were there not in those places thousands of artisans occupying houses below the value of 10*l.*, and would they be satisfied with a new constitution which set over their heads men who possessed no advantage in character, education, wealth, employment—in short, in nothing but paying a pound or two per annum more for their houses? The fact of living in one street rather than another, would confer the right of voting, than which a more senseless proposition, a more insulting a more irrational enactment, was never sought to be imposed upon an intelligent and hitherto free community. Then let the House look to the mode in which the 10*l.* value was to be ascertained. Were the builders, carpenters, and joiners, who were to value those houses, to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor? Was it necessary that his scanty patronage should be increased with not only the appointing of the new Judges in Bankruptcy—not only the Commissioners and Barristers, but was he likewise to appoint all the valuers of the 10*l.* franchise? Some of the alterations in the bill now before the House gave him satisfaction; but the 10*l.* clause remained, in his mind, about as objectionable as ever. To the two measures—that of the last session, and that of the present—he might apply a passage in Virgil [*lege* Ovid], which, indeed, was so hackneyed, that nothing but its exact application could warrant the use of it:—

“ ————— facies non omnibus una  
Nec diversa tamen: qualem decet esse sororum.”

He begged also to call the attention of the House to a matter of dates. The instructions to the state engineer—to the man of science, who was employed to construct a new constitution, or entirely to remodel the old one—were dated the 24th of November, 1831, only ten days before the meeting of Parliament; so that no longer period was allowed for the formation of the bill. Instead of postponing the meeting of Parliament until January, the two Houses were required to meet on the 6th of December, and within a very few days afterwards was produced that great effort of skill and genius, the new and equally efficient measure of Reform, accompanied by a *fasciculus* of documents, extending from No. 1 to No. 5; but in which Nos. 3 and 4 were even yet wanting. Many had been astonished at the precipitation of the Ministers; and the hon. Member for Calne had attributed it to absolute necessity. Other people, he said, had been so slow, that Ministers were obliged to run for it. (Cheers and laughter.) Those were his own words; and hopeless as it was to add to the hon. Member's learning, and desperate as he must be who would attempt to mend his phraseology, he (Sir C. W.) would, nevertheless, in this instance, venture to suggest a slight change, viz., that if Ministers proceeded with an equal degree of rapidity in future,

they must not only “run for it,” but “cut and run for it.” (Repeated cheers and laughter.) Undoubtedly, Ministers had been very expeditious, and everything showed that they relied more upon their heels than upon their heads. (Laughter.) In order to satisfy people out of doors, they had brought forward this Reform in a manner so absurdly defective, that it was an insult to those to whom it was addressed. (Hear.) The hon. Member for Calne had reprobated those who travelled for their historical illustrations to Florence or Venice, and as he (Sir C. W.) entirely agreed with him, he would not go beyond the four seas that circled in our island. As the Radicals of the reign of Charles I. had overturned the Government then, so the Radicals of the reign of William IV. would overturn the Government now. The hon. Member for Calne had warned the House not to resist excitement, and had referred to the fatal consequences of resisting excitement, before the civil wars in 1642; but did he mean to suggest for a moment that there was any analogy between the circumstances of the present times and the reign of Charles I.? Had the illustrious House of Brunswick excited the animosity of the people like the unfortunate House of Stuart? Had the subjects of William IV. to complain of the tyranny of the Star Chamber, or of the odious tax of ship-money? (Hear.) If it were thought fit to resort to history, surely it would be folly to turn from the lessons of prudence it afforded. To the quotations of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Croker), he would add one more, not indeed from a historian, but from a poet, who dealt quite as much in practical wisdom and solid sense as any of the most applauded retailers of by-gone events. His right hon. Friend had drawn a parallel between the reigns of Charles I. and William IV., but he might have rendered the picture and its *pendant* more complete, if he had adverted to the manner in which, at both periods, the Bishops had been reviled. They were then, as now, called malignants, and Butler registered the sort of treatment they received, even from the lowest grades of society, when he said, that

“ Oyster-women locked their fish up,  
And trudged away to cry ‘No Bishop!’ ”

(Laughter.) In our own time their treatment had been even less ceremonious; for not long since, at a public meeting, a flag was exhibited representing a prostrate bishop, with a nitre on his head. (Cheers.) The reign of Charles I. had had its political prophet, but he was a paltry pretender compared with the political prophet of the reign of William IV. That prophet, in a speech upon this very subject, had warned the Bishops to set their houses in order. (Much cheering from the Opposition benches.) He did not believe that the boldest and most malignant of the Roundheads and Radicals of the reign of Charles I. ever ventured upon any prophecy so fearless and so furious. As a sedative to public excitement, he warned the Bishops to set their

houses in order; and within a month afterwards, the palace of one of the Bishops was in flames. (Loud cheers.) He did not see the hon. Member for Calne—the Ariel of Calne—in his place. He was happy to observe him behind the Chair; and he put it to that Ariel behind the Chair (laughter), who had talked so much of the reign of Charles I., whether he could point out a precedent at all parallel to what he had just advanced? He (Sir C. Wetherell) agreed that it was difficult to stop excitement; difficult, indeed, when it rushed in such a torrent from a source whence a single drop ought not to flow; difficult, indeed, when it burst in such a blaze from a quarter whence a single spark ought not to escape. (Much cheering, long continued.) Who could blame the people for being excited, when their passions were roused even by the leader of this blessed conservative Ministry? (Hear, hear, hear.) After this, could the colleagues of this political prophet assert that it was not their fault—that they, forsooth, were not to blame—and that they could not resist a tide, the flood-gates of which they had themselves opened? They had raised the excitement for the sake of carrying their bill, and now they were anxious to skulk behind the supposed necessity they alone had created. Thus a law was to be extorted by intimidation that could not be justified by reason. (Cheers.) Something had been said about episcopacy, and he did not blame those who were opposed to it, but he thought that the protection of episcopacy was necessary for the preservation of the national religion. He thought with Pope:—

“Ev’n in a Bishop I can spy desert;”

and take away the props of religion, religion itself must fall. Reference had been made to the late French Revolution. He begged to ask whether it was yet finished? and the question had been at least raised whether the ancient formula of public worship on the Sabbath should not be abolished. He would tell the conservative Ministry of England that an insult offered to the dignitaries of the Protestant Church was a personal insult to every member of that church. After all, he could not blame the ignorant and vulgar, who were hurried away by the impetuosity of their passions to acts of contumely and vengeance, when the example was set in a quarter where dignity and honour ought to reside, and from whence protection ought to be afforded. (Repeated cheers.) The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to remark upon the recent events at Lyons, and deduced from them the argument that the three glorious days, and what they had accomplished, had not done enough for the lower orders of the people of France, who were still dissatisfied. He contended that the effect would be the same in this country—that the projected Reform would not be final—that the people would be disappointed when they found that it did not remedy their existing evils, and that the advocates for the measure were only the

*hostes humani generis*, who pretended that it would relieve every species of distress. It was, equally with the last, a measure of revolution and robbery (cheers): as Jacobinism was the principle of the last, so was it of the present bill. (Cheers.) He would again insist, that it was a change without necessity or use; for the constitution, as it stood at present, was equally preservative of the liberties of the people and the prerogatives of the crown. (Hear.) Before he sat down (oh, oh!) from the Ministerial benches; answered by cheers from the Opposition—before he sat down he would say, that both the noble Lords opposite had failed to answer the speech of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for St. Mawes. Up to the present moment the principles and probable operation of the bill remained unexplained. (Loud cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL rose, and after some delay the House became sufficiently silent for him to proceed. The right hon. Baronet said:—“At this late hour of the night, and in this stage of the debate, when so short a time is left—when, according to the prevailing wish of the House, we shall proceed to a division, I should desire at once to address myself to those arguments in favour of this measure which are supposed to be still left standing, without referring to any arguments of a private nature. But the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Calne, who, for the third time, has thought it desirous to introduce some topics unconnected with the merits of the debate, and who has addressed himself to me in a manner purely personal, compel me to adopt a different course; for I should be unworthy of the situation which I hope I hold in this House, if I permitted the debate to close without reference to these arguments. I think that the hon. Gentleman, in the three speeches he has made in favour of reform, has taunted me three times on the subject of the Catholic question. I confess I thought that after three speeches he might have left this alone; and that after two months, he would not have come down with all the sweltering venom (tremendous cheering) collected in the interval which has elapsed since the last attack was made upon me. He has charged me with having been guilty of unworthy things towards the present Ministry in the course they have been pursuing, as if I were under some necessity of returning the compliment I received from them upon the Catholic question. What is the obligation I have contracted? The hon. Gentleman says, “When you proposed the Catholic question, they who had before brought it forward agreed with you cordially, and handsomely gave you their support; and, when they brought forward the Reform Bill, why did you not do the same?” Simply, Sir, for this reason—that they agreed with me on the Catholic question, while I differ from them on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. He has charged me with what amounts in substance though not in phrase to little less than gross corrupt apostacy. (Hear.) He has insinuated

that having opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, I brought forward the Catholic question with the sole desire of continuing in office, and of appropriating to myself the honour due to others. I have long been silent under this charge, but I can be silent no longer. In the first place I thought the time had hardly come when I ought to place my conduct in the proper light, and I therefore left the charge unnoticed; but the time has now come, when my defence of my conduct on the Catholic question ought to be put beyond all doubt. In the first place, I did not undertake to settle the question of the Test and Corporation Acts. As the Minister of the Crown I opposed that question. I was beaten—I was left in a minority on that question, and being so, I did not attempt to defraud of any honour those who had previously advocated the settlement of the question; for opposed as I was to it, I privately believed that after the vote of the House of Commons, it was better that the question should be settled; and in that conviction I did what I could to facilitate an amicable adjustment. Then, says the right hon. Gentleman, why did you not resign when you found you could not carry your measure? The hon. Member, with his usual discretion, wields a two-edged sword, which equally wounds friends and foes. Is it an imputation that Ministers do not resign when they cannot carry into effect a measure to which they are favourable? (Hear, hear.) If it is so, then, why do not the present Ministers resign? (Hear.) I made no charge against them for not resigning, and I now say that it is not fair to infer improper conduct because Ministers do not at once resign, when they are defeated in their attempt to carry a particular measure. I will now state the whole truth as connected with the Catholic question, and, having done so, I will appeal to every man, whether, in what I did, I was not fully justified. On the 9th July, 1828, I was called on to form part of the Ministry. There had been three changes of the Government. The administration of Lord Goderich had lasted 8 months. There were three parties in the state: there were the Tories, the Whigs, and the friends of Mr. Canning. In the Government of Lord Goderich two of these parties had been united; why they did not retain office, I have yet to learn. I have never heard the cause; but the fact was that that Administration failed to meet the Parliament. In the month of January the Duke of Wellington was called on to form an Administration, and the Duke and I were obliged to postpone the meeting of Parliament for one week. We met the Parliament one month after the Government, composed of two of the parties in the state had quitted the Government, and we were beaten on the question of the Test and Corporation Acts. Is there any gentleman who would have had us leave the King at such a moment on that question? (Hear.) I now come to the heavier charge of the Catholic

question. For several years in this House I had taken a most active part in opposition to that question; I had so taken it from the great doubt I entertained, whether the removal of Catholic disabilities would restore tranquillity to Ireland, and I therefore maintained an uncompromising hostility, taking care, however, to avoid all asperity of manner. In 1822 [qu. 1828] I was again left in the minority on that question. There were, then, circumstances which showed me that it was more dangerous to continue the resistance I had offered, than to yield. I have often said, that my opinion on the subject is unchanged, for I had doubts whether the people of Ireland would be benefited by the change, which would give strength to dissent, and power to the many. From time to time I found that the success of the Protestant party was balanced by the success of their opponents, and I thought it hopeless to maintain, with effect, a further resistance; but, at the same time, I thought there could be nothing more unfortunate than that I, who had been the most strenuous in opposition, should be the individual to undertake the settlement of that question. It was not for the sake of any personal sacrifices that I was called on to make, for I always expected that such sacrifices must be made, that I felt a repugnance to it, but that I felt I must necessarily lose the confidence of the party with whom I had so long acted, and I did feel it unfortunate that I, who had evinced the most decided opposition, should be the individual to introduce the very measure I had so long opposed. It happened that I was absent from London in the year 1828, and I wrote my opinion on the policy of settling the Catholic question to my noble Friend, I stated—"I have thus expressed my opinion without reserve on the first great question of all, on the policy of seriously considering this long-agitated question with a view to an adjustment. I have proved, I trust, that it is no false delicacy with respect to past opinions, nor any fear of charges of inconsistency that will prevent me from taking that part which the present danger and the new position of affairs seem to require. I am ready to do so if it is absolutely necessary. I think there is less of danger in the settlement of the question than in leaving it, as it has been, an open question, by the effects of which the Government has been on many occasions paralyzed. I must at the same time say, that I think it would not conduce to the satisfactory settlement of the question, that the charge of it should be left in my hands. Personal considerations are entirely out of the question. I show this by avowing, that in case of necessity, I am ready to undertake the duty, but I think I could support the measure more safely, if my support of it were given out of the House. Any authority which it may be thought I possess among the Protestant party would be increased by my retirement. I have too deeply been engaged in opposition to concessions to make it advantageous that I should be the individual to originate this measure." (Hear.) I

mention this, Sir, to show that circumstances had compelled me to undertake the settlement of that question. (Hear, hear.) I did afterwards undertake to introduce a measure for the settlement of that question, but I remained till January, 1829, in the belief that I should retire from office, and give my support to that measure in my private capacity alone. But it was made evident to me that my retirement, together with the King's opinion on the Catholic question, would absolutely preclude the satisfactory settlement of it. I wrote a letter to my noble Friend, expressing an earnest wish to avoid undertaking the painful office. That was on the 12th of July, 1829; but knowing the difficulties with which he was at that time surrounded, I said, "I speak without reserve. If my retirement should prove, in your opinion, after the communication you have made, an insurmountable obstacle to the course you intend to pursue, in that case you shall command any service I can render." The memorandum indorsed on that letter states, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Durham, had that day had an audience of the Duke of Wellington, to declare that they should give their decided opposition to the proposed plan. That circumstance made it impossible for me to retire. I had advised the King to concede the measure. I could not shrink from taking part in introducing the measure I had advised him to adopt; and no consideration on earth but that should have induced me to stand in that place and propose it. But if I believed, as circumstances had compelled me to believe, that a settlement of the question was necessary, and that my retirement was an insuperable obstacle to the settlement, I appeal to any man of honour whether I should have been justified in retiring? (Hear, hear, hear.) I had advised the King, and could I, when he said, "I have scruples—you ask me to make sacrifice of them—yet you yourself refuse to make a similar personal sacrifice,"—could I, I say, when thus appealed to as a subject, refuse to undertake the task? (Cheers.) Under these circumstances I did undertake it, and not for the purpose of robbing the original proposers of the honour. (Cheers.) The hon. Member has charged me with having been the cause of the delay in this measure of Reform; and, consequently, of having been the cause of the evils which he says have arisen from that delay. I deny it. I must repeat now what I have before said, that the conduct of the party in giving me their support on the Catholic question, was conduct dictated by the purest and most honourable motives, and entitle that party to my respect and gratitude. (Hear, hear, hear.) I said so at the time; but does the hon. Member, therefore, think, that with fetid breath, and whispering humbleness, I should shrink from offering opposition to this bill? (Hear, hear, hear.) Am I to abate my opposition—am I not at liberty to say that I think the King's Government are in error, if I think them so? If I thought I was disquali-

fied I would abdicate my functions, and not stand here to offer weak opposition to the measure. I assert, however, that I am at liberty to offer this opposition. A great part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman turned upon the question—not whether this measure is for the advantage of the country—but who are the parties that propose it. The assumption is, that to the pressure of external force we must give way, and that we have no alternative but that of satisfying the craving of the people. The hon. Gentleman has said, "How is it that we can have eyes and not see, ears and not hear, legs and not walk, and how is it that all our senses do not convince us that reform must be conceded?" Will he ask the same question of the Marquis of Lansdown, who has eyes and ears and legs; but has neither seen, nor heard, nor walked, but has for years opposed Parliamentary Reform? Why, in the year 1827, did we see the Marquis of Lansdown, together with other right hon. Gentlemen opposite (cheers), taking part in Mr. Canning's Government, after he had declared, to the last moment of his life, he should be opposed to Parliamentary Reform? (Cheers.) And on this point I find a passage in Mr. Stapleton's Memoirs of Mr. Canning, stating, that all the Cabinet was united in saying that the question of Parliamentary Reform would not be supported by any member of the Government. (Cheers.) After this, I think that we have a right to say that we do dread the opening of the question of reform. The noble Lord has asked why we objected to accede to his former small motions of reform? But can he ask this question, after having himself told us, that to those who made the slightest concession he would address himself in the words of Cromwell: "The Lord has delivered them into my hand"? (Cheers.) I must say that I think it rather hard that the noble Lord should in this manner exonerate those who have even refused to make the slightest abatement, and fasten himself upon me, because I believe that I once stated that I should be willing to transfer the franchise of a second Grampond to Manchester. Neither do I feel that I have been very fairly dealt with by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay), who has taken occasion to compliment me on having sung my Palinodeum. ("I did not mention you," from Mr. Macaulay.) No; the hon. and learned Gentleman did not mention me, but the sarcasm was not the less pointed. (Loud cheers.) But I can assure the House that so far from having taunted the Government with adopting my principles in their new bill, I have already stated it as my opinion that the essential principles of the bill remain unchanged. What I did say, on a former night, was, that I thought that the country was in a better situation by being afforded this opportunity of re-considering the measure; for which reason I conceived that we had had a great escape, and felt thankful to the House of Lords for having acted as it had done. (Cheers.) But as far as

I can see, not only do I rejoice in this, but the noble Lord also ought to rejoice, for it has given him an opportunity of improving his bill, and eulogizing the beauty of the daughter in preference to that of the mother. We have heard their boast this evening of "*mater pulchra, filia pulchrior*;" and therefore, I hope there is no doubt that the noble Lord's gallantry will lead him to rejoice that he is able to enjoy the embraces of the daughter rather than those of the mother. (A laugh and cheers.) But, after all, when it is considered that I live in the very neighbourhood of those meetings to whom I have been denounced as "the whisper of a faction" (cheers)—to whom I have been held up by the press of the country as a fit subject, not for arguments, but for brick-bats, (cheers), I think that it is a little too much to find fault with me for vindicating a course which an honest and honourable party pursued, and by which they have afforded an opportunity for what the Government thinks an amendment in the bill. (Cheers.) I think, however, that after what we have heard in the course of this debate, we must no longer hear of the principles of this bill being argued on the ground of the Constitution. The noble Lord dissents from this, I see; but has he not himself said this evening that if it had been his fortune to have lived at the period of the Revolution, he himself would have voted for the maintenance and continuance of the small boroughs? (Cheers.) But surely, if these small boroughs are now contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, they would have been equally so at the time of the Revolution, and it would consequently have been out of the power of the noble Lord to have voted in their support. (Hear, hear.) Allusion had been made to the Bill of Rights, and the declaration contained therein, that elections should be free; but this declaration by no means refers to the small boroughs, but to the circumstances mentioned in the preamble, which arose out of the interference of King James II. with the election of members, and which is particularly described by Resby, who gives an account of his being desired by the King to stand for York, to which he consented, on the condition that the King should put out of the Corporation of York all those members to which Resby objected, and which James accordingly did: so that from this it appeared clear that the declaration in the Bill of Rights in nowise applied to the small boroughs, in favour of which the noble Lord would have fought on his stumps if he had lived at that time. I am ready to admit that if there does not exist an elastic spirit in the Constitution so as to meet the temper of the times, that there is something wrong, something that requires alteration—and that if the boroughs are made of such iron stuff that they will not yield to the impetus of improvement, the attempt to put them down is inadvisable. But will any one, after looking at the progress of the Legislature since the year 1832, say that the anxiety

this House is behind the improvement of the times? Is it not rather before it in what it did on the Catholic question and on that of Free Trade? (Cheers.) But another error which, in my opinion the advocates of reform have committed in their arguments, is, that they have discussed the question as if it only applied to this country, quite forgetting the immense colonial possessions of the empire. But if it be said that the population of India is of so low a grade of intellect as not to understand the nature of good government, I think that will only serve to make the case worse; for if they perceive that change is taking place in England, without being able to perceive the justice of that change, it will only lead them the more doggedly to require a change in their own condition. Another fault is, that the bill makes no difference between nomination and small boroughs. It may be very well to say that the nomination boroughs must be got rid of; but that shows no cause for destroying the small boroughs also. (Cheers.) Besides, the real fact is, that this bill does not destroy those very boroughs at which it is said it aims. Look at Midhurst: we have been told over and over again that the representation of that place belonged to a hole in a wall; but, after all, that very hole in the wall is to retain its right. It is true that the constituency is enlarged; but the place itself continues the same. In an address from Walsall, I find that the abolition of the East India monopoly and of the traffic in the flesh and blood of negroes, is particularly insisted upon. Now, I do not mean to say that all this is not very honestly intended; but what I am afraid of is, that when we get a popular Parliament, we shall find it jumping to conclusions—conclusions that may be right, but which, from the great variety of interests they embrace, require the nicest caution and consideration in their management. (Cheers.) In the same way with respect to property, I am in no fear of its destruction by confiscation; but I am afraid that steps will be taken, the ultimate tendency of which will be to shake the confidence of the country; and that confidence once shaken, there will be an end at once to the chief stimulus which induces men to amass property, and which, in England, has hitherto been productive of that wealth, commerce, and power, which have given her so high a station among the nations of Europe. Let us for a moment look at the state of France! What is the condition of the working people there? Why, although they have not to meet the heavy taxation that exists in this country, their state is most deplorable; and it is found that in every part of that kingdom the situation of the industrious classes is such, that it almost becomes a question whether they will ever be able to recover their former vigour, and reassert that position which the industry of every country ought ever to possess. (Cheers.) The right hon. Baronet, at the conclusion of the quotation, said, that this was the case of a country with an increased army and an in-

creating revenue. (Hear, hear.) Did he therefore say that the French were not right in resisting tyranny? No such thing. But he said that the effect of all such changes in Government were to suspend commerce, to derange industry, to put a stop to credit, and injure almost to death, all the manufacturing and labouring classes. He said that to show that any change in the constitution of a country exposed to hazard its dearest interests; and he said it because he was sure, if such a change were made here, property would be unjustly attacked, and the destruction of this country would be sealed the instant its property was not secure. He was afraid that the 101. householders would not pay the same respect to those institutions on which property depended; he did not say that they would be guilty of confiscation, but from not respecting the institutions in the same degree, they would shake the public confidence, and lead to consequences as bad as confiscation. (Hear, hear.) I oppose the bill, said the right hon. Baronet, because I repel all participation in the responsibility of such a measure; and I vote against the second reading, not that I expect to be successful in my opposition, but because I will enter my solemn protest against incurring any responsibility in making one of the greatest and most precipitate changes ever made in a constitution, which was so good, that the change ought not to be made, because that constitution was the best that ever existed in the annals of history. (Cheers.) You should well consider the ultimate and immediate effects of the change you are about to accomplish on the three parts of the empire. Look well to the proportions that were established at the Union. Ireland may be disturbed from other causes; but the Reform Bill in its principles, and the course pursued by the Government in agitating, besides the question of concession, the question of relative proportions of the representation of the different parts of the empire, which was agitated by the Government altogether unnecessarily—(hear, hear)—had disarranged—apart from the question of the nomination boroughs—all the relations of the empire, was pregnant with mischief, and calculated, more directly and immediately than any other cause, to produce extensive dissatisfaction and discontent. It is not in the spirit of hostility, but from the common interest which I take with the Ministers in the welfare of the country, that I implore the Government not to suffer this House to separate for the recess without proclaiming the course they mean to pursue—not with respect to the deliberations on the Reform Bill, but with respect to the proportions they mean to preserve as to the members for the different parts of the empire. I say nothing of the justice of the proceeding; but I do fear that the course pursued by the Government—though its propositions may assume the semblance of justice, and though it may be perhaps resolved at length to concede—may place an instrument in the hands of those who may use it to

strengthen their own popularity, and enable them to command an extent of that proportion after the recess. I say nothing of the justice; but if it be intended ultimately to concede, I say give way at once. (Cheers.) While yet giving way has the merit of concession, I repeat, as I said before, that I am most decidedly opposed to the principles of this bill. I expected that the Ministers would bring in a Reform Bill on their acceptance of office; but I believe, in my conscience, that the concessions made by the Government have been far too large, and that it was most averse to bring in so large a measure of reform within six weeks after they had taken office, and while the country was yet agitated by the events of the French revolution. (Hear, hear.) It must not be supposed, as I have stated, that I was ready to support moderate reform—that I have listened to any insinuations, and am keeping back when I may find a time to bring forward a moderate plan of reform, and dispossess the Government. I may be obliged to submit by necessity to a plan of reform I cannot successfully oppose, but believing as I do that the people of this country are grossly deceived—grossly deluded—in their expectations of the practical benefits they will derive from reform, I shall not be precluded from declaring my opinion, and opposing that reform as long as I can. The right hon. Baronet then adverted to the sacrifice he was ready to make of office, and the impossibility that office could be of any advantage to him, though he admitted to seek it was an object of honourable ambition; and then went on—I will continue my opposition to the last, believing as I do that this is the first step, not directly to revolution, but to a series of changes which will affect the property, and alter the mixed constitution, of the country—believing that it will be fatal to the authority of the House of Lords, and will force on a series of further concessions. I will oppose it to the last, convinced that though my opposition will be unavailing, it will not be fruitless, because the opposition now made will oppose a bar to further concessions hereafter. If the whole of the House were now to join in giving way, it will have less power to resist future changes. On this ground I stand, not opposed to any well-considered reform of any of our institutions which the well-being of the country demands, but opposed to this reform in our constitution, because that shatters the feelings of respect towards it which are founded in prejudice perhaps, or in higher feelings of veneration for all our institutions. I believe that reform will do this, and I will wield all the power I possess to oppose the gradual progress of that spirit of democracy to which the hon. and learned Gentlemen think we ought gradually to yield; for if we make those concessions, it will only lead to establish the supremacy of that principle. We may, I know, make it supreme; we may be enabled to establish a republic, full, I have no doubt, of energy, splendour, I have no doubt, of talent, but fatal to our mixed form of govern-



ment, and ultimately destructive of all those images and practices which have long preserved to us a large share of peace and prosperity, and have made and preserved this the proudest kingdom in the annals of the world. [The right hon. Gentleman sat down amidst long and loud cheering.]

## TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

*Bolt-court, December 12, 1831.*

DENMAN,

In my last I told you that I would send you a present, for you and your right-worthy brother WILDE, to comfort you on your way down to Bristol; and I now fulfil my promise. The moment I was apprised of that dirty Bill of Indictment which you caused to be presented at the *Old Bailey*, amongst a usual arm-full of bills against thieves, robbers, and murderers; the moment I saw that dirty bill, in which you called me a LABOURER of the parish of *Saint Dunstan in the West*, though you knew me to be the author, publisher, and proprietor, of a periodical political work of thirty years standing, and that, too, the most celebrated work in the world; though, at the very least, you knew me to be, and to have long been, a freeman, a liveryman, and a bookseller, in the city of London; and though you also knew me to reside in a large private house, with extensive gardens, in the village of Kensington; the moment this low, premeditated, and Whig-insult met my eye, I told you, that you and your masters had "chosen to light the candle, and that I would take care that it should not be put under a bushel."

The following report of the proceedings of a public meeting, held, in pursuance of public notice, on the 15th of October, in the county-court house of the city of *Philadelphia*, will show you and your "liberal masters," that your candle has sent its light to a great distance! There, then, take it, read it, you and your renowned brother chew the cud upon it; and let the curate of *Crookham*, the *Ravenshoe* *Roman*, and let the *Sturges* magistrates, *Seawen*, *Brown*, and *Lumason*, and let the *Sturges*, *Sturges*, and *Wicks*,

and let THE LIAR and the bloody old *Times*, and let the Greys and the Lambs and the Russells and the "Broughams," chew the cud upon it, too; only taking along with you the facts, that this report is copied by me from *The United States Gazette*, published at *Philadelphia*, and dated Oct 20, 1831; that that *Gazette* (as large a sheet as that of the bloody old *Times*) contains, in this single number of it, *four hundred and three advertisements*; and that the price of the *Gazette* is *thirty-six shillings a year, or three half-pence for a single paper*! Such, DENMAN, are the effects of CHEAP GOVERNMENT! And, so no more, at this present writing, from him whom you attempted to destroy.

WM. COBBETT.

*"Labourer, of the parish of  
St. Dunstan in the West."*

## WILLIAM COBBETT,

### AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

A meeting of the friends of Mr. Cobbett, and of the liberty of the press, was held at the County Court House, *Philadelphia*, on the 15th of October, 1831, when THOMAS HULME, Esq. was called to the Chair, and CLAUDIUS W. HAYWOOD and JOHN SCHOLFIELD, were appointed Secretaries. After the meeting was organized, Mr. Fisher presented an address, setting forth the objects of the meeting, and the circumstances which had called it together. The following resolutions were then submitted to the meeting, and were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that this meeting has, for years past, seen with feelings of great satisfaction, the able and determined opposition evinced by William Cobbett against the acts of \* \* \* exercised towards the people of England, by that band of oligarchs, justly denominated boroughmongers; a band which has waged war against the liberties and rights of man in almost every corner of the world, and has sought the ruin of every man who dared to raise his voice in opposition to their \* \* \*

That when we revert to the history of the past conduct of \* \* \* we are reminded of their persecutions, and, in numerous cases, even unto death, of great num-

bers of men, whose only crime was asserting their undoubted rights of electing the members of the House of Commons; and we consider the late prosecution of William Cobbett as a continuation of the series of cruelties by which these \* \* \* and degraded the character of Englishmen.

That being sensible of the advantage of the freedom of the press, this meeting has heard with pleasure of the defeat and disgrace of

\* of the boroughmongers, in the English Court of King's Bench, on the trial of William Cobbett, for the publication of what they called a "false, scandalous, and malicious libel;" and resolve, that the thanks of this meeting, and an address expressive of those feelings, be presented to him for his able, manly, and convincing defence of himself and of the liberty of the press.

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of three persons be appointed to draft an address to William Cobbett, Esq., agreeably to the third resolution: when Messrs. Wood, Brothers, and Heywood, were unanimously appointed of the said committee.

After a short absence, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Wood, reported the following address:—

TO WM. COBBETT, ESQ.

SIR,—We, who admire your firm, undaunted, and consistent conduct, in advocating the cause of the poor, the oppressed, and the helpless, have just received the report of your late trial in the Court of King's Bench, and of your glorious victory over your country's enemies, the "false, scandalous, and malicious Whigs." They have plotted, contrived, and meditated your destruction, and have attempted to deprive England, at this momentous crisis, of the services of the only man who appears capable of saving the ill-managed vessel of state from the rocks that she is evidently approaching.

For this victory, Sir, we beg to tender you our most grateful thanks.—We know that nothing but talents of the highest order can save your country from anarchy and bloodshed, and in you we place the strongest hopes and reliance. Your all-powerful pen has enlightened the whole nation, and prepared it for the grand forthcoming struggle for the rights of man. The errors and the \* \* \* of that blind and perverse boroughmongering oligarchy have produced the effects which you have so long since foretold. They sought their own individual interest, without consi-

dering the consequences of goading a brave, virtuous, and industrious people to madness, by plundering them of their earnings, and by a system of ill-treatment such as never was heard of in the world before.—You have for a long time waged war with this monstrous "thing," and in a manner surprising even to those who know you; and you have, if we may judge by its writhings, pierced it in the vital part. Would to God that it had perished before so many villages had been made wretched, so many wives had been made widows, and so many children had been made fatherless, before poor Cook had been put to death, for a blow given without bodily harm to that most impudent fellow Baring; who, it appears, in the case of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, dares to

\* \* \* with impunity, and then takes his seat in the honourable House.

We cannot find words to express our indignation at these things, but we console ourselves under the idea that they cannot last, and that you are destined to restore your noble country to its ancient rights and liberties, and above all things to a "cheap Government;" the good effects of which are so obvious to us, in this most happy Republic.

We see that the people are no longer deluded by the foolish nonsense of Whig and Tory, but are inclined to manage their own affairs themselves; that they are fast adopting your opinions, which we hope and trust will soon become general. Then we shall hear no more of "rural wars," but of the restoration of that rural contentment for which your unhappy country was once famed all over the world.

It gives us pleasure to hear of your excellent health; and that you may continue to be thus blessed for many years to come is the sincere wish of,

Sir,  
your devoted friend,  
THOS. HULME

It was then unanimously

Resolved, That the said address be signed by the officers of the meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That Messrs. Brothers, Heywood, and Jeffery, be a committee to forward the same to Mr. Cobbett.

Dr. John M. Burrell then offered the following, which was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That, as Americans, we embrace this opportunity for expressing the high esteem we entertain of the character of William

Cobbett, and would congratulate the old world on the possession of so worthy and patriotic a citizen.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the editors of the papers in which the call for this meeting was inserted.—The *Mechanics' Free Press* did not publish it, though the editors were applied to first. They had not an opportunity of seeing what others would do, or they would have been free enough to have done the same.—We will not censure them for this, being aware that they have neither talents nor courage to manage their little skiff, and it is therefore better to make it fast to (in order that it may follow in the wake) something more substantial.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the officers of the same.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Philadelphia papers.—Adjourned.

(Signed) THOS. HULME, Chairman.  
C. W. HEYWOOD, } Secs.  
JNO. SCHOLFIELD, }

My answer to this shall go in MANUSCRIPT; for that which suits the climate of the United States, might not be too high-relished for the climate of England just yet. The reader, and particularly in Hampshire, will laugh at perceiving that THE DEAGLES and THE BARINGS have been thus brought face to face again within a few hundred yards of the very spot where the real OLD ORIGINAL SUPERCARGO-BINGHAM formerly resided, and on which Mrs. Alexander Baring and Mrs. Henry Baring were born; and where their husbands first saw them; and very beautiful girls they were; but neither more beautiful nor more delicate than that Mrs. DEAGLE, on whose wrists the sons, or son, of one of them ordered the iron handcuffs to be put: let that be borne in mind. For acts of violence committed on men, fear, anger, passion, may form an apology (though, as the BARINGS should recollect, they formed none in the case of poor COOK of Mischawery); but they form no apology for violence committed on the person of a woman, and a woman too. This apology never can be dropped until justice

be obtained: other matters press it aside for the present; but it must be revived, and be justly settled.

## FRENCH FINANCES.

(Concluded from p. 766, last Register.)

THE CONSEQUENCES OF ARRESTING THE REVOLUTION OF JULY are now becoming apparent, even to the men of the *juste-milieu* system: an individual afflicted with a malady may be apparently cured by the sudden application of violent remedies; but if the disease be not rooted out of the system, it will be sure to show itself very shortly in another and a more dangerous form. So it is with France. Instead of marching towards the natural results, and, therefore, the natural termination of her revolution, she has been checked, arrested, and despoiled. What is the consequence? We have had what has been called "a rebellion" at Lyons: at another city the Carlists are triumphant; at a third the taxes are not paid; at a fourth the National Guards are dissolved; at a fifth the orders of the Government are not obeyed by the civic troops. The Press is labouring to overthrow the Government. The tribunals acquit political offenders of all parties as fast as they are brought up for trial; and there is no harmony, no happiness, no satisfaction in France. I predicted all this. I foretold that all this would and must happen. And now the nation is beginning to rise to shake off this night-mare, which is oppressing it in the form of a Casimir Perrier Administration.

The King of England's Speech has not attracted much attention! We wish well to Lord Grey, well to Reform, well to Great Britain, and well to the working classes. We desire a good understanding between France and England, and we hope that the Boroughmongers will be triumphantly defeated. But we look upon Reform as certain, and we consider that it is at this moment a mere question of time. We regret that the Speech was silent as to

Poland; we cannot forgive the British Government for its inattention to this subject; and the last Proclamation which we have received from Warsawe which requires the Poles to wear th, Russian cockade! has filled us with indignation and horror. Something must be done for Poland, or Europe will not rejoice at the triumph of the British Government.

O. P. Q.

## THE TWO CABBAGES.

TO LORD GREY, PRIME MINISTER.

*Bolt-Court, 12th Dec. 1831.*

MY LORD,

BEING, like ADDINGTON, "in every thing equally wise," and having your mind filled with schemes for getting the working people out of the country, or, for catching them by the legs, together with deep-laid plans relating to *gendarmerie*, and for causing the parsons in Ireland to be *better paid*, and thereby making the tithe-payers *better satisfied*; having your great mind filled, absolutely crammed, with schemes *so sublime*, you will, I dare say, turn up your nose at the very sound of the words "*Two Cabbages*," supposing it to be some fable. You will find them, however, to constitute a very *serious* matter; and if you attend to what I have to say on the subject, you will acquire more knowledge appertaining to the duties that you have now to perform, you will see deeper into the true causes of all the difficulties that surround you, and which are daily increasing, than you ever before possessed and ever before seen.

To-day, my man having forgotten to bring in cabbages from Kensington, the maid servant went out to buy some, and she brought in two Savoy's, for which, to a woman who retailed them, she gave *three half-pence*. They weighed nine pounds. Then, as Solomon says, "I looked upon and considered it well"; and I had, for a moment, the vain hope, that you might be induced to consider it too. Not of him who can propose a *man-trap law* to prevent rick and barn-

burning, and who can entertain a scheme for restoring prosperity to the country by sending the working people out of it and keeping the idlers in it, I have no hope. But that shall not prevent me from addressing to you my *essay* on the TWO CABBAGES. These cabbages are the richest of all the cabbage-kind; and, if you calculate, you will find, that, thus bought of *the retailer*, the price of them is 31s. for a ton, or 3240 pounds weight. The market-gardener must have sold his ton for less than 20s., and, to bring the ton to the market (only from Fulham), must have cost him for man, horse, cart, and turnpike, 8s. 6d. at the very least; leaving the gardener, for seed, raising plants, digging ground, manure, after-cultivation, rent of land (10l. a statute acre), taxes and rates, and interest of capital, 11s. 6d. Is it any wonder that the gardeners are ruined? Every article of garden-stuff is low, perhaps, in proportion; but, *cauliflowers* last June, were sold at *two-pence each*, which used to sell for 9d. or 1s. at the same time of the year. No wonder that we see, all round London, market-garden land covered with dark thistles and couch-grass.

Take another view of the matter. A milch-cow will eat about 60 pounds of these white-loaved cabbages in a day; then her cost will be 10½d. a day, or 6s. 1½d. a week; and, in return for that, she will give, on an average, 10 quarts of milk, making 5lb. of butter per week, *all the year round*. The butter is worth 6s., and the skim milk is worth a penny a quart for pigs; making 11s. 10d. a week at the lowest rate of valuing. These cabbages may now be bought from the *green-stalls* by *retail* as most profitable feed for cows. If bought of the gardeners, they are only half the price. *Meat and bread* are *necessaries* of life; butter and milk are nearly so; but leguminous substances are not; and, therefore, they are depressed first; and nothing can more clearly show the sinking state of the people in this *War*, than this falling down of the price of garden-stuff.

I have, for the last ten years, *publicly* been warning the

whom I know) of their ruin. I have wanted them to keep *cows* and *pigs*, in order to have *something* that would *always sell*. Potatoes are now to be bought for *sixpence a bushel*, close to London, which is 20s. a ton of 3240lb. I have raised, this year, a *placé* of very fine Savoy-cabbages, with which I am feeding my Somerset ewes; but they have cost me more than they would have cost from a green-stall in the heart of the city of London.

But, now, as to the *cause*; for that is what a *statesman* (if we had one) would look at, when he saw whole classes of industrious men sink, in a few years, from competence and gradually-increasing ease, to absolute beggary. The *cause* is precisely the same as that which has reduced the prices at Birmingham 'in so surprising and almost incredible a degree. A gardener of FULHAM wrote, some months ago, to PERL'S-BILL PERL, giving a very exact account of the sales of his year's produce from 1818 to this last year, showing how it kept an exact pace with the effects of the *currency-acts*; and showing him, that the same land, which, in 1818, produced 800 and odd pounds a year, now produced only 300 pounds and odd in the year, while the rent, tithes, taxes, were still the same, and while, in the proportion that the price of labour had diminished the poor-rates had risen. And what was the answer of this fine young statesman approaching fifty years of age? Why, that he was very sorry to hear that the writer had been so *unfortunate this year*, and hoped that he would have *better crops next year*! As it is better to be *stupid than unfeeling*, I attribute this answer to the stupidity of the "*Right Honourable*" minor of the industrious part of the nation; but who is to wonder at the miseries that afflict the country, when this man is the *leader* of those who are your *rivals for the reins of power*!

And, if we judge from that passage in the King's speech, which holds out the continuance of peace as an *effectual remedy* for our diseases and troubles, I must say that you are *not* *stupid*; that you are *not* *stupid*; and that, if this

be your *sincere* opinion, delivered now in the face of sixteen years of proof to the contrary, there are no thirteen of the noisy brats, male and female, whom fellow gets together daily in a house in this court, and who *sing* the Apostles' Creed, God save the King, and the *Peace-Table*, alternately, and to stop whose squalling we must finally resort to a Bill of Indictment; if you be *sincere* in this opinion, there are no thirteen of these little parrot-like creatures who are not as fit to govern the nation as you. Your illustrious colleague, Baron Brougham and VAUX ("His eye in a fine fit of *frenzy* rolling"), has lately told us, that the "*Schoolmaster* was abroad." I wish he, or some of you, would send this one *literally* abroad; unless, indeed, you were to take him in amongst you, to teach you to *sing* your schemes to us; which would certainly be an improvement, especially if you were to assemble for the purpose on *Dartmoor*. I should like to see PERL'S BILL set to music!

### CHOLERA MORBUS.

IN speaking, in the last *Register*, upon this vital matter, I, in expressing my hearty approbation of the salutary advice, given to us of this happy city, by "*Charley*" Pearson, and especially of that part of his Rescript which related to keeping our persons in a state of *cleanliness*, might, besides showing the benevolent and paternal character of that advice, have shown also the *piety* of it, by referring to a French author, who wrote so far back as the time of St. Louis and the Crusades to the Holy Land, and who in order to inculcate the importance of personal cleanliness, represents SAINT PETER as sharply reproving SAINT CRISPIN on this score; and indeed, we are, from the words of the poet (which I give here), almost given to understand that the angry Prince of the Apostles actually *refused admission* to the patron saint of the cordwainers.

"*Salut Pierre dit à Salut Crispin,*

*Tu es une vilaine bête:*

*Tu es à l'aise avec les malins,*

*"Ni ne te peignes ni tôte."*

Which may be (but not with the beauty and force of the original) turned into English thus:—

"You are an ugly dirty beast  
(Saint Peter to Saint Crispin said),  
You never wash your hands the least,  
And never comb your lousy head."

Our "*Charley*," whose life and general language show that he is deeply read in sacred lore, might probably have this awful reproof in his eye, when he sent forth his Rescript. He remembered, doubtless, that St. Paul says, that "it is not that which *goeth into the man*, "but that which *cometh out of him*, "that *defileth the man*;" but, at the same time, he could not overlook the maxim of Saint Ambrose, that "*cleanliness is second to godliness*;" and therefore, our "*Charley*" presenting, in his own person and conduct, to his fellow citizens (and especially to the sensible and decent ones of Bishopsgate Ward) an ample exemplification of both sorts of purity, was for that reason, of course, chosen by our most upright and discriminating Lord Mayor, as "a fit and proper person" to watch over the health of our bodies, and to issue precepts to us respecting our domestic habits and our *morals*.

#### MR. SCALES.

I mentioned, in my last *Register*, the triumphant re-election of this gentleman as Alderman for Portsoken Ward, by a majority nearly four times as great as that by which he was elected the time before. The reader remembers that the Court of Aldermen refused to admit him as an Alderman, asserting that they had an imprescriptible right to reject any one chosen by the freemen of any Ward. This question is to come before a jury. In the meanwhile, the Lord Mayor was advised, it seems, to declare the opponent of Mr. Scales, one *Hughes Hughes* (late of the well-known *Attorney Hewit*, of Clapham), duly elected, though Mr. Scales had pretty nearly, or quite, three votes to his one. This advice, however, the Lord Mayor rejected, and accordingly proclaimed Mr. Scales duly elected.

And what will the *City House of Lords* do now? It is truly curious to see how these two bodies, *that down at Westminster*, and *this in the City*, keep pace with one another! No drummer-boy, marching at the heels of a grenadier, ever stretched out his spindle shanks, in order to keep pace with his leader, with more ambition than this Court of Aldermen are following the example of the House of Lords; and the *City House of Commons*, too, are just as true in the imitation of *another place* down at Westminster. Verily, the City concern and that *yonder* appear to be of exactly the same breed: to compare great things with small, I should say that they were like pigs of the same farrow, only that the City Parliament is like what the people in Hampshire call the darling or doll-pig; that is to say, a thing having all organs the same as a big one, but those organs not being of the same dimensions; having the same taste, and the same propensities and manners; having snout to grub with, chopper to bite and grind with, and the same sort of swallow, and a similar capacity of digestion. The two bodies, in their present improved form, principles, and motives of action, are of precisely the same age: it will be said of them—our weeping children will have to say of them, if we ourselves should not, as the royal Psalmist said of Saul and Jonathan, that, "lovely and comely in their life, "even in their death they were not divided;" for the Devil take me if our concern, in its present guise, outlives the other for one single hour. The moment the people shall choose only a part of the Parliament—the working people I mean,—that moment the guttlers and guzzlers will begin to feel the turtle and champagne stick in their throats; and then we shall see whether the Court of Aldermen are to have a right of nullifying the voice of the freemen.

#### BURDETT.

THE recent shuffling and cutting of this once-noisy "*patriot*," whose CANNING, (in whose back the once-noisy

blame stuck his knees in 1837,) aided by GRUBBART and WRIGHT, once exhibited as "Sixteen-String Jack"; this obsolete "patriot's" recent miserable shuffling, with the POLITICAL UNION, to put himself at the head of which he was, it is now very clear, sent by the Ministers, for the purpose of making it, like himself *useless*; this shuffling, which has, at last, shaken off from him even the base *wealth-worshipping* tribe, has, it seems, reminded a gentleman in the country, of the shuffler's vile treatment of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT; and the gentleman has written to me to know in what part of the *Register* it was that *I exposed that vile treatment*. It was not I, but the *Major himself*, who did it in a most complete manner; and this exposure I republish below. YOUNG MEN ought to know the whole history of this fellow's shufflings, that they may despise the wealth-worshipping wretches that still fawn upon him. A reformed Parliament puts an end to him: his shuffling upon a motion made by some one, to *sweep the pension and sinecure lists clean off the paper*; his shuffling upon a motion to "TEAR THE LEAVES OUT OF THE ACCURSED RED BOOK;" either of these will *finish* him, Oh! my God! how he dreads reform! Never did lazy, shirking, straight-backed Scotch bailiff so dread a *spade*, as this crafty, shuffling "*patriot*" dreads reform. The reader will see, that the Major exposed the shuffler in an *Address to the Electors of Westminster*, which he published in a pamphlet while I was in *Long Island*, which address was republished in the *Register*, in order to send the shuffler down to posterity in his true character and colours. The Major had been so fearful, lest an *open breach* with the SHORNOY should injure that cause, in which he had so long laboured, that he had *clung* to him long after his falsehoods became evident to us all. Upon this I had remonstrated with the Major, that his hopes of reclaiming the SHORNOY were vain; that he must come to an *open breach* with him at last; or, *abandon the cause of reform himself*. My prediction was, pretty soon, verified, as the young men are now going to see;

and herein they will see, too, how Westminster has been, by this SHORNOY, aided by a villanous RUMP COMMITTEE, degraded below any rotten-borough in the kingdom; for, what rotten-borough ever yet was so base as to call "*its representatives*" two fellows whom the people, promiscuously assembled, had pelted off the hustings with *cabbages and turnips*! Reader, look at the conduct of this *putrid Rump*! They tell the SHORNOY, that "*nobody but the Major* is thought of," as his colleague; and, when they find that he will not have him, they *tack instantly about*, and support a creature of the Shoyhoys' nomination *against the Major*!

## ADDRESS

TO THE

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,

BY

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

(First published on the eve of the late Westminster election.)

February 4, 1819.

GENTLEMEN,

WHILE lately at Tunbridge Wells, I addressed to the Duke of BEDFORD, and to the public, a series of seven letters, as a sort of winding-up, if possible, of the long controversy of more than forty years' continuance, in support of such a constitutional reform in the representation of our country, as, it hath been abundantly demonstrated, is *alone* in strict accordance with that liberty which God bestowed *universally* on man; but which it has ever been the endeavour of the corrupt and tyrannical to monopolize to themselves, and otherwise to violate, for the oppression of their fellows.

It will readily be seen, that a principal desire in these discussions has been, to attract the attention of the Whig aristocracy and their followers, among whom are chiefly to be found that class of persons, who, by a whimsical misapplication of language, call themselves *moderate reformers*; but whose errors, in fact, in the present advanced state of knowledge, are among the greatest ab-

statutes to a recovery of our country's freedom and prosperity.

While so occupied, as aforesaid, I learned the loss we had sustained by the decease of the able and virtuous *Sir Samuel Romilly*, and that a few of my friends thought that, all circumstances now considered, I might be once more nominated to fill the vacancy in your representation so unhappily made, free from the difficulties which had unexpectedly started up at the general election. I was also informed how, in consequence of what occurred on the 17th of November, at the Crown-and-Anchor meeting, they were discouraged from naming me.

I am not aware that, after this, I should so soon again have taken up my pen, had it not been for a singular concurrence of circumstances. On the 17th of December, at the same instant, came to my hands, a *Birmingham Argus*, of the 12th, containing "*Observations on the propriety of a public meeting, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to adopt Major Cartwright's BILL;*" and a *Statesman*, containing "*a speech of Sir Francis Burdett, delivered at Liverpool.*" At the same time there lay on my table the three preceding *Registers* of *Mr. Cobbett*, all of which had been addressed to me personally, relative to what he termed *Sir Francis Burdett's* "backing out;" to the baronet's conduct towards me in the matter of the last Westminster election; and to his apparent courtship of the moderate-reforming Whigs.

The reflections which all these circumstances have generated in my mind, including the newspaper report of the proceedings at the Crown-and-Anchor Tavern, on the 13th of July, and again on the 17th of November, make the topics of the present address; in which will be ultimately found, a COMPARISON between the *Birmingham observations* with *Sir Francis Burdett's*, on the two days aforesaid in Westminster, in a third speech on the 4th of December, at Liverpool.

Although it is a principle with me, to refrain as much as possible from aught that is calculated to divide the friends of

liberty, as well as to bear as much as possible of injurious treatment to the same end; yet, forbearance in an extreme must ever do more harm than good; and even division may benefit that cause, if by the parties divided it be made a right and honest use of.

In the *Political Registers* above-mentioned, my conduct, relative to the great question of parliamentary reform, is touched on, as liable in some degree to doubt as to its propriety, in consequence of a supposed partiality, and improper "clinging" on my part to *Sir Francis Burdett*. Where thus some are ready to blame, because a man does not speak all he thinks, while others may be offended at his speaking freely; the task, in a case like mine, at the present time, is of some difficulty. But whatever opinion may be formed of my endeavour to keep the line of rectitude in a situation thus delicate, should but the public, and your representative, the baronet himself, receive from my observations a useful warning, I shall be so far content.

In the first place, anxious that the enlightened and sincere friends of public freedom, whose good opinion, beyond all things on earth, I most value, should not be induced, by *Mr. Cobbett's doubts*, to entertain unfavourable notions of the correctness of my conduct, I must presume that, had he not been so distant as he is, those doubts would never have been entertained; and, from what I now conceive that I am bound to say, will undoubtedly vanish.

For the tenderness shown by me to the baronet, in my address to you on the 11th of July, the aforesaid *Registers* themselves furnish abundance of apology, in attributing it to an anxiety not to injure the cause of freedom by speaking more plainly.

In the baronet's own words at *Liverpool*, I may even plead that "the sacrifice of a long-entertained opinion is difficult;" but the baronet, by his conduct on the whole, for some time past, has, I acknowledge, in a considerable degree, weaned me from an opinion with respect to himself, which I had very fondly entertained; and that conduct has in particular been such, of late, as to



have placed me in a situation, in which to refrain from plain speaking; with regard to certain facts, as well as to suppress apprehensions for the public, which from these facts receive no small light, would savour too much of torpor where a great national interest is at stake, and a public duty is concerned. At the same time, I trust, it cannot be doubted, that no one will be more gratified than myself, should events prove me in error; and, indeed, that I may be an instrument towards that very proof, is not the least of the motives under which I now write.

In the second place, when I contemplate the juncture of a *new* Parliament under very *new* circumstances, as well as the present political aspect of all the civilized states in the old world and new, and ruminate on the signs of the times:—and when, in particular, I reflect on the critical state of that vital question—*parliamentary reform*—on which hangs the fate of my country; and believe I see danger in the conduct and language of one looked up to as a leader; can it be more than will be expected of me, to state the grounds of that belief, although that leader should be *Sir Francis Burdett*?

And thirdly, considering the cause of personal dissatisfaction given me by the party of whom I am to speak, it behooves me to keep a guard on myself, that I may neither injure the cause of reform, nor my own reputation, by language which could be interpreted as disregarding the public interest while gratifying a private feeling.

Still hoping, after all I had observed, and the treatment I had experienced, that to support the baronet's election was to serve the cause of reform, it accorded with my notions of duty to give him, at the general election, my vote. And, I presume, that the whole series of my letters to the Duke of Bedford, as yet only in part made public, will evince that *personal* considerations do not warp me either to the right hand or to the left, from my right onward course, and that these letters will serve as beacons and finger-posts for directing in his way the political traveller in search of the principles of representation; so as that he

may be secure against the attempts of false guides to lead him astray; provided only he have strength of mind, for preferring sound argument to hollow sophistry; solid demonstration to empty declamation.

I have already noticed the coincidence, respecting the *Birmingham observations* and the *Liverpool speech*, which coming on me at the same moment, excited a train of serious reflections. These opposite documents, when the speech at *Liverpool* was viewed in connexion with the two speeches at the Crown-and-Anchor, presented to my mind's eye a contrast as strong as that of frost to fire, darkness to light; prompting me to a COMPARISON, which may be of use to the friends of constitutional reform, by putting them on their guard against being misled. Should my remarks prove no incentive, they cannot become impediments, to performances truly patriotic; a reflection which reconciles me to an unpleasant task.

As an additional motive for exhibiting the *drift* of the documents, in a COMPARISON of one with the other, it was on a moment's reflection obvious, that it was of far more importance to guard against any evil to be apprehended from errors in the *author of the speeches*, than from errors in the *author of the review*, on whom, in the foregoing letters to the Duke of Bedford, it will be found much attention had been bestowed.

That reviewer had no constitutional name that could give any false weight to his errors; the baronet has a great one for giving weight and currency to his. The *author of the review* had no reputation for knowledge in the science of representation: the baronet had much. The *author of the review* had no character for a lofty exemption from faction, or for integrity as a patriot: the baronet had long stood high in these respects. Although of late his mysterious conduct had staggered the faith of observant persons; yet his having at length acceded to, and actually professed the doctrines of, *universal freedom* and the *ballot*, still enables him to keep possession—whatever may be the solidity of

his titles—of the post of *parliamentary leader* in the business of *radical reform*.

If the mystery I have noticed did in reality proceed from a hope of making complete proselytes of the political pharisees of our country, how little soever we may acknowledge the wisdom of it, or how little soever we may in any view of it be able to approve of it as far as possible and as long as possible, it may be allowable in the liberal-minded to put on it the most charitable construction. Time, which has cleared up greater mysteries, will clear up this.

Before proceeding, however, with comments on others, it is proper, according to what I have premised, to notice what is objected to myself. Mr. *Cobbett* is extremely liberal of praise, for the services which, in his opinion, I have rendered the public, and the disregard I have therein shown to my own fair ambition; which disregard, he thinks, I have, however, carried to a blameable extreme; that, in short, respecting the line where sacrifices of this kind ought to end, I had "overstepped the mark, long and long ago." Here I might farther quote and argue to some extent in my own justification; but that I shall rather leave to my actions. Mr. *Cobbett* imputes to me that I still call Sir *Francis Burdett* "our leader;" whence he infers that I "cling" to the baronet somewhat improperly. It is true, that in addressing certain friends of reform, assembled on the 18th of August last, I certainly did so call the baronet, because he had taken a leading step in Parliament, towards the introduction of a *BILL* for a radical reform; and sincerely do I wish he may not compel me to cease calling him "our leader."

Should leaders err, they ought to receive counsel from such as are able to give it. The moving of propositions, which constitute the intended preamble of a *BILL*, entitles us to expect the *BILL* itself. A new Parliament has been a fortnight assembled. Ministers have made their motions. Opposition have made theirs. But the anxious friends of England's freedom have not yet observed that their *LEADER* has given any notice of a motion for leave to bring in

a *BILL* for constitutional reform, infinitely more important than aught in contest between the *ins* and the *outs*?

I do not feel that I have any need to apologize for the extreme reluctance I had to saying, on the 17th of July, to my fellow-citizens, all I then thought of the conduct of Sir *Francis Burdett*; but enough, I think, was said, to show that there was necessarily an end to any confidential intercourse between us.

The 12th of the questions which make part of my address, is as follows:—"In proposing to the electors of Westminster a new man, altogether unknown in the field of reform, as the *personal friend of Sir Francis Burdett*, what was the inference likely to be drawn? What the effect actually produced?"

To which question this is the answer:—"It seemed to warrant an inference, that in respect of the *leader* and *lieutenant* ABOVE-MENTIONED, between whom there had been so much co-operation, there had been no friendship."

No human being could be supposed so dull as not to see, in this passage, my conviction that the description of the *new man*, so given by the committee, was, in fact, the baronet's own description, as a distinction, between that *new man* and his *old reforming associate*.

On a private account, I have no pretence for taking exception to that distinction; of free and familiar as our political intercourse had for some years been, I never felt that I had the personal friendship of Sir *Francis*. Ours had not been a private friendship, but a political connexion; and on political grounds it had, as I thought, entitled me to a very different treatment than, at his hands, on that public occasion—an occasion so very important to the cause of reform, and consequently of freedom—I experienced.

That the baronet's "*personal friend*" was likewise a fox-hunting companion, I well knew. But still I persuaded myself that the baronet's patriotism had been of the same kind as his, who, on a similar occasion, had said, "I have no fox-hunting vote to bestow on any

"one; neither have I a vote for party, nor for connexion: No; nor even for sacred friendship. To my friend I will give my purse, my hand, my heart; but I will not give him that which is not mine. My vote I hold in trust; my vote belongs to my country; and my country alone shall have it."\*

In the hope of representing *Westminster*, it did not become me to court the favour of the baronet, by the most indirect hints of wishing for his countenance, and I was proud enough to imagine it impossible that HE, of all men, should be the person to defeat my just and natural expectations.

For awhile previous to the election, I understood it to be a prevailing sentiment, that he who more than forty years ago had successfully vindicated the legislative rights of the commonalty,†—he who had been mainly instrumental in the enlightening of those whose petitions for parliamentary reform had not been scantily laid on the table, but had covered the very floor of the House of Commons; and he who, in all ways, had been indefatigable in the cause, and had, in particular, for several years, been in close connexion and co-operation with *Sir Francis Burdett*; was considered as having claims on his fellow-citizens, the electors of *Westminster*, so far outweighing any that would be opposed to them, that the baronet's name and his, as nominees for the representation of the city,—names so long united in the public service, ought by no means to have been put asunder.

It was thought that the union of those names was so natural, so congenial with public feeling and public expectation, that it would call forth a support so unanimous and so ardent, as to cause an undisputed return; and to this day nothing has occurred to invalidate that opinion.

During the period alluded to, I could

\* From an election speech at Lincoln, in 1795, published in "The Constitutional Petitions of England, Internal and External," p. 13.

† The work was entitled, *The Legislative Right of the Community Vindicated*. It was published in 1776.

not walk the streets without having evidence of it. I remember, in particular, the salutations, at different times, to that effect of *Sir John Throckmorton* and *Mr. Richard Sharpe*; the latter, at that time, and I believe now again, in Parliament; and both, as I understood, members with *Sir Francis*, of Brookes's club, in St. James's Street.

I further learned, that *Sir Francis Burdett*, having been waited on by Mr. Cleary and Mr. Henry Brooks, of the Strand, relative to business of a different nature, the baronet asked those gentlemen, "Who was thought of, to be put in nomination with him, for representing the city?" when the answer he received from Mr. Henry Brooks was this:—"Oh, Sir, no one is thought of but the old Major."

Considering the hold which "the old Major" then had on the affections and the confidence of the truly enlightened and sincere friends of constitutional reform, such news, if news it were, was of a nature, it might have been thought, to have gladdened the coldest heart in the coldest bosom of any one belonging to that class in the community:—But it gladdened not the heart of *Sir Francis Burdett*!

Considering the obvious interest of that reform, and the plain-speaking dictate of honest policy, that the happily favouring circumstances for that great question should have been seized on with avidity, and promoted with ardour, while *Westminster*, true to her reputation, ought to have surpassed her sister cities of the metropolis in kindling up in the cause a patriot fire, whose rays should have diffused life and hope to the remotest borders of the land; was it to have been expected that any man calling himself a constitutional reformer, could have been found, who was capable, of not merely throwing cold water on the kindling fire, but even of throwing down an apple of DISCORD, for defeating the proposed joint nomination?—But such a man was found in *Sir Francis Burdett*!—In *Sir Francis Burdett*, who, a second time within five months, joined in a concerted plan of operations for defeating the hopes of his quondam asso-

ciate in the cause of reform, and who, on the 17th of November, harangued, with such art and emphasis on the value of UNANIMITY!

On receiving the information of Mr. *Henry Brooks*, the baronet perceived the hour for activity was arrived. It quickly produced a letter to the father, Mr. *Samuel Brooks*, naming three gentlemen, any one of whom might be considered as acceptable to the baronet, and worthy of being put in nomination with himself; in which letter, "the old Major" was neither named nor noticed.

The three so recommended, were Mr. *Fawkes* (whose determination, by the way, against going into Parliament, during the continuance of the present system, had been repeatedly declared), Mr. *Kinnaird*, and Mr. *Hobhouse*.

The baronet's fiat thus issued, all was instant alertness for Mr. *Kinnaird*, as the "personal friend" of Sir *Francis Burdett*. We know the rest. We know that on that occasion *Westminster* did not add to the phalanx of radical reform. We know that even the baronet was but second on the poll. And now we also know, that although in June it was, but most incomprehensibly assigned as the baronet's reason for not naming as Mr. *Henry Brooks* had done to him, "the old Major," in his recommendatory epistle, that he "THOUGHT" the "Major did not wish for a seat in Parliament;" he (the baronet) in November, as a new reason for the exclusion was unfortunately become necessary, had accordingly discovered a new one—but not a whit less incomprehensible than the former one—namely, that although there appeared no bar whatever to the introduction of another "personal friend," another reformer of new-born pretensions, "it was impossible that the Major should be elected!"

But I must return to the recommendatory letter of the baronet to Mr. *Samuel Brooks*. On its contents being communicated to me by the committee-men, who had seen it, I felt that I had been very ill dealt with, and that it was, indeed, "impossible" that a political connexion in the sacred cause of constitutional reform could any longer subsist

between one who "thought" and acted as the baronet had done, and one who thought and acted as I thought and acted.

I therefore immediately wrote and dispatched my servant with a note, expressing my feelings as follows:—

"To Sir Francis Burdett."

"I find that, after sacrifices to public liberty which have not, in this age, been made by many; after a fidelity to the state, which had been surpassed by none,—and after vital services to the cause of parliamentary reform, which have been exceeded by few,—there are persons among whom I have acted, who oppose the confiding to me a trust, in the execution of which, there are those—and not a small number,—who are persuaded, circumstanced as I have long been, and continue to be, I might be enabled to advance the cause in which I have long laboured, and with some credit, more than perhaps any other individual.

"I also learn that, for the trust in question, a preference by the opposing persons is now given to gentlemen, who, for years past, and years which our cause made years of trial—years in which the opposed person has done so much, these preferred gentlemen, whatever may be their patriotism, their talents, and their virtues, have done nothing.

"Seeing these things, I have nothing, thank God! to lament for myself, but much as I conjecture, shall I have to lament for my country, in which such things are possible.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

"June 2, 1818."

Considering the auspicious crisis to which the cause of constitutional reform was brought,—considering that to bring it to that crisis, had cost a two-and-forty-years' controversy, and that in that controversy, from first to last, mine had not been the least prominent part,—considering the nature, the object, and the intimacy of the political intercourse between the baronet and myself,—and considering the honour which is ever supposed to govern men co-operating in

no sacred a public cause,—considering, I say, all these, could less on the occasion under consideration, have been expected from Sir *Francis Burdett* to me—and, may I not add, to our country, for which I thought we were jointly labouring. than a manly frankness and an open dignified conduct?

And considering, moreover, that for the eight years during which I had been a citizen of *Westminster*, I had been second to no man in sustaining and elevating her reputation for services to reform and public freedom, I would ask why, if all the baronet had in view were fair and honourable, I was to be exclusively kept in the dark, until the plot for excluding me was fully ripened, and the name of one of the gentlemen he recommended was placarded for nomination and support in conjunction with his own, and as his "*personal friend*,"—a gentleman who, although likewise a citizen of *Westminster*, had never once appeared when she had so distinguished herself as aforesaid by her services to reform and public freedom?

If a true interpretation of the former conduct, when the baronet "THOUGHT" the Major did not wish for a seat in "Parliament," were wanting, it is now supplied. We see the old reformer again pushed aside, to make way for that other gentleman of new-born pretensions, whose name stood last in the aforesaid letter of the baronet to Mr. *Samuel Brooks*.

In the apprehensions to be entertained from such facts, and from the mysterious conduct of the baronet for two years past, or more, as well as from his public speeches since the election, I may possibly be wrong; and no man more ardently than myself wishes I may prove so.

Should there be any ready to suspect me of a deficiency in charity, let this sentiment be put in the scale against that notion of others, who misinterpreting patience and forbearance, impute to me a facility of being too easily duped by professions. To the former class of persons, I say, in the words of the old Lord *Chatham*, "In an aged bosom confidence is a plant of slow growth." To

both, I observe, that having long dealt in strict demonstrations as standards of right and wrong in political principle, I am not easily prejudiced either against an enemy, or for a friend.

After what I have already noticed respecting Sir *Francis Burdett*, and the doubts which his conduct has excited in the minds of myself and many others, it will be right that I should so far account for those doubts, as to show that I am not writing from spleen, but from a desire, on the one hand, to guard the public from a misplaced reliance on serious and unremitting exertions in the cause of reform, which may not take place, and, on the other hand, to furnish the baronet himself with a salutary warning of what may happen to his reputation, if he do not take care to prevent it.

Notwithstanding the declarations which have been made, respecting *annual* Parliaments, *universal* freedom, and the *ballot*,—objects which are unquestionably necessary to be obtained for establishing our freedom—it is but too apparent, that it will be difficult to reconcile the late conduct of the baronet with any very rooted attachment to those objects: especially when the tenor of his public speeches shall be duly attended to.

The baronet's predilection for *annual Parliaments* is not, as we know, many years old; and moreover that it rests, not on the true sound foundation of inherent demonstrated right, which is indefeasible and immutable; but—on the unsound basis of history, of ancient statutes and the practice of our ancestors, all which are property *changeable*, as our expedience may require. And it is not a little remarkable, as I shall presently show, that for the *change* which did take place, by departing from annual Parliaments and for continuing in that departure, the baronet, in his last public speech, furnished the adversaries of our freedom with an argument which, fallacious as it is, they will quote as of great force; and which *their own ingenuity never before hit upon*.

Then, we are further to consider, that the baronet's belief in the doctrines of *universal freedom* and the *ballot*, had not

a many months' possession of his mind prior to the *general election*. If, in the simplicity of my nature, I had indeed given him credit; for a fruit-bearing sincerity, of attachment to the doctrines of our political salvation, and should in the end prove deceived, although it may show that I had not sufficiently profited by that scripture, in which it is written, that seed sown on stony ground, for want of root soon withers away; yet if I be not wholly incorrigible in error, and if *experience* have not been quite thrown away upon me; now, that I am brought, by what has recently passed, to my recollection, and called on to put other good confiding Christians on their guard, I may possibly be of some use.

Allow me then to state, that in essentials towards reform, the late Duke of *Richmond* went considerably further than Sir *Francis Burdett* has yet gone. That very able and very energetic nobleman, who was a complete working man of business, not only tendered in Parliament an actual BILL for *universal freedom* and *annual elections*, but he likewise published that BILL to the world, as well as his famous letter to Colonel *Sharman*; unanswerably proving by close *logical argument* and *demonstration*, the truth of the principles on which that BILL was founded;—a mode of proceeding and of *pledging* the party, not hitherto adopted by the baronet.

With the facts before our eyes, of these proceedings of the Duke of *Richmond*, who, however, afterwards sat in the same cabinet with that political tiger, Mr. *Pitt*; would not *experience* be useless, might I not, without uncharitable imputations, be permitted to warn the nation against believing the *impossibility* of the baronet himself becoming a changeling?

Here, if circumstances have taught me, that it is my duty to speak, I must nevertheless claim to stand in that respect perfectly apart from a powerful writer who has dealt largely in accusation of the baronet, for his want of sincerity as a constitutional reformer. The accusation of that writer must stand or fall, as supported, or contradicted, by facts and evidence.

It is not, however, to be supposed, but that while that powerful writer, as well as Lord *Cochrane* and myself, had free communication with the baronet, his Lordship, and myself, and perhaps others, heard from the complainant frequent observations to that effect. But in whatever degree I felt the force of his observations, I also felt a desire to be instrumental, if possible, towards the baronet's acting as the enlightened and virtuous expected from him, in the great cause of parliamentary reform.

I therefore continued a perfectly friendly *political* intercourse with the baronet, until a sense of what was due to personal honour compelled me, as hath been explained, to free him from a political connexion he seemed desirous of dissolving.

It will be recollected what extreme anxiety was felt by the radical reformers on the approach of the parliamentary session of 1817, when deputies from an immense number of petitioning communities assembled in London, in the ardent hope of a grand effort being made in Parliament, by means of a *bill*, which it is understood was to be brought in by Sir *Francis Burdett*.

The unparalleled distress of the nation, which distress was by that time universally seen to be a direct consequence of the House of Commons not representing the people, but having been metamorphosed into an engine of their oppression; had given rise to numerous petitions, in which it appeared that the effective power of the House of Commons was considered as concentrated in an *oligarchy*, whose barefaced usurpation and insufferable tyranny were upheld by a corruption as notorious as it was infamous.

The suffering people, agonizing under their miseries, looked, as they had a right to look, for *such a bill*, and their eyes, as well as the eyes of all sincere reformers, were universally turned on Sir *Francis Burdett*. This was, of course, the case of Mr. *Cobbett*, who, in the meeting of deputies, had moved a resolution of high compliments and entire confidence in Sir *Francis Burdett*, although at that time the baronet did

not approve of universal freedom, which was the unanimous sentiment and principle of those deputies. The resolution was not at first altogether acceptable, but it was so judiciously worded, and so ably supported by Mr. *Cobbett*, that, according to my recollection, it was voted unanimously. When the baronet failed, on the opening day of the sessions, distinctly to undertake the bringing in a bill, Mr. *Cobbett* was greatly irritated; as may be seen from the hasty note he wrote to me on the occasion, as follows:—

“January 28, 1817.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Sir *Francis* has anticipated Lord “C., and had given a notice RELATIVE “TO ‘parliamentary reform!’ Lord “C. has gone over\* to see the *precise* “terms of the notice; but, at any rate, “he is resolved not to be driven from “the bill in the end.—Thus, you see, “no good, and as much harm as he can, “is at our service! “W. C.”

Whether the irritation of Mr. *Cobbett* have, or have not, since hurried him sometimes beyond the just line of censure on a public character, I have no need to remark; but certain, however, it is, that in his *Registers* which have appeared subsequent to the 17th of November—the memorable nomination day for filling the present vacancy for Westminster (written of course long before)—with uncommon force of language, Mr. *Cobbett* has told the public why, in his judgment, which events have shown to have been a prophetic kind of judgment, it must be a prime object with the baronet, that I, of all men, should not be placed in Parliament.†

\* His Lordship then lodged on the terrace, in Palace-yard, opposite the door of Westminster Hall.

† “I saw” what the baronet had done “for the express purpose of keeping you out.”—Dec. 5, p. 324.

“The baronet dreaded you, as an associate, above all men living,” &c. p. 325.—“And he resolved, that if he could avoid it, you should not be his companion.”—p. 325.—“He had, by the intrigues of his Rump, caused you to be kept out of Parliament.”—Dec. 12, p. 352.

“It was this division, created solely by the baronet’s dread of you, and, indeed, his hatred

Independent of any other person’s opinions, it, however, belongs to me to show, that notwithstanding my willing co-operation with Sir *Francis*, subsequent to the time aforesaid, always in the hope, and always striving, that such co-operations should be serviceable to the cause of constitutional reform, on true legislative principles, according to the improved knowledge of the age, I was neither blind, nor accessory, to the baronet’s omissions. In cabinet consultation with him, or with any man, I never concurred in projecting modes of reform, with which, in the forum, I could afterwards find fault.

Even after I was acquainted with the insult on my understanding, as well as on the common sense of all who knew how absorbed I was in an anxiety for the reform, in the pretence that it was “thought I did not wish for a seat in Parliament;” such was my repugnance to injure in any degree the cause of liberty, by then exposing that declaration, or publishing a written one of 2d of June, that I withheld all public mention of either; and likewise voted for the baronet’s own election. Whether, in that, I did, or did not, according to my intention, serve the cause of freedom, now depends on him for whom that vote was given.

But now, when the double-dealing of *June* has been proved by the double-dealing of *November*, longer silence would not only be personal meanness and insensibility, but a deficiency in public fidelity. In *June*, it was “THOUGHT,” forsooth! that an anxious and indefatigable reformer “did not wish” for an increase of means

of your *tearing, baiting, goading* on to action, that emboldened the Whigs to come forward.” (a)—p. 359.

“They well know, that if the baronet had not set his Rump to intrigue for Edmund, you would have had no opposition.”—p. 370.

“There is not a man in the kingdom, who does not clearly see, that you have been excluded by the wishes of the baronet.”—p. 364.

(a) These words do not convey a correct idea of my conduct. Contenting myself with an inflexible adherence to self-evident and demonstrated principles, I ever left them to operate as they might; but never harassed the baronet with personal importunities.

for promoting his object, "ten times tenfold!"

In *November*, when that pretext could no longer serve, another was as readily coined: and a most extraordinary one it was. Sir *Francis Burdett*, as chairman of a meeting for the purpose of a nomination, formally declared, that "he knew, indeed, of only one individual whose pretensions to the support of the meeting were *paramount* to those of Mr. *Hobhouse* and that was his *venerable friend*, Major *Cartwright*. But he was thoroughly convinced that it would be *impossible* to INSURE the Major's election for Westminster."

When in *June*, the baronet opposed his "*venerable friend*," by playing off against him one of his "*personal friends*," how, I pray, was that *personal friend's* election "INSURED."

Short, indeed, were his memory, did he not recollect the consternation caused by that experiment; which even for awhile put in jeopardy his own return, and which placed him on the poll below his colleague! Was it not the shock given to public feeling on that occasion, which "INSURED" the "*personal friend's*" defeat?

With this recent experience of the fallibility of his own judgment, respecting the inclinations of the *Westminster electors at large*, what are we to think, when in the same breath, he proclaims the "*paramount pretensions*" of his "*venerable friend*," gives it as his opinion that he cannot succeed,—and yet ventures on recommending another, and a still newer "*personal friend*" than the former, whose nomination proved so unfortunate, and with pretensions he thus acknowledges to be *inferior*?

\* Here, Gentlemen, allow me to ask you a plain question.—Were we now going to another *general election*, and the baronet's own return not yet INSURED, would he, with a recollection of the *June* experiment on the patience of the electors, impressed on his mind, now venture on an exact counterpart of that presumptuous experiment; by starting a second "*personal friend*," against one

whose pretensions he himself tells you are "*paramount*?"

Surely, nothing but the circumstance of his own seat being now *safe*, could have inspired this *aggravated* insult, this *repetition* of an offence, before so deeply felt!

How truly contemptible is crooked policy! The whole is of a piece. All littleness, darkness, and double-dealing! Can aught that is great, noble, generous; and truly devoted to the freedom of our unhappy country, spring from such a source? It may! For if we should hold our peace the very stones would immediately cry out.

I am not one of those readily-desponding mortals, who, when *divisions* occur,—for *divisions* must needs be, but woe unto them by whom they come—fearfully infer that freedom will suffer. No. To its ultimate triumph, *divisions* are in truth as necessary, as the *fan* or the thrashing floor, for dividing the chaff from the sound and solid grain!

What pitiful manœuvring! In *June* we have one manœuvre: in *November* another. In *June* the obstacle is a "*thought*:" in *November* it is a "*belief*."\* The election of the person of "*paramount pretensions*," it was *believed*, "could not be INSURED!—Could not be INSURED. Good God! Was ever before such language addressed to a public nomination meeting of a few hundred inhabitants of a city containing *fourteen or fifteen thousand electors*—a city claiming a proud pre-eminence for patriotism and independence—and then having a representative to choose?

Was such a city, through such a meeting, ever before, in the same manner, at the same moment, and by the same orator, told of two persons, one of whom had for more than forty years steadily marched onward for the goal of reform, without having even once taken a suspicious step; and was moreover a well-known fellow-citizen;—the other, however amiable and promising, a youthful and new acquaintance, whose march

\* The word reported is "*convinced*." But whatever strength this might be intended to give to the expression, it was not possible to be more than *belief*.



was yet to begin, where such a conclusion was come to as that of the baronet?

What orator before ever so made his distinction between two competitors for confidence, in a trust of the highest importance to his auditors and the state; and in the same breath declared, that, although one of them had "*paramount pretensions*" to support, he recommended the other, and earnestly prayed their "unanimity" in his favour!!

How luckless hath been that persevering reformer's "*wish*" for better means of promoting his object! Most unfortunately, that "*wish*" happened to be *unknown* to a brother reformer who had the *best means of knowing it*,—to one, who must have "*thought*" his *venerable friend* with *paramount pretensions* to a seat in Parliament, the essence of inconsistency, not to have entertained that "*wish*!"

But, as ill-luck would have it, in summer that "*wish*" becomes the victim of a "THOUGHT;" in autumn, when the *thought* has passed away, the throat of the "*wish*" is cut by a "BELIEF;" and such a BELIEF! Does not this talking about *believing* and *wishing*, bring to mind the old adage on the proneness of men to *believe* as they themselves wish?

But no matter! At all events we can, at the worst, divert ourselves with the tricks played before us. If we cannot turn them to use, they may serve us for sport. But it is the proper end of farce to treat us with a laugh at folly, and the exposure of double-dealing, while it leaves behind a little moral instruction. And have we not been feasted in both ways, and with that benefit?

When, last summer, it was intended to deck untried, inexperienced *youth*, in the spoils of long-tried fidelity, the veteran reformer was discovered to have the crime of being "OLD:" this winter, when *versatility* is thought to be coming into fashion, he is, it seems, accused of the sin of "INFLEXIBILITY!"—inflexible, indeed, would be his risible muscles, were they not moved by such exhibition of the tricksters!

\* So he was informed by a correspondent who heard the accusation.

To conclude: I have now performed a task not at all to my taste. I should infinitely have preferred a continuance of a friendly political connexion, long maintained, and, on my part, with the utmost fidelity, to what has taken place; for that connexion in its latter period, afforded me a pleasing prospect of being shortly placed in a situation to have given me, for promoting the cause of radical reform, for the salvation of our country, ten times ten-fold means.

But that connexion having, by the other party to it, been put an end to, I have thought it right to submit to you, who have a great interest in knowing the truth, the foregoing facts and reasonings.

To you it must be left to judge, how far Mr. *Cobbett*, in his writings, prior to a possibility of his having any knowledge of the *second* act, in the Westminster election drama of 1818, was justified in his opinion, respecting the *motives* of Sir Francis *Burdett's* conduct towards myself; and how far that deep-sighted person has shown himself a prophet, with regard to the close of the baronet's political career.

It will, however, be allowed, that I have not kept a malicious silence, indulging a secret wish, that Mr. *Cobbett's* prophecies may come to pass, for exposing and disgracing one by whom I feel myself to have been ill-treated; but that I have bestowed on the party as wholesome a warning, and as sound advice, for the public good, and his own reputation, as could have been given him by his best "personal friend," under a sense of the highest obligation received at his hands.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

## USES OF COBBETT-CORN-FLOUR.

In my last *Register* I gave an account of these uses in the following words:

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, *first* as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third *corn-flour*; *second*, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour; a

quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make **BREAD**, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybonne. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to bake a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have, of course, twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. •Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread: The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye

and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I have just received some very fine corn from Mr. DURHAM, at Sandwich. The parcel weighed about a pound perhaps. Mr. Durham paid the carriage; but the portage was sixpence. I therefore beg my friends not to send me any more parcels of any sort *by coach*; for their paying the carriage is, under the laws which I have the honour to be obliged to submit to, no protection at all to me. For a parcel weighing about a pound, and the portage of which was in the fellow's hands before I knew it, I paid *ten-pence*! When Mr. Durham's parcel came, with the ticket of sixpence portage upon it, the portage was refused, and the honest person who brought the parcel was told he might take it away if he would. Anxious, doubtless, that I should not be disappointed, he asked what I would give for it, and being told *two-pence*, he took it. The parcel was become his own, or that of his master, and he was humane enough to part with it for two copper pennies, just half as much as William Sutton, a Hampshire lad, was condemned to death for having, with a parcel of others, extorted four copper pennies, from some one in that county.

## WOODLANDS.

*My book on the raising, planting, and cultivating Timber-Trees and Under-wood, taking every tree at its seed, and showing how it is to be made into a Tree, in the most expeditious and profitable manner.* Octavo, price 14s.

Amongst many others who have thanked me for this book are, Mr. DONKIN of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Mr. HODGES, one of the members for the county of Kent. Mr. DONKIN said to me, that by following my instructions, he had plantations as lofty in *five*, as other people had in *twelve* or more years. Mr. HODGES, who has tried my mode of *trenching*, has applied it to *hops* also, and, in a letter, an extract from which he authorises me to publish, he says; "I performed this method in "a very stiff, poor field, after thoroughly "under-draining it, preparatory to "planting it *with hops*; and I have no "no hesitation in attributing the vigour "and the produce of that plantation to "the effect of that mode of *trenching*." The Rev. Mr. MORRICE, of GREAT BRICKHILL, Bucks, never could grow strawberries at all, and hardly any-thing *well*, till he got my "ENGLISH GARDENER," which also contains the instructions for *trenching*. He at once *trenched his whole garden* agreeably to those instructions; and now every-thing flourishes in it, and he has the finest *strawberries* that can be imagined. Now if the FOOL-LIAR, who sent about his *franked* circular to proclaim the COBBETT-CORN (that I *gave for nothing*) to be a "*fraud*," had a square foot of land upon the face of this globe, I should not at all wonder if he were to send round another *franked* circular (if he could find out the readers of the above books), containing the copy of a voluntary oath that he had taken before the Lord Mayor declaring that he had *tried* the method, and had found it to be "*the greatest fraud that ever was palmed upon the public*." Leaving this HUGE FOOL, however, to trench, when he gets it, his square foot of land as he pleases, I strongly recommend to those who have my books, or either of them, to pay particular attention to what I say about *preparing the ground*. Both books are perfect in all their parts; but as to the preparation of the ground, their contents should be known to every one who cultivates the earth.

## IRISH TITHES!

This must be reserved for another week. Oh! what bloody work it is!

Published this day, No. 9 of the HISTORY of GEORGE IV., price sixpence.

Also, TWOPENNY TRASH, for January, 1832.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1831.

## BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ALVES, J., Norton-st., Fitzroy-sq., bill-broker.

## BANKRUPTS.

BARNFIELD, W. jun., Mark-la., wine-mer.  
BISSILL, W., Quarndon, Leicesters., bowl-manufacturer.

CROSBEE, T., Birmingham, caster.

ELLISON, L., Knaresborough, Yorks., flax-spinner.

GILLING, T., Stoke-la., Somersets., paper-maker.

GRAY, J., Blackman-st., Southwark, victualler.

HIATT, J., Crown-court, Broad-street, and Wandsworth-road, wine-merchant.

HOLDSTOCK, J. B., Liverpool, commission-agent.

HOPKINS, J., Hare-st., Woolwich, grocer.

JOHNSON, J. N., J. Foster, and J. Walsh, Liverpool, oilmen.

JONES, W., Pwllmelyn, Flint., lead-mer.

MARTIN, J. A., Earls-Colne, Essex, victu.

MURRAY, A., Mark-lane, flour-factor.

NAVIN, G., Bridgewater, Somersets., grocer.

NELSON J., Roll's-buildings, Chancery-la., livery-stable-keeper.

SADLER, T., W., Old Bailey, oil-man.

SHEFFIELD, C., Commercial-terrace, Commercial-rd., Limehouse, china-dealer.

SNELL, W., Totness, Devons., linen-draper.

SNOW, W., Wandsworth-road, Vauxhall, coach-maker.

SPRINGETT, Linton, Kent, cattle-dealer.

STOTT, S., Rochdale, Lancashire, corn-dealer.

THWAITES, G., and S. Toplis, Cirencester-pl., Fitzroy-sq., upholders.

WEBB, W. T., Swan-yard Bermondsey-street, currier.

WOODHEAD, S., Ovenden, Yorks., worsted-manufacturer.

WRIGHT, A., London, merchant.

WRIGLEY, R., Rochdale, Lancashire, corn-dealer.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MACANDREW, J., Saverne, solicitor.

MACKAY, G., Tain, inn-keeper.

NIVEN, J., and D. B. Niven, Glasgow, soap-makers.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1891.

## INSOLVENTS.

BAKER, T., Falkstone, Kent, carpenter.  
MITCHELL, H. G., Bermondsey-wall, wine-merchant.

## BANKRUPTS.

BACON, J., Worthing, Sussex, wine-mer.  
CRABB, E., Bath, confectioner.  
CUTBUSH, W., Wilmington-square, Clerk-well, builder.  
CALVIN, J., Worcester, hatter.  
CLEMENTS, G., West Derby, and W. Clements, Penketh, Lancash. brewers,  
DARWELL, T., Wigan, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.  
EGGLETON, H. D., Charles-street, Trevor-square, Brompton, coal-merchant.  
FOSTER, J. W., High-street, Newington-butts, haberdasher.  
GREGORY, W., Leeds, lace-dealer.  
HOLLINGS, J., Morley, Yorksh. grocer.  
JACKSON, J., Tooley-st., Southwark, oilman.  
LUCOMBE, T., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, librarian.  
MARTIN, C. E., New-st., Dorset-sq., Marylebone, linen-draper.  
MASSEY, G. L., Portsea, linen-draper.  
PARRY, R., Birmingham, hop-mer.  
ROSE, J. E., Bath, linen-draper.  
SAXON, J., and W. Royston, Handforth, Cheshire, paper-dealers.  
WALTERS, T., Manchester, draper.  
WILLIS, J., Oxford-st., hotel-keeper.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

ROXBURGH, J., Bothwellshiels of Shotts, tanner.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, DECEMBER 19.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley from all quarters, English oats, peas, and seeds, have been but limited; of Irish, Scotch, and Foreign wheat—English, Scotch, and Foreign beans—Irish and Scotch oats—English, Irish, Scotch, and Foreign flour, and Foreign seeds—moderately good.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by the buyers of London and its vicinity, but very thinly by those who reside far from town. As the supply of English wheat was limited, and the duty on that of Foreign growth 25s. 8d. per quarter—a rate that is next to prohibitory, the wheat sellers were, at the commencement of the market, rather stiff to advanced prices; but as these were, if at all, submitted to in but very few instances, the trade throughout might be considered as dull. With wheat, barley, oats, rye, malt, seeds, and flour, at last week's prices; with beans and peas at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter. In seeds exceedingly little was doing.

Wheat	53s. to 55s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	37s. to 38s.
— fine	34s. to 42s.
Peas, White	39s. to 42s.
— Boilers	40s. to 46s.
— Grey	37s. to 41s.
Beans, Old	35s. to 41s.
— Tick	38s. to 44s.
Oats, Potatoes	25s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 27s.
— Feed	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	58s. to 63s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	40s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new	50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new	125s. 0d. to 127s.
Pork, Mess, new	67s. 6d. to —s. per bark
Butter, Belfast	94s. to 96s. per cwt.
— Carlow	92s. to 96s.
— Cork	90s. to 94s.
— Limerick	92s. to —s.
— Waterford	90s. to 92s.
— Dublin	86s. to 88s.
Cheese, Cheshire	60s. to 82s.
— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Single	50s. to 60s.
— Edam	46s. to 52s.
— Gouda	44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 74s.

SMITHFIELD.—December 19.

This day's supply of beasts was great and good, but though it is considered to have been that of the great Christmas market day, it was neither greater nor of better quality than that of this day se'nnight, especially when it is considered that about 800 of the beasts were turned out unsold from last week's markets. The supply of small stock was rather limited, but fully equal to the demand. The trade was throughout dull, at but little if any variation from Friday's quotations. At the cattle show, those of the prize beasts that have been sold have produced about 4s. 8d.; of the prize sheep, 5s. to 5s. 4d. per stone.

Beasts, 3,549; sheep and lambs, 16,890; calves, 110; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 23.

The supplies this week are moderate, but the market is dull at Monday's prices.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent Cons. shut.

Consols for Account (Thursday); 84.

## UNPARALLELED!

**G**EORGE CRUIKSHANK'S 32 Graphic Illustrations of a **POLITICAL ALPHABET**; with 32 pages of letter-press. Fifth edition, corrected. Price 6d.!

Each engraving is worth the price exacted for the pamphlet.—*Satirist*.

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Containing 48 closely-printed pages.

Amongst other articles will be found:—A Full History of the Internal Management of "*The Times*" newspaper; "this is an extraordinary exposé." **POLITICAL UNIONS**, with a great variety of information. With this Number is given **GRATIS** eight pages extra!

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END OF VOLUME LXXIV.











